

HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM 1791

FALL OF NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCXV

TO THE

ACCESSION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCLII

BY

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HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER LXVI.

FRANCE. FROM THE FALL OF LOUIS PHILIPPE IN FEBRUARY 1848 TO THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IN THE MAY FOLLOWING.

1. THE rule of the *bourgeoisie* in France was destroyed by the Revolution of 1848, as that of the mixed Constitutional Ministry had been by that of 1830. In both cases the destruction of the ruling power and overthrow of the Government were brought about by the discontents of the class *immediately below* that in which legislative power was vested, and their passionate desire to seize it for their own behoof, without any regard to the effects of such a change upon the public liberties or the general fortunes of the State. The points upon which the quarrel in both cases ultimately turned—the ordinances of Polignac in the first, the Reform Banquet in the last—were but the pretexts for the commencement of a contest already prepared, and rendered inevitable by other and more general causes. The expansive force and ascending ambition of the class next to power were in both cases the cause of the subsequent convulsion; and accordingly, by a very natural change, the middle class, which made the Revolution of 1830, and gained possession of the Government by its success, was the class against which the execrations of the people were directed in the next movement which convulsed the State. The men who had been lauded to the skies as

the saviours of the country, the apostles of freedom, the pure and tried patriots whom nothing could seduce, when combating the Royal Guards in 1830, had become, according to the new revolutionists, the greatest tyrants, the most vile and corrupt of the human race, when defending the Government of their creation under the banners of the Citizen King.

2. Those who adhere to the opinion, that it is in the middle ranks of society that the class is to be found, alike removed from the pride of that above and the violence of that below it, on which Government can most securely be rested, would do well to study the condition of France during the reign of the Citizen-King. Then, if ever, since the creation of the world, the middle and urban class was really installed in power; and then the *experimentum crucis* to ascertain its real worth was made. The old feudal aristocracy had for the most part been swept away during the first Revolution. The Church was stripped of all its property, and reduced to the rank of indigent teachers. The working classes were effectually shut out from any share in the legislature by the high qualification of electors. The army was commanded by officers drawn from their ranks; the National Guard was

filled with them or their adherents. Here, then, was a complete, pure, and unmixt *middle-class government*, and what was the result? Was it that administration was more pure, selfishness more eradicated, patriotism more general, education more extended, morals on a higher tone, liberty better secured, than in any former period of French annals? Quite the reverse. There is no time in which, by the consent of all parties, corruption was so general both in the legislature and its constituents, public virtue in so little esteem, selfish advantage so much the object of general pursuit, and in which so unrelenting a war was carried on both against private liberty and the independence of the press. These evils at length became so general that they caused the overthrow of the middle-class legislature, and the Citizen King whom they had put on the throne. And as experience had now taught the population that they had only made matters worse by descending from the ancient *régime* to the modern *bourgeoisie*, so they were resolved to try whether they would be improved by going down yet farther, and transferring power to the entire working classes. The results of this great experiment form the interesting and important subjects of this and a succeeding chapter. It will be the duty of a future historian to show how completely it has again been exemplified in the Government of Washington during the great American civil war.

3. The first care which devolved upon the Provisional Government was to make head against the violence of its own supporters. During the three days that Paris had been in a state of insurrection, no work had been anywhere done; and as the great bulk of the labouring classes were alike destitute of capital or credit, they already felt the pangs of hunger on the morning of the 25th, when the Provisional Government, having surmounted the storms of the night, was beginning to discharge its functions. An enormous crowd, amounting to above 100,000 persons, filled the Place de Grève, and surrounded the Hôtel de Ville on every

side, as well as every passage, stair, and apartment in that spacious edifice itself. So dense was the throng, so severe the pressure, that the members of the Government itself could scarcely breathe where they sat; and if they attempted to go out to address the people outside, or for any other cause, it was only by the most violent exertion of personal strength that their purpose could be effected. Decrees to satisfy the mob were drawn up every quarter of an hour, and, when signed, were passed over the heads of the throng into an adjoining apartment, where they were instantly thrown off by the printers of the *Moniteur*, and thence placarded in Paris, and sent by the telegraph over all France. Under these influences were brought forth the first acts of the Provisional Government, some of which were singularly trilling, but very descriptive of the pressure under which they had been drawn up. One issued on the 25th February changed the *placing* of the colours on the tricolor flag, putting the blue where the red had been; a second abolished the expressions "Monsieur" and "Madame," substituting for them the words "Citoyen" and "Citoyenne;" a third liberated all functionaries from their oaths of allegiance; a fourth directed the words "Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité," to be inscribed on all devices, and on all the walls of Paris, and changed the names of the streets and squares into others of a revolutionary sound and meaning. This was followed on the 27th by others of a more alarming import or deeper signification. One ordered every one to wear a *red* rosette in his button-hole; another directed trees of liberty to be planted in all the public squares, and reopened the clubs; a third changed the names of the colleges of Paris, and of the titles of general officers; and a fourth abolished all titles of nobility, forbidding any one to assume them.

4. But the Provisional Government soon found that it was not by such decrees that the passions of the people were to be satiated, or their hunger appeased. Already, on the morning of the 25th, before they had had time

to do anything, the well-known features of popular insurrection had displayed themselves. The Tuileries and the Palais Royal had been abandoned to the populace the evening before, as in truth, after the King had abdicated, there was no longer any Government to withstand their excesses. These august palaces were sacked from top to bottom, their splendid furniture burnt or thrown out of the windows, their cellars emptied of all the wines which they contained.* The presence of the National Guard and troops of the line, who were still under arms, prevented these excesses going farther in the metropolis; but that only caused the storm to burst with the more fury on the comparatively unprotected buildings in the country around it. Over a circle formed by a radius of thirty leagues round Paris, the whole railway stations were sacked and burnt; the bridges in great part broken down, or set on fire; even the rails in many places torn up and scattered about. The beautiful chateau of Neuilly near Paris, the favourite abode of the late King, was plundered and half consumed by fire. Versailles was threatened with a similar fate, which was only averted by the firm attitude of the National Guard, which turned out for the protection of that palace, no longer of kings, but of the fine arts. But the magnificent chateau of M. de Rothschild, near Suresne, was sacked and burnt by a mob from Melun, at the very time when that banker was putting at the disposal of the Provisional Government 50,000 francs (£2000), to assuage the sufferings of the wounded in the late engagements.

5. Imagination may figure, but no words can convey, an adequate idea of the tremendous pressure exercised on the Provisional Government during the first days succeeding their installation. They have been thus described by two of the most ardent partisans of

the new regime, and who had profited most hitherto by its establishment. "We arrived," says M. Caussidière, the new Minister of Police, "at the gates of the Hôtel de Ville across a line of posts, at which the 'Qui vives' and the demands for the countersign incessantly multiplied as you approached the seat of government. The entrance of the building could only be compared to the mouth of a beehive. A mob, armed and turbulent, beset the doorway. Those under the arch resolutely made good their ground, and forcibly pushed back the crowd, which was incessantly forcing its way up the great stair. To get into the inside, it was necessary to mount as to an assault—to strive with your shoulders and elbows, so as during the strife to get one of your legs thrust in. I was soon separated from my escort; I attempted the escalade with my lieutenant alone. Twice I was repulsed with loss. At length, after vigorous efforts, and with the assistance of some of the citizens who recognised me, I penetrated to the bottom of the great stair. If I did not lose in that rude contest one of my limbs, I lost one of my pistols, which during the *mêlée* was torn from my girdle, and never after recovered. It was only at the end of half an hour's fighting that I got to the Salle du Conseil."

6. So far the new Minister of Police as to the surroundings of the Provisional Government; now hear one, and not the least gifted of its members, on the cares which oppressed them. "No sooner was one messenger despatched charged with an order or a decree," says M. de Lamartine, "signed on the corner of a bit of paper with pencil, than another arrived with a similar note, announcing that the Tuileries was menaced by devastation and flames; that Versailles was surrounded by a furious mob, which thirsted to destroy that last relic of royalty; another, that Neuilly was already half consumed by fire; a fourth, that all the railway stations were in flames, the bridges cut or destroyed. It was indispensable to re-establish the traffic on the roads by which a capital with 1,100,000 mouths

* The Author is in possession of several beautiful pieces of furniture and articles of *vertu*, tossed out of the windows of the Tuileries on this occasion, and purchased on the spot by some careful Jews, who hastened there to make profit of the dissensions and madness of Christians.

was to be fed; and huge mountains of barricades must be cut through to let the convoys pass when they did reach the streets. Crowds who had been famishing for three days were to be fed, the dead to be collected, the wounded tended, the soldiers protected against the people, the barracks evacuated, the arms and horses collected, the palaces, the museum, to be saved from pillage. An insurgent populace, 300,000 in number, was to be calmed, pacified, and if possible sent back to their workshops in the suburbs; posts were to be everywhere established, formed of the Volunteers and National Guards, to prevent pillage. In a word, the things to be done were innumerable; it was hard to say which was most urgent, or where neglect would entail most serious evils on the Republic."

7. But of all these pressing cases, by far the most urgent was to pacify and feed the enormous multitude of destitute workmen whom the Revolution had thrown out of employment, and who crowded into the Place de Grève, threatening the Government with destruction if they did not instantly give them bread and work. The band which had sacked the Tuileries kept possession of that palace, feasting on the provisions and wines which it contained, for nine days: they were only prevailed on to leave it on the 6th March, by the approach of an armed force of two hundred men, and the promise of a decree declaring that they had deserved well of their country, and should receive two francs a-day for the period of their occupation. But the famishing crowds which night and day thronged the Place de Grève were not so easily appeased. So early as the 25th February, vague rumours, calculated to excite their apprehensions and rouse their passions, began to circulate among them: the King was returning with an armed force; the detached forts were preparing red-hot shot to rain down vengeance on the devoted city. Under the influence of these terrors, one body set out for Vincennes to search that fortress, while another took their way to the Invalides, which they were only

hindered from ransacking by a force detached for its protection by the Minister of Police. Balked in the object of their pursuit in these places, the mob streamed back into the Place de Grève, where there was no longer an armed force to oppose them,—the Government, to appease the people, having been obliged to send all the military out of the capital, and the National Guard being in too great consternation either to show themselves or act against the ruling multitude. They insisted upon searching every part of the building for concealed arms, or magazines of combustibles or powder, and, rushing in, soon overpowered the *portiers* and sentinels, and spread themselves through every corner and crevice of the edifice. Finding nothing, they inundated the Salle du Gouvernement, and extorted from the overwhelmed members a decree "*guaranteeing employment to all*, and bestowing on the combatants on the barricades the million of francs saved by the termination of the civil list."

8. Though this decree was a vast concession to the working classes, and indicated not obscurely the commencement of that Socialist pressure on the Government which was ere long felt so severely, yet it was far from meeting the wishes of the angry and famishing crowd who filled the Place de Grève and all the adjoining streets. A hoarse murmur was heard from the dense mass; the vast surface, paved with human heads, began to swell in undulating waves, indicating the force of generally-felt passions; the countenances of such as could be discerned bore the expression of mingled ferocity and determination; and already cries of "*LE DRAPEAU ROUGE!*" were heard from the agitated multitude. At this call for the symbol of popular violence and the reign of blood, the other members of the Government hung back; no one dared to face the infuriated multitude. But M. de Lamartine stood forth alone and bareheaded, and having with great difficulty obtained a hearing, said—"Yesterday you asked me to usurp, in the name of the people of Paris, the rights of thirty-five mil-

lions of men, and to vote a republic absolutely, instead of a republic founded on their consent. To-day you demand the *drapeau rouge* in room of the *drapeau tricolor*. Citizens, neither I nor any of the Government will adopt the *drapeau rouge*. We would rather adopt the black flag which is hoisted in a bombarded city to mark to the enemy the hospital of the wounded, the refuge of suffering humanity. I will tell you in one word why I will oppose it with the whole force of patriotic determination: It is, citizens, that the *drapeau tricolor* has made the tour of the world, with the Republic and the Empire, with your liberties and your glory; but the *drapeau rouge* has only made the tour of the Champ de Mars, dragged in the blood of the citizens." * A universal tumult arose at these intrepid words,—some loudly applauding, others as vehemently condemning; and in the tumult several muskets were levelled at Lamartine and the persons by whom he was surrounded. But the barrels were knocked up by others less inclined to blood; and in the confusion he was dragged in by his friends within the building, and escaped without injury. The decree promising the people work was immediately after read aloud from the balcony; and the crowd, wearied with the fatigues of the day, began to drop off. But Lamartine's stand on this occasion was a most noble act, which well entitles him to the thanks of every friend of humanity; for had the people not been met by his happy and courageous inspiration, the Government would have been overturned on the spot, and a new reign of blood would have commenced.

9. But although the danger of a bloody republic was got over at the moment, yet it was evident to all that some lasting measures were indispensable in order to procure security for the Government, and employment for the idle and violent persons who were

* Alluding to the occasion in 1790, when the *drapeau rouge* was hoisted by the orders of Bailly at the Hôtel de Ville, and Lafayette ordered the troops to fire on the mob in the Champs de Mars. — See *History of Europe*, c. vii. § 97, 98.

assembled in the streets. The Municipal Guard had been disbanded, and the whole military had been sent out of the city by the Provisional Government, in order to appease the people and avoid the risk of collisions, which might be highly dangerous. Thus the Government was entirely at the mercy of the mob, and the only protection they could invoke consisted in two battalions formed of volunteers, who had placed their bayonets at the disposal of the authorities. But, though faithful, they were too few in number to be of any real service in the event of danger such as that which had just been escaped. In these circumstances it occurred to the Provisional Government to form a new body of defenders out of the most active of those who had been engaged in the assault on the monarchy. They decreed the formation, accordingly, of a new urban corps called the "GARDE MOBILE," to be composed of those who had been most determined on the barricades; and the plan would, it was hoped, at once appease the people, and enrol on the side of the authorities the most formidable of those who had recently been leagued together for their overthrow. It perfectly succeeded. High pay—double that of the troops of the line—soon attracted into the ranks the most ardent of those who had been engaged in the late disturbances. There, the instinct of military discipline soon came to prevail; the bold youths attached themselves to their colours and the Government which paid them; and the Garde Mobile, which ere long consisted of twenty-four battalions, and mustered fourteen thousand bayonets, rendered essential service to the cause of order in the subsequent convulsions.

10. Several other measures less creditable to the authorities, but not less descriptive of the pressure under which they laboured, emanated at the same time from the busy legislative mill in the Hôtel de Ville. Acts of accusation were launched forth against M. Duchatel, M. Salvandy, M. de Montebello, and all the members of the late ministry; but this was a mere feigned

concession to the passions of the people; the Provisional Government, to its honour be it spoken, had no intention of proceeding seriously against them. Gratuitous tickets to the opera were largely distributed among the people; but, as was well observed at the time, it was a poor consolation for a man who had got no dinner to be presented with an opera ticket. The licentious mob, who had plundered and kept possession of the Tuileries, were at length, as already mentioned, got out, but only by a great display of military force, and on the express condition that they were to be taken to the Hôtel de Ville, thanked for their patriotic conduct, and presented with certificates of good behaviour. At the same time, the volunteers who had tendered their services to the Provisional Government refused to surrender their places at the Hôtel de Ville to the urban militia, and used such menacing language that it was deemed expedient to veil the weakness of Government under a pretended respect for their patriotism, and allow them to remain.

11. A fresh element of discord soon arose from the liberation of Blanqui, Barbès, Bernard, Huber, and all the political prisoners in Paris, whom long confinement had roused to perfect frenzy against authority of every kind. Their first measure was to revive all the clubs, which soon resounded with declamations as violent as any which had ushered in the horrors of the Reign of Terror. A hundred of them were opened in a few days, chiefly in the worst parts of Paris, and every night crowded by furious multitudes. The Government, in compliance with their demands, authorised the planting of trees of liberty, in imitation of the orgies of the first Revolution; and in a few days numerous bands issued forth from Paris into the gardens and woods in its vicinity, pulled up the prettiest young trees they could find, and brought them into the public places of the capital, where they were planted, withered, and died. These proceedings excited so much enthusiasm, and gave rise to such noisy and tumultu-

ous assemblages, that the Minister of Police was obliged to issue a circular against them. To reconcile the people to the want of this favourite pastime, the Government arranged (March 5) a magnificent procession for the interment of the few who had fallen in the cause of the insurrection during the revolt. It went off with great éclat, and amply gratified the taste of the Parisians for theatrical display. One incident only threatened to disturb the harmony of the proceedings. Two ladies, not, it may be supposed, of the most rigid virtue, uninvited, joined the procession, splendidly attired in flowing white robes, mounted on milk-white steeds. They were intended to personify the Goddesses of Reason and Love, which had made so much noise in the fête in Notre Dame during the first Revolution. The police were at a loss what to do, for they dreaded the ridicule which such an exhibition would occasion, and yet scarcely ventured to interfere, as the people loudly applauded the fair equestrians. At length one of the police officers had the presence of mind to say, "The Republic admits only into its service women who are beautiful, but you are *devilishly ugly*—get out of the ranks." This turned the laugh against the unwelcome intruders, the more especially as the libel was in some degree true, and they were obliged to retire.

12. But the Provisional Government had soon more serious cares to occupy them. Distrust and distress, the inevitable attendants on successful revolution, ere long appeared in their most appalling form. Having guaranteed employment and sufficient wages to every citizen, they soon found themselves embarrassed to the very last degree by the multitudes each day thrown upon them. Credit was at a stand; the manufactories and workshops were closed, and the thousands who earned their bread in them were cast destitute upon the streets. So violent was the panic, so strong the desire to realise, that the Five per Cents fell in the beginning of March to 45! "Nothing," says Lord Normanby, "surprised me more, in the

wonderful changes of the last two days, than the utter destruction of all conventional value attached to articles of luxury or display. Pictures, statues, plate, jewels, shawls, furs, laces, all one is accustomed to consider property, become as useless lumber. Ladies, anxious to realise a small sum in order to seek safety in flight, have in vain endeavoured to raise a pittance upon the most costly jewels. What signified that they were 'rich and rare,' when no one could or would buy them? The scarcity of money became so great that a sovereign passed for three or four and thirty francs. Many persons sent their plate to be coined into five-franc pieces. All the most expensive *nouveautés* which had been accumulated for the display of the coming season, were in vain offered at a fraction of their value. It seemed a mockery to suppose that under the red flag should be nurtured anything but a 'ragged regiment of shreds and patches.' It was melancholy to see the most civilised capital in the world suddenly reduced to the primitive condition of barter."

13. In these circumstances it was in vain to think of the ordinary channels of employment being reopened, and nothing remained but for Government to take upon themselves, in the mean time at least, the employment of the people. For this purpose, on the 27th and 28th of February, decrees were passed appointing great workshops called *Ateliers Nationaux*, where the whole unemployed might be set to work. As the idle were the very men who had made the Revolution, it was indispensable to keep them in good-humour, and for this purpose the wages given were two francs a-day. This was more than the average rate even in prosperous periods, and it had the effect of bringing a host of needy and clamorous claimants, not only from Paris, but all the towns in the neighbourhood, and even the country to a great distance around. The numbers in the first week were only 5000, but they soon increased in a fearful progression; from the 1st to the 15th April they swelled to 36,250, and by

the middle of June reached the enormous number of 117,000! The daily cost of their maintenance then came to exceed 200,000 francs. This enormous expenditure was necessary, for the universal prostration of credit, hoarding of specie, and disappearance of capital, rendered it impossible to get quit of workmen once enrolled in the brigades of unemployed; the Government were obliged to add much from the secret-service money to support them, in addition to the vast sums publicly applied to their relief; and, in truth, they were kept up as well from the desire always to have a large army of dependants ready to support the Revolutionary Government as from the necessities of their situation.*

14. In these huge workshops were collected together a crowd of workmen, all of different trades; and they were all set to the same employment, which was generally that of removing nuisances, levelling barricades, or taking away dunghills. Even these humble employments were soon exhausted; nothing remained for the enormous multitude to do; for as to making articles of luxury, or even convenience, for the public, that was out of the

* "Après la séance du Gouvernement je me rendis à l'Hôtel de Ville, et reçus la nouvelle qu'un crédit de 5,000,000 francs (£200,000) était ouvert aux ateliers nationaux, et que le service des finances s'accomplirait des lors avec plus de facilité. M. Marie me prit ensuite à part et me demanda tout bas, si je pourrais compter sur les ouvriers? 'Je le pense,' répondis-je, 'cependant le nombre s'accroît tellement qu'il me devient difficile de posséder sur eux une action aussi directe que je le souhaiterais.'—'Ne vous inquiétez pas du nombre,' me dit le Ministre; 'si vous les tenez il ne sera jamais trop grand, mais vous avez un moyen de vous les attacher sûrement. Ne ménagez pas l'argent; au besoin même on vous accorderait des fonds secrets. Je ne pense pas en avoir besoin; ce serait peut-être ensuite une source de difficultés assez graves, mais dans quel autre but que celui de la tranquillité publique me faites-vous ces recommandations?' Dans le but du salut public. Croyez-vous parvenir à commander entièrement à vos hommes? Le jour n'est peut-être pas loin où il faudra les faire descendre dans la rue.'—*Histoire des Ateliers Nationaux*, par M. EMILE THOMAS, p. 260; LOUIS BLANC, *Pages de l'Histoire de la Révolution de Février*, p. 64. See also CASSAGNAC, i. 296.

question at a time when no one was purchasing more than the absolute necessities of life. Thus the Ateliers Nationaux soon turned into *vast pay-shops*, where idle crowds hung about from morning till night, receiving two francs a-day for doing nothing. In the latter period of their existence, there were not 2000 actually at work out of 117,000 on the public rolls. There was no one concerned in the Administration who was to blame for this state of things. It was unavoidable in the circumstances, just as the employing 200,000 starving labourers on the public roads in Ireland at the same time was. The real authors of it were those who, for the selfish purposes of their own aggrandisement, promoted the Revolution, and thus brought so vast a body of their fellow-citizens into such disastrous circumstances. •

15. When the increasing necessities of the numerous classes whom the Revolution had deprived of bread, forced the subject of their maintenance on an unwilling Government, the cry was for the appointment of a minister *pour l'organisation de travail*; and the public voice, expressed on a hundred banners reared aloft in the Place de Grève, designated M. Louis Blanc, whose Socialist principles had long been known, for that high office. Despite their revolutionary propensities, however, the other members of the Provisional Government were aware of the hazard of appointing such a minister, and the endless multiplicity of claims which would come upon them if such an office received their sanction. To avoid the danger, and yet escape the obloquy of openly resisting a demand so supported, they fell upon the device of appointing M. Louis Blanc president of a commission appointed to sit at the Luxembourg and inquire into the condition of the working classes, and the means of relieving their distresses. This, it was hoped, would act as a safety-valve to let off the ill-humours of the Republic, and turn any explosion they might generate aside from the Provisional Government upon the heads of the commis-

sioners. The better to favour this design there were associated with M. Louis Blanc in this commission the acknowledged chiefs of all the sects of Socialists and Communists. The Ateliers Nationaux, however, were not put under their direction. They remained under the orders of M. Marie, the Minister of Commerce; and in consequence of this not being generally adverted to, and the Luxembourg being regarded as the centre of the Communist action and the source of Communist measures, much unjust obloquy has been brought upon Louis Blanc and his Socialist supporters.

16. Their principles were, that capital is the real enemy of labour, the capitalist the middleman who has interposed between the producer and consumer, diminishing the profits of the former, enhancing the price paid by the latter. To obviate this, as it seemed to them, great injustice, their plan was to organise all trades and manufactories in great companies, in which the operatives were to share *in the profits*, which were to be equally divided, not paid by wages. In this way they thought that the condition of the working classes would be at once ameliorated and equalised by the fruits of their labour being exclusively divided among themselves. Following out these principles, what Louis Blanc wished to see established in March 1848, to meet the public distress, was not "Ateliers Nationaux," but "*Ateliers Sociaux*,"—great establishments where persons of the *same trade* should be employed together, and divide among them, without the intervention of any capitalist, the whole fruits of their industry.* He

* "Les Ateliers Nationaux étaient organisés non seulement sans ma participation, mais contraire à mes principes. Rien de plus opposé au régime industriel développé dans l'organisation du travail que le régime si justement flétri des ateliers nationaux dirigés par M. Emile Thomas, sous la responsabilité de M. Marie. Les ateliers sociaux, tels que je les avais proposés, devaient réunir chacun des ouvriers appartenant tous à la même profession. Les ateliers nationaux tels qu'ils furent gouvernés par M. Marie montrèrent entassés pêle-mêle des ouvriers de toute profession, lesquels, chose insensée,

condemned as an "insensate project" the Government establishments, where persons of all trades were huddled together, and set to kinds of work for which nine-tenths of them were of course utterly disqualified, and he loudly complains, not without reason, that he should be stigmatised as the author of a system which he not only never supported, but strongly opposed.

17. But although Louis Blanc may justly claim exemption from the immediate responsibility of the Ateliers Nationaux, he cannot so easily shake himself loose from the charge of having largely contributed to spread among the working classes those delusive and impracticable doctrines relative to co operation which brought about the Revolution. He admits that, when named as member of the Provisional Government, he declared that "he proclaimed not only the Republic, but the democratic and social Republic:"* and that, in answer to the deputations which addressed him at the Luxembourg, he guaranteed to the workmen of Paris, in the name of the Republic, "*the same wages in periods of adversity which they had previously attained in periods of prosperity, and full employment to all*

furent soumis au même genre de travail. Dans les ateliers sociaux tels que je les avais proposés, les ouvriers devaient travailler à l'aide de la commandite de l'Etat; mais pour leur propre compte en vue d'un bénéfice commun, c'est-à-dire, avec l'ardeur de l'intérêt personnel, uni à la puissance de l'Association et au point d'honneur de l'esprit de corps. Dans les ateliers nationaux tels qu'ils furent gouvernés par M. Marie, l'Etat n'intervint que comme entreprenant et les ouvriers ne figurent que comme salariés. Or comme il s'agit ici d'un labeur stérile infructueux, auquel la plupart se trouvaient nécessairement inéligibles, l'action de l'Etat, c'était le gaspillage des finances, la rétribution, c'était une prime à la paresse, le salaire, c'était une aumône déguisée."—LOUIS BLANC, *Pages de l'Histoire de la Révolution de Février*, p. 63.

* "Annencé comme membre du Gouvernement Provisoire, je montai en uniforme de Garde National sur la table qui servait de bureau, et là, dans un discours qui dut être singulièrement animé, s'il répondait aux battements de mon cœur, je proclamai non seulement la République, mais la République démocratique et sociale. Flocon s'ex-

citizens."* When doctrines so monstrous and utterly inconsistent with the existence of industrial employment were not only openly avowed by the Government, but made the condition of their appointment, it is of no consequence who was charged with the duty of organising the Ateliers Nationaux. The persons really responsible for their establishment were those who, by closing private enterprise by rendering it ruinous, forced the people to have recourse to the public establishments. If M. Marie organised the Ateliers Nationaux, it was Louis Blanc and his disciples who drove the people into them.

18. The Socialist principles, proclaimed by authority from the Luxembourg, have produced such calamitous results, that the French writers have been led carefully to examine the foundations on which they rest, and elaborate refutations of them have proceeded from many able pens. But the real answer to them will at once occur to every person engaged in the actual business of life. Socialist principles are impracticable, then, when attempted to be put in force; and if practicable, they would be pernicious; because, if the profits of stock were swallowed up in the wages of labour, credit would be destroyed, and no fund could exist to purchase the materials on which labour is to be exerted, and maintain the persons engaged in their manufacture in the interval between the commencement of industry and the receipt of the price of its produce. If any one believes the

primait dans le même sens. Alors un ouvrier nous félicita, au nom de ses camarades, d'avoir posé de la sorte la véritable question — la question suprême de la Révolution qui venait de s'accomplir, et le titre de Membres du Gouvernement Provisoire nous fut confirmé par des acclamations ardentes."—LOUIS BLANC, p. 21.

* "M. Louis Blanc promettait aux ouvriers au nom de l'Etat, dans le présent, la conservation pendant les périodes de crise des salaires appartenant aux périodes de prospérité, avec une participation aux bénéfices; dans l'avenir, le libre exercice de leurs facultés, la libre satisfaction de leurs desirs, enfin, le maximum de bonheur."—*Paroles de M. Louis Blanc (Conférence du 29 Avril, 1848).*—*Moniteur*.

contrary, he is recommended to try whether he will get the same advance of money on the credit of ten thousand workmen worth a sovereign each, as of one man worth ten thousand sovereigns. In the second place, the proportion which the wages of labour bear to the profits of stock in all industrial establishments, whether connected with land or manufactures, is so large, that even if the whole of the latter were divided among the former, it would not make an addition to them of more than thirty or forty per cent— a difference not greater than a good harvest or a prosperous commercial season always makes, without causing any sensible addition to the amount of their savings. In the third place, supposing that, by the force of numbers and the prevalence of frugal habits, little capitals could be formed in the hands of the operatives, it would be impossible to find in their ranks men who could be intrusted, for any length of time, with its administration. To withstand the temptation arising from the power of introuitting with any common fund requires habits of the most difficult acquirement, which are seldom seen except in cases where a second nature, as it were, has been induced by many generations employed in their acquisition.* In the fourth place, even the rise of wages, arising from the workmen dividing the profits of stock, could only be temporary. By stopping the accumulation of capital in the hands of employers it would check the growth of wealth, and with it that of all the branches of manufacture which minister to the comforts or elegancies of life. All the persons

* So strongly has this difficulty been experienced in Great Britain, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has recently (1864) introduced a bill for establishing Government insurance offices for the working classes, experience having proved that more than half of those set up by the working classes themselves have terminated in insolvency and ruin. The Author's experience at the Sheriff Court of Lanarkshire has furnished him with too many proofs of the extreme frequency of such catastrophes in benefit societies, and similar establishments set up and directed by the working classes themselves.

engaged in them would at once be thrown back upon the occupations which minister to bare necessities, and competition would soon bring down the wages in them to the lowest point, as it was so long the case in Ireland. Louis Blanc told the deputations of workmen at the Luxembourg that by embracing Socialist principles they would "*all become Kings!*" He would have been nearer the truth if he had said they would all in the end become beggars.

19. Three circumstances distinguished this Revolution from both of those which had preceded it, and form so many characteristics well worthy of consideration. The first is, the entire absence of all religious jealousy or rancour by which it was marked. No one need be told that the very reverse was the case in the first Revolution. The same was the case, though in a lesser degree, in the Revolution of 1830. Hatred of the Jesuits, and jealousy of the influence they were supposed to be acquiring in the Government and the educational establishments of the country, were the chief causes of the overthrow of Charles X. But on this occasion, this, the most deadly poison that can be mixed up with the revolutionary passions, was entirely wanting. The old animosity of the revolutionists against the clergy seemed to have disappeared. The Revolution was ardently supported by the curés, in the first instance at least, especially in the rural districts. The priests blessed the trees of liberty which were planted in the villages and squares; fervent prayers were offered up for the Republic from the altars; the clergy, surrounded by their flocks, marched to the polling-places for the elections for the Assembly when they came on. This change is very remarkable, and suggests much matter for reflection; but it is easily explained when we recollect that the Church had lost all its property during the first Revolution, and ceased to be either an object of envy from its wealth, or of jealousy from its power. Thrown upon their flocks for support, since the miserable pittance of forty

pounds a-year allowed by Government barely sufficed for existence, the clergy identified themselves with their interests, shared their desires, and were drawn from their ranks. The Government of Louis Philippe had been so hostile to religion that they in secret rejoiced at its overthrow. This very remarkable change bespeaks the profound knowledge of the human heart which selected the Apostles intended to propagate a faith destined to overspread the world from the fishermen of Galilee, not the priests of Zoroaster or the pontiffs of Rome, and illustrates the prophetic wisdom of the words of Cazales, in the first National Assembly, "Take from the priests their cross of gold, and they will get one of wood, and it was by a cross of wood that the world was saved."

20. The second circumstance which distinguished this Revolution, was the sedulous attention now paid to the demands and interests of LABOUR. It was the interests of capital and the *bourgeoisie* which were chiefly, if not exclusively, considered in the Revolution of 1830. Robespierre and St Just had professed, and probably felt, a warm interest in the concerns of the working classes; but they could see no other way of serving them but cutting off the heads of all above them. The lapse of thirty-three years' peace since 1815, and the vast increase of industry which had in consequence taken place, had now, however, given a more practical direction to men's thoughts. They no longer thought that they were to be benefited by placing the heads of the rich under the guillotine; they adopted a plan, in appearance at least, more likely to be attended with the desired effect, and that was to put their own hands into their pockets. Encouraged by the conferences at the Luxembourg, and the Socialist declamations of Louis Blanc, as well as the decrees of the Government, which guaranteed employment and full wages to all the working classes, they all united now in demanding from their employers at once an increase of wages and a

diminution in the hours of labour! This petition was soon supported by such formidable multitudes that it could not be disregarded. By a decree of the Government, the hours of labour of all sorts in Paris were fixed at *ten hours* a-day, though in the provinces *they were left at twelve hours*. These demands, too, were made at a time when, in consequence of the panic consequent on the Revolution, and the universal hoarding of the precious metals which had ensued, the price of every species of industrial produce, so far from rising, was rapidly falling, and sales of everything, except the mere necessities of life, had become impossible! The consequence, as might have been anticipated, was, that mostly all the master-manufacturers closed their workshops; and in the first two weeks of March, above a hundred thousand of their workmen were out of employment in Paris alone, and thirty or forty thousand in Rouen, Lyons, and Bordeaux!

21. A third effect which ensued from the peculiar character of this Revolution, as the revolt of *Labour against Capital*, was the strongest aversion on the part of all its promoters to the principles of free trade, and a decided adherence to those of protection. Lord Normanby, who, though not yet regularly accredited to the Provisional Government, was in daily communication with M. de Lamartine, repeatedly, by desire of the British Government, sounded the French minister on this subject, representing how advantageous it would prove to both nations if their commercial intercourse could be conducted without fiscal restraints; but in vain. M. de Lamartine listened coldly to all these proposals, saying that, in the existing temper of men's minds, it was in vain to bring any such doctrines forward. He was doubtless right; they ran directly counter to the strongest desires of those who had made the Revolution. These desires soon broke out in savage and inhuman attacks on foreign workmen, especially their great rivals the English, in many parts of the country, especially on the lines of

railways then in course of construction. The effect of these attacks, and of the general obloquy to which they were exposed from the jealousy of their French competitors, was that nearly the whole English workmen then in France, amounting to above thirty thousand, were obliged to leave the country and return home. They arrived on the shores of Britain in the most deplorable state of destitution, and loudly complaining of the treatment they had received; for, not content with driving them out of the country, the French Revolutionists laid an embargo on their funds in the savings banks there, which Lord Normanby for long laboured in vain to get removed. The gross injustice of this proceeding had a very salutary effect on the corresponding classes in the south of England, and the publication of these complaints in the papers went far to cool that general enthusiasm in favour of the Revolution which, on its first occurrence, was felt among the working classes of Great Britain.

22. But all other consequences of the Revolution fade into insignificance compared with the commercial and monetary crisis which resulted from its success, and, in its ultimate results, was attended with the most important effects upon the fortunes of the Republic. The panic soon spread from the towns to the country; the peasants, fearful of being plundered, either by robbery or the emission of assignats, hastened to hide their little stores of money; specie disappeared from the circulation; and, as a necessary consequence, purchasers were few, even for articles of primary necessity, and the price of every article of commerce underwent a serious diminution. M. Godechoux, the first Minister of Finance in the Provisional Government, could devise no better mode of meeting the difficulty but by a decree which postponed the payment of all bills falling due on 22d February and subsequent days to the 15th March. As this raised a violent clamour among the holders of these securities, he followed it up by a decree on the other

side, which anticipated the payment of the *rentes* falling due on the 22d March, by declaring them payable on the 15th. As arrangements had been made to meet these payments on the 22d, this only made matters worse, and increased the general confusion. Such was the outcry, and so widespread the panic, that M. Godechoux felt himself unable to make head against it, and he resigned his situation as Finance Minister, and was succeeded by M. Garnier Pages.

23. Fortunately for France and Europe, his successor was a man of abilities and resolution, and exempt from those money influences which so generally tie up the hands or blind the eyes of statesmen intrusted with the financial concerns of nations. The commercial state of France at this period, and the circumstances which rendered the important change in its monetary system which soon after took place necessary, are thus explained in the official report of the Comte Argout, the bank's chairman, for the year 1848: "When the Revolution of February broke out, the treasure in the Bank of France and its branch establishments amounted to 225,000,000 francs. The demand for specie, however, rapidly increased on that event, but the bank made the most courageous efforts to meet the drain. From the 26th February to the 15th March—that is, during fifteen working-days—the bank discounted in Paris alone bills to the amount of 112,000,000 francs. In the branch banks, during the same period, it discounted 45,000,000 francs. By this means it saved from bankruptcy the banks of Rouen, Orléans, Havre, and Lille. But the drain of specie on itself was only thereby rendered more alarming. From the 26th February to the 15th March, the metallic reserve at Paris fell from 131,000,000 to 82,000,000 francs. On the 15th March the payments in coin amounted to 10,000,000 francs, and on the evening of that day there remained only in the bank coffers 59,000,000 francs. On the succeeding day (16th) it was known the run would be still more considerable, and in a few days more

the bank would be entirely drained of specie."

24. In these alarming circumstances, the council-general of the bank met, and prepared the draft of a decree, which was immediately submitted to the Provisional Government, received its unanimous sanction on the night of the 15th March, and appeared in the columns of the *Moniteur* on the following day. By this decree the bank was relieved from the obligation of paying its notes in specie, and its notes were declared a legal tender. The power of emission, however, was limited to 350,000,000 francs, as the maximum of the circulation; and it was provided that weekly states of the affairs of the bank should be published, as in England. The emission of notes for 100 francs was authorised by the same decree. The issue of notes for 50 francs and 25 francs had been anxiously prayed for by the commercial classes; but the council-general of the bank refused its consent to this demand, as likely to lead to an exportation of specie at a time when it was of such importance to keep it in the country. The circulation of the bank at the date of the decree amounted to 275,000,000; so that, even as it stood, this measure afforded a considerable extension to the available circulation of the nation, and what was of still more importance, relieved it entirely of the obligation to pay in specie.

25. Thus did the suspension of cash payments result in France from the Revolution of 1848, as the emission of assignats in that country in 1791, and the suspension of cash payments in Great Britain in 1797, had arisen from that of 1789. In all the three cases the change was the result of necessity, and the effect was immense, far exceeding what had been either intended or foreseen by its authors. The forced paper circulation of the first Revolution in France, which at length was pushed to the enormous sum of £750,000,000 sterling, beyond all question brought that country safe through the terrible assault of the European powers in 1793 and 1794; but it did so only by producing a rise of prices which utterly

destroyed the capital of the nation, and inflicted for long a grievous wound on its industry. The suspension of cash payments in Great Britain in 1797 alone enabled the nation to make head against the power of revolutionary France, and preserved the liberties of Europe when threatened with destruction by the arms of Napoleon; but it did this at the cost of a duplication of prices, doubling the amount of the national debt, and imposing a heavy burden on its industry, which will never now be removed. The opposite system, introduced by Sir Robert Peel in 1819, of rendering the currency entirely dependent on gold, and contracting the paper whenever the gold was withdrawn, had induced three terrible monetary crises, under the effects of the last of which the nation was still labouring. Steering the middle course between these two extremes, the measure of M. Garnier Pagès, based on the principle of *meeting the drain by an issue of paper, bearing a forced circulation, but limited in amount to what the nation really required*, may be regarded as a model of political wisdom, and perhaps the greatest boon ever bestowed by legislative wisdom on an afflicted nation. For if it had not been passed, and either an unlimited issue of the currency, or an unlimited contraction of it, had been practised, beyond all doubt all the eloquence and courage of Lamartine would have been unable to avert another revolution—a second rule of the Jacobins, a second reign of blood, and a second revolutionary war. Or had the English system of drawing in the paper as the gold is drawn out been put in force, most certainly a universal bankruptcy would have ensued, involving alike the rich and poor.

26. This decree was in the first instance confined to the Bank of France; but by two supplementary decrees, issued on 27th April and 2d May, the protection was extended to the banks of Bordeaux, Rouen, Nantes, Lyons, Marseilles, Havre, Lille, and Orléans, which were amalgamated with the bank of France, and their joint circulation, inconvertible into specie, was extend-

ed to 452,000,000 francs (£18,000,000). This was fully equal to the necessities of a nation which at that period, strange to say, did not require more than £18,000,000 of discounts, while Great Britain needed £130,000,000 !* At the same time the greatest efforts were made by the Bank of France, and all its branches, to sustain industry and credit in every possible way. Discount banks (*Comptoirs Nationaux*) and loan offices (*Magasins Généraux*) were established in Paris and all the commercial towns of France, and bills were accepted for discount bearing two signatures only, instead of three as formerly required. The re-discounting of bills was permitted, contrary to prior usage, and loan offices formed, for granting receipts or warrants for goods stored in public warehouses, on which advances of money might be obtained. By these several means, powerfully aided by the limited but inconvertible currency, very great assistance was rendered by the Bank of France, both to individuals and the public treasury, during the remainder of the year—a period which, but for that relief, would unquestionably have been fraught with unparalleled disasters. In the nine months of 1848 after the decree suspending cash payments, the bank at Paris rediscounted bills to the amount of 90,000,000 francs, and in the branches 140,000,000 francs, besides advancing on security of goods in the “*Magasins*” 62,500,000 more. In addition to these advances to individuals, the bank lent Government on 31st March 50,000,000 francs; and on 3d June engaged for a loan of 150,000,000 francs to the Treasury, of which 50,000,000 francs was actually paid over. In these immense advances, rendered possible solely by the wise suspension of cash payments, rather than in all the eloquence of M. Lamartine, the real causes are to be found whereby France surmounted the crisis, and averted a second reign of terror. And the fruit of these measures clearly appeared in the rapid diminution of the number weekly added to the lists of the *Ateliers Nationaux*, which in the fortnight from 16th

to 31st March was 25,250, and from 1st to 15th April 36,250. But from 16th to 31st May it had fallen to 3000; and from 1st to 15th June, to 1200.

27. Most fortunate was it for France and the world that the Provisional Government had either the sense to see, or were forced by the pressure of the working classes to adopt, these the only measures suited to the crisis, or capable of meeting its dangers; for the condition of the public finances, in consequence of the Revolution, had become all but desperate. Such was the effect of the universal alarm† that the consumption of every individual in the country, from the highest to the lowest, was at once reduced to the smallest possible amount. The *octroi* of the capital, which in 1847 had produced from 75,000 to 80,000 francs a-day, immediately fell to 40,000 or 50,000 francs. All other taxes on consumption at once fell off in the same proportion. The imports of France in 1848 were little more than half of what they had been in 1847; and as the Revolution only took place in the end of February, this implied a falling-off to a still greater amount in the ten months subsequent to that convulsion. The exports, it is true, did not exhibit a decline by any means in the same proportion; but that arose from a peculiar and very distressing cause, which, so far from bespeaking a revival of industry, indicated just the reverse. It arose from the universal desire to turn movable property into cash, and the impossibility of finding a market for it in France itself. This led to a general sending of it abroad in exchange for the precious metals; and to such a length did this go that the foreign trade of France, in 1848, presented the enormous balance of £11,000,000 in favour of that country, which of course was paid in specie. This is a most curious and instructive circumstance, indicating at once how fallacious a test of the prosperity of a nation the amount of treasure in its banking establishments is; how erroneous an opinion it is, which is often entertained, that the

* NEWMANSH, VI. 73.

amount of exports is to be taken, under all circumstances, as the measure of its manufacturing prosperity; and how great a mistake it is to suppose that the issue of inconvertible paper in moderate quantities will drive specie out of the country. For in this year of unexampled alarm and suffering, when the diminished consumption of all classes brought the imports down a half, and the national industry was sustained only by the issue of inconvertible notes to the extent of £18,000,000 sterling, the balance of trade was £11,000,000 *in favour* of France. Her exports had undergone very little diminution;* the notes in circulation had risen from £11,000,000 to £15,000,000, the bullion in the bank from £3,000,000 to £10,000,000; while the discounts had sunk from £11,000,000 to £6,000,000.†

28. But how deplorable soever may have been the financial state and prospects of industry in France, it was absolutely necessary to make some concession to the powerful revolutionary party in possession of the capital, which imperiously demanded an instant relaxation of the burdens immediately affecting themselves. The tax which was most generally condemned

was that on salt; and by a decree on 31st March it was suppressed, though the Government had presence of mind to defer the taking effect of the decree till the 1st of January succeeding. The same decree announced a great reduction on the excise on meat and wine; and at the same time the railways from Paris to Orléans, and from Orléans to Vierzon, were put under sequestration, upon the pretence that they were insolvent. But these reductions, and the immense falling-off in the customs, rendered some great increase in another quarter absolutely necessary. No other resource appeared practicable but additions to the direct taxes. It was accordingly resolved to increase the whole of them 45 per cent, which was accordingly done. By a supplemental decree, the direct taxes in the departments of the Rhone, including Lyons, were increased 50 per cent more, or 95 in all; and several other departments were subjected in additional charges, varying from 15 to 25, or 60 to 70 per cent in all. By this decree the Government obtained a large accession of revenue; for the receipts of the Treasury in 1848 were no less than £70,000,000, being £15,000,000

* IMPORTS AND EXPORTS (SPECIAL COMMERCE) FROM FRANCE IN REAL VALUE
FROM 1845 TO 1850.

Years.	Imports. Special Commerce.	Exports. Special Commerce.	Revenue.	Expenditure	Deficit.
1845	£34,200,000	£33,900,000	£54,463,000	£54,870,000	£2,070,000
1846	36,800,000	34,100,000	48,704,000	57,340,000	8,500,000
1847	39,050,000	35,600,000	54,293,000	65,190,000	10,290,000
1848	23,200,000	33,300,000	70,720,000	70,860,000	140,000
1849	31,200,000	41,300,000	57,270,000	65,770,000	8,500,000
1850	31,200,000	44,900,000	57,260,000	58,470,000	1,670,000

—NEWMARCH, VI. 653, 654, 659; and *Ann. Hist.* 1846 and 1847. The exports and imports of every kind (General Commerce), for the years 1845-6-7, are given at vol. vii., p. 118.

● † At the moment when these lines are written (April 2, 1858), a similar phenomenon is presented in this country. The last Bank and Trade Returns show,—

Notes in circulation,	£19,500,000.
Bullion in Bank,	18,385,000
Do. on 15th November 1857,	7,170,000
Decrease in exports from corresponding months in 1877,	2,084,000
Rate of interest at Bank,	2½ per cent.
Do. in November 1857,	10 per cent.

So that the circulation is nearly entirely metallic. Interest is at the lowest point, and yet exports have sunk £2,000,000 a-month.—*Times*, March 23, 1858. And during the period when this serious decline was going forward—the result of the drain of gold in autumn 1857—the specie in the Bank had, so far from being drawn out of the country by the suspension of the Bank Charter Act in November 1857, increased by upwards of £11,000,000.

more than the receipts of 1847, the last year of Louis Philippe's reign. So that, whatever the French people might hope to gain by the Revolution, relief from taxation could not be included.*

29. No words can convey an adequate idea of the universal disappointment and indignation which this decree occasioned in France. The peasant proprietors, in whose hands nine-tenths of the country was, had received the Revolution coldly but submissively. They neither desired the change, nor were very averse to it; they were simply indifferent. They had no loyal or chivalrous attachment to the Orléans dynasty: all they desired was to be allowed to live in peace, cultivating their little domains; and the chief ground of complaint that they had against the former Government was its expense, and the large deficit which every year was increasing in the Exchequer, to be filled up only by additional loans and taxes. They were told, however, universally, and for a few weeks believed, that the Republican Government would be so cheap that a very great reduction of their burdens would take place—nay, that at no distant period they would entirely cease. In their simplicity many believed this, just as the working class of the Reformers in Great Britain in 1831 did, that, when “the Bill” passed, wages

would be doubled, and prices halved. The additional sum raised by the 45 per cent was 190,000,000 francs (£7,750,000), and this fell almost entirely on the little proprietors. It may be conceived what a sensation the imposition of this addition to their taxes made among a body of peasant proprietors, who had not yet recovered from the general distress produced by the failure of the crops in 1846. But when, in addition to this, they learned that this formidable increase of their burdens had been laid on to support an army of a hundred thousand revolutionists in Paris, who were paid 200,000 francs a-day for doing nothing, their indignation knew no bounds, and the fatal truth flashed upon them that the Revolution, made by the mob of the capital, would be turned only to its advantage, and to their ruin. So universal were these feelings, that in the rural districts they soon came to supersede all other, and are to be regarded as the main cause of the general unpopularity and ultimate overthrow of the Revolution.

30. The time was now approaching when something definite required to be adopted by the Provisional Government in regard to the future constitution of the Republic. With this view the Government felt that it was necessary to convoke a National Assembly; but before that could be done, the basis

* A very valuable report was framed by the Minister of Finance at this period, on the financial state of France when the reign of Louis Philippe ended. From this it appeared that the

	France.
Public funded debt amounted, on Jan. 1, 1848, to	5,792,261,000
Its annual charge to	239,438,000
Floating debt to	697,704,000
Loan contracted in 1847,	250,000,000
Of which was still to be paid,	167,000,000
Sum due by Government to savings-banks,	409,579,000
Sinking fund annually,	48,886,000
Interest of floating debt,	18,000,000
Expended on Public Works,	1,606,039,000
Repaid, or due by Companies,	1,069,000,000
● Remained due by State,	536,839,000
Total public debt of all sorts,	8,095,041,000
Cash in Treasury on 24th February 1848,	192,488,000
In Bank of France belonging to Treasury,	125,644,000
Expenditure of 1847,	1,446,000,000
Revenue of do,	1,391,276,000
Deficit,	54,000,000

—Rapport par M. GONDCHOUX, Ministre de Finance, March 7, 1848. *Ann. Historique*, 1848, p. 137-142.

required to be fixed on which the election of its members should proceed. In these moments of republican fervour, there could be no doubt of the principle which required to be adopted. The Convention of 1793 presented the model ready made to their hands. The precedent of that year accordingly was followed, with a trifling alteration, merely in form, which subsequent experience had proved to be necessary. The number of the Assembly was fixed at nine hundred, including the representatives of Algeria and the other colonies, and it was declared that the members should be distributed in exact proportion to the population. The whole was to form one Assembly, chosen by universal suffrage. Every person was to be admitted to vote who had attained the age of twenty-one, who had resided six months in a commune, and had not been judicially deprived of his suffrage. Any Frenchman of the age of twenty-five, not judicially deprived of his rights, was declared eligible as a representative. The voting was to be secret, by signing lists; and no one could be elected unless he had at least two thousand votes. The deputies were to receive 25 francs (£1) a-day for their expenses during the sitting of the Assembly: and it was appointed to meet on the 20th April. This was soon followed by another decree, which ordered all prisoners for civil or commercial debts to be immediately set at liberty.

31. Before the elections could take place, however, the Republicans became aware of the extreme unpopularity of the régime in the departments; and it was therefore deemed indispensable to postpone the meeting of the Assembly to a later period, and meanwhile to adopt the most vigorous measures to electrify the public mind, and restore the democratic ardour which the serious addition to the direct taxes had done so much to weaken. To effect these objects, a decree was issued which postponed the elections to the 23d April, and the meeting of the Assembly to the 4th May, the anniversary of the famous opening of the States-

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General in 1789. Meanwhile, to revive the drooping spirit of Republicanism in the departments, and secure the return of a sufficient number of ardent and true democrats, a circular was sent round by M. Ledru-Rollin to the electors, to be distributed by four hundred commissioners, who, with ample salaries, were sent down to the departments to bring the people to the desired way of thinking. Their reception, however, was by no means encouraging. In some places they were actually chased with hisses out of the villages; in most, their reception was cold in the extreme. The people listened to their ardent harangues in favour of the Republic with distrust and indifference; they could place no reliance on the promises of a government which had begun its career by adding nearly a half to their direct burdens, and bestowing it on an army of idle workmen paid for doing nothing at the Ateliers Nationaux. The reports of the commissioners, upon the whole, were extremely discouraging, and for the first time began to open the eyes of the Government to what universal suffrage may lead when applied to a people of whom the great majority is composed of the holders of property.

32. The circular of Ledru-Rollin, issued on 7th April, was a remarkable document, as evincing the principles and tendency of the Republican Government, and the terrors with which it was already inspired. It set forth: "The Government cannot, under pain of abdication or betraying itself, content itself with merely receiving and registering the votes; it must enlighten France, and labour openly to defeat the counter-revolution if it should attempt the impossibility of again raising its head. Is it that we would imitate the faults of those whom we have combated and overthrown? Far from it. They ruled by corruption and falsehood, we only desire to make truth triumph; they caressed egoism, we appeal to the generous sentiments; they stifled independence, we would give it the fullest development; they bought consciences, we would emanci-

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pate them. There is nothing common betwixt us. But it is precisely because their odious practices have profoundly corrupted the official class, that it is now necessary to speak loud and firmly to root out the seeds of error, and extirpate the calumnies so long spread through the country. Apostles of the revolution, we defend it by our acts, our words, our instructions. Vigilant and resolute against our enemies, we gain partisans to ourselves by making it known. Those only can fear who do not know it. Worthy missionaries of the new ideas which are to rule the world, it is for you to prepare their pacific advent. This is to be accomplished by yourselves, your friends, your writings, your speeches. Shed abroad the light in whole volumes. Let the great and majestic figure of the Republic appear to every eye, regenerating humanity by its moral strength, effacing the distinction of classes, calling all the citizens to the realisation of the political dogma of fraternity by liberating labour and intelligence from the fetters which restrain them, making of our admirable France the most free, the most powerful of nations.

33. "Citizen-Commissioners, what constitutes the grandeur of the duty of a representative is, that it invests him who becomes such with the absolute power to interpret and translate the interest and the wishes of all. He would be unworthy to hold it who should recoil before any of the consequences of the great principle of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Liberty consists in the exercise of all the faculties which we have received from nature, governed by reason. Equality means the participation of all the citizens in the social advantages, without any other distinction but those arising from virtue and talent. Fraternity is the law of love, uniting men, and making them all one family. Thence follow the abolition of every privilege, the division of taxes in proportion to the fortune, a proportional and *progressive* tax on succession, a magistracy freely elected by the people, with the most complete development of the jury system, military service borne alike by

all, *gratuitous and equal* education to all, the *means of labour secured to all*, the democratic reconstitution of industry and credit, voluntary association everywhere substituted for the disordered passions of egoism; and whoever is not prepared to sacrifice his repose, his life, his future to the triumph of these ideas, whoever does not feel that ancient society has perished, and that we must construct a new social edifice, would prove only a lukewarm and dangerous deputy. His influence would compromise the peace of France."*

34. Following up the same principles, another circular at the same time was issued by the Minister of Public Instruction to the voters, pointing out still more specifically on what description of persons the choice was desired by the Government to fall. "The great error," says he, "against which the inhabitants of our agricultural districts must be guarded is this: That in order to be a representative, it is necessary to enjoy the *advantages of education* or the gift of fortune. As far as education is concerned, it is clear that an honest peasant, possessed of good sense and experience, will represent the interests of his class in the National Assembly infinitely better than a rich and educated citizen having no experience of rural life, or blinded by interests at variance with those of the bulk of the peasantry. As to fortune, the remuneration which will be assigned to all the members of the Assembly will suffice for the maintenance of the very poorest. In a great assembly like that, the majority of the members discharge the functions of jurors. They decide affirmatively or negatively on the measures proposed by the *élite* of the members; they only require honesty and good sense; they judge, they do not invent or harangue." These sentiments, which went to letive the Assembly at the mercy of the revolutionists at Paris, excited the greatest alarm among all

* This circular was immediately followed by another, betraying still more clearly the design of the Government to intervene to the utmost of their power in the approaching elections. It will be given at its proper date, which was 12th April.

persons of sense or moderation, and first brought to light the schism which was every day becoming wider between the moderate party, headed by Lamartine, and the violent section led by Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc. A few days after these circulars appeared, a deputation waited upon M. de Lamartine, to represent the consternation with which they had been seized at the perusal of these alarming circulars, and he replied in terms which at once proved how divided the Government was within itself. "The Provisional Government," said he, "has authorised no one to speak to the nation *in its name*, and especially to speak a language superior to the laws. The Government, recognising freedom of opinion, repudiates that worst sort of corruption, intimidation. It has deliberately resolved not to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the elections. I trust public opinion will be reassured, and not take in an alarming sense some words inconsiderately used by ministers, who often attach their signatures in haste."

35. Notwithstanding this formal disclaimer on the part of M. de Lamartine of any intention on the part of Government to overawe or influence the elections, the Minister of the Interior continued without any intermission the great work of securing a Radical majority in the Assembly. The prefects were everywhere changed, and determined revolutionists placed in their stead; all offices in the disposal of Government—and their number exceeded 130,000—were filled with their partisans; and a change was made in the College of France in order to render it more completely the fountain of extreme opinions. Four members of the Provisional Government—M. de Lamartine, Armand Marrast, Garnier Pagès, and Ledru-Rollin—were appointed to new chairs, whilst from several others their former occupants were expelled. In proportion as the time drew nearer for the elections, the efforts of the Government, or rather the Radical section of it, became more violent to secure a majority for the extreme Liberal party. "Eighteen

years of falsehood," said the Bulletin of the Republic, a semi-official paper, on the 15th April, "oppose to the government of truth obstacles which are not overcome in a day. If the elections do not achieve the triumph of social truth, they will destroy it. If they become the expression of a caste, torn from the too confiding loyalty of the people, instead of proving the salvation of the republic, they will become its ruin. There is no other way for the people, *who have erected the barricades*, to achieve their salvation, but to evince *their determination a second time* in a manner which cannot be mistaken. That extreme deplorable remedy, France would not wish to force the people of Paris to adopt. France has intrusted to Paris a great mission; Paris is the advanced post of the republican ideas; Paris is the rendezvous of all the generous wishes, of all the moral force of France. If the social influences pervert the judgment or betray the wishes of the masses, the people of Paris believe and declare themselves identified with the wishes of the nation. Citizens! it must not come to this, that you are to be forced yourselves to violate the principle of your own sovereignty."

36. These extreme opinions and declamations not obscurely presaged an approaching convulsion, the more so that a part of the Provisional Government, at the head of which was M. de Lamartine, were at the same time labouring courageously and energetically to coerce the violent party, and direct the revolution into comparatively safe and pacific channels. The first act which evinced the objects of this section of the Government, and obtained the concurrence of the whole, was a most important and noble one—the abolition of the punishment of death in purely political cases. This great victory of humanity and justice over the strongest passions of excited and revengeful man, was achieved by the Provisional Government in the very first moments of their installation in power, and when surrounded by a violent mob, loudly clamouring for the

drapeau rouge, and the commencement of foreign war and the reign of blood. Whatever may be said of the tricolor flag making the tour of the globe, there can be no doubt that this great and just innovation will do so. To regard internal enemies, *provided they engage only in open and legitimate warfare*, in the same manner as external foes, to slay them in battle, but give quarter and treat them as prisoners of war after the conflict is over, is the first great step in lessening the horrors of civil conflict. To say that high treason is the greatest of all crimes because it leads to the commission of all the others, affords no argument whatever for the retention of such a relic of barbarous times in civil conflict, unstained by personal crimes, murder, or robbery. War does the same, yet all the world has concurred in applauding, and all the civilised in adopting, a usage which has lessened so much the evils of external hostility. It is the highest glory of the Revolution of 1848 to have first openly avowed and solemnly promulgated this change; and the honour of it is not lessened by the reflection that, in the unstable condition of their own power, it was the interest of the Provisional Government to pave the way for such a system as might, in the event of defeat, tie up the hands of their successful adversaries. They had no security whatever that, in proclaiming this the rule of their own conduct, they would insure its adoption by their adversaries. On the contrary, the full merit of their noble and courageous conduct will not be appreciated unless it is recollected that, without guards or protection of any sort, they were, at the very time they passed this decree, exposed to the hostility of a bloodthirsty faction, loudly clamouring for the restoration of the guillotine, a second reign of terror, and a forcible propagandism to spread revolution through foreign nations.*

* "Cependant les chefs et les têtes de colonne des séditions pénétrant par moment jusque dans les corridors étroits et encombrés, où ils s'étouffaient par leurs propres masses. Ils harcelaient les membres du

37. To steer the infant Republic in peace through a tempest impelling it so violently upon foreign nations, was an undertaking requiring the highest capacity and resolution; but the courage and genius of M. de Lamartine, now aroused by the dangers by which he was environed, proved equal to the task. One of his first acts was to address a circular to the ministers of all foreign states, in which, amidst some sonorous and adroit expressions, calculated to flatter the vanity of the French, and conceal from them the important restraint upon their excesses which was about to be imposed, the great principle of non-intervention was in substance distinctly avowed. "The proclamation," said he, "of the

Gouvernement, ils ne cessaient de leur adresser les injonctions les plus impérieuses. 'Nous voulons le compte des heures que vous avez déjà perdues ou trop bien employées à endormir et à ajourner la Révolution,' disaient ils, l'arme à la main, la sueur sur la front, l'écume sur les lèvres, la menace dans les yeux, — 'nous voulons le drapeau rouge, signe de victoire pour nous, de terreur pour nos ennemis. Nous voulons qu'un décret le déclare à l'instant l'instinct le seul drapeau de la République. Nous voulons que la Garde Nationale soit désarmée et remette ses fusils au peuple: nous voulons régner à notre tour sur cette bourgeoisie complice de toutes les monarchies qui lui vendent nos sueurs, sur cette bourgeoisie qui exploite les royautés à son profit, mais qui ne sait ni les inspirer ni les défendre. Nous voulons la déclaration de guerre immédiate à tous les trônes et à toutes les aristocraties. Nous voulons la déclaration de la patrie en danger, l'arrestation de tous les ministres passés et présents de la monarchie en fuite, le procès du Roi, la restitution de ses biens à la nation, la terreur pour les traitres, la hache du peuple suspendue sur la tête de ses éternels ennemis. Quelle Révolution aux belles paroles voulez-vous nous faire? Il nous faut une Révolution qui ne puisse ni s'arrêter dans sa marche ni revenir sur ses pas. Êtes-vous les Révolutionnaires d'une pareille Révolution? Êtes-vous les Républicains d'une pareille République? Non, nous êtes comme notre complice aux vains discours, des Girondins de cœur, des aristocrates de naissance, des avocats du Tribunal, des bourgeois d'habitude, des traitres peut-être. Faites place aux vrais Révolutionnaires, ou engagez-vous par ces mesures avec eux. Servez nous comme nous voulons être servis, ou prenez garde à vous!' En parlant ainsi quelques uns jetaient leur sabre sur la table, comme un gage qu'ils ne relèveraient qu'après avoir été obéis."—LAMARTINE, *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, t. 371, 372.

French Republic is not an act of aggression against any government known in the world. War is not a condition of the French Republic. It would accept, but does not seek to provoke it. But happy would France be, if foreign powers should declare war against her, and thus compel her to grow in power and glory. The treaties of 1815 do not exist in right in the eyes of the French Republic; but war does not necessarily follow from that declaration. The territorial limits fixed by those treaties are the basis which, in point of fact, it is willing to take as the point of departure in its external relations with other nations. But we say openly, if the hour of the reconstruction of some nationalities oppressed in Europe or elsewhere has been sounded by Providence— if Switzerland, our faithful ally since the days of Francis I., is invaded or menaced in consequence of the movement in her bosom, which promises to add additional strength to the league of democratic governments—if the independent states of Italy are attacked, or obstacles thrown in the way of their internal reforms, or an armed force intervenes to prevent them from forming a league among themselves for the security of their independence—France will consider herself entitled to interfere with arms to protect the legitimate efforts at reform and nationality in other people. She proclaims herself the intellectual and cordial ally of all rights, of all movements, of all developments in nations which are desirous of living under similar institutions. She will commence no underhand propagandism among her neighbours. She knows that no liberties are durable but those which arise spontaneously among nations on their own soil. But she will exercise, by the light of her ideas, by the spectacle of order and peace which she will present to the world, the only true and real proselytism—that of esteem and sympathy. This is not a declaration of war—it is the voice of Nature. It is not the herald of agitation to Europe—it is that of life."

38. An opportunity soon occurred

for manifesting in acts the sincerity of these pacific views; and M. de Lamartine then proved, in the most decisive manner, that towards Great Britain, at least, he had no intention of departing from his professions of non-intervention. The Irish revolutionists, never doubting that their efforts to shake off the yoke of England would meet with cordial sympathy from the Provisional Government of France, sent over a deputation, headed by Smith O'Brien, to invoke the aid of the great parent Democracy in establishing a Hibernian Republic in close alliance with it. They openly boasted that "they came to claim what they were sure to obtain—the assistance of fifty thousand French troops for Ireland." But Lamartine replied to the deputation: "The French nation is proud of the many historical recollections which unite them with the Irish people, and it will be always ready to evince that feeling by acts. But as to other encouragements, it is not suitable (*convenable*) either for us to give or you to receive them. I have said this already in reference to Belgium, to Germany, to Italy. I repeat it with reference to every nation which is engaged in disputes with its internal government. When one is not united by blood with a people, it is not allowable to intervene in its affairs by the hand. In Ireland, as elsewhere, we take no part but as lovers of justice, liberty, and public happiness. Any other line of conduct would be unsuitable for us in time of peace with other nations. We are at peace, and wish to remain so, with the whole kingdom of Great Britain, and not with a part of it only. We believe such a peace to be beneficial and honourable, not only to Great Britain and France, but to the entire human race. We will do no act, we will speak no word, we will address no insinuation, at variance with the principles of the reciprocal inviolability of nations which we have proclaimed, and of which the Continent is already reaping the fruits." The Irish deputation withdrew, violently chagrined at these words. In the evening, Smith O'Brien and his

colleagues were loudly applauded at Blanqui's Club, the most violent in Paris, where the speech of Lamartine met with unqualified condemnation.

39. There can be no doubt that, how adverse soever to the wishes and designs of the extreme revolutionists, Lamartine was perfectly sincere in these words. The lesson of 1814 and 1815 had not been lost upon his enlarged mind; and he was in an especial manner impressed with the belief that it was by preserving close the English alliance that the French Republic could alone hope to withstand the coalition so likely in the end to ensue, of the Continental powers against it. His ideas, too, were essentially pacific. A devout optimist, he desired to found a republic which, by the force of reason and the example of progress and prosperity which it should exhibit to the surrounding nations, should, in peace and silence, work out the regeneration of the world. Towards the realisation of this brilliant Utopian dream, he felt that the co-operation of England, as the oldest and most powerful free state in existence, was indispensable; and he had no doubt that, by its aid, he would succeed in working out his visions of innocent and universal felicity. With Lord Normanby, the former ambassador at the Court of Paris, but who still remained, though not as yet formally accredited to the new government, he was on terms of the most cordial and confidential intimacy. They met daily; and Lamartine never ceased to express his confidence in the stability of the new order of things—his belief in his own power to restrain its excesses—and his entire trust in the wisdom and intelligence of the great mass of the people now intrusted with the direct administration of affairs.

40. Though the Republic, generally speaking, was received in silent submission in the provinces when the telegraph announced its establishment in Paris, yet, in those places where the democratic spirit was peculiarly strong, it was not inaugurated without very serious disorders. At Lyons it was proclaimed at eight at night, on the

25th February, by torchlight; and before midnight, the incendiary torch had been applied to the religious and charitable establishments of the Croix Rouge, Fourvières, and Faubourg du Paix. Before morning they were in ashes, and the trembling inmates, with their weeping children, were turned, with scarcely any covering, adrift in a winter night on the streets. With singular infatuation, the furious mob threw themselves in an especial manner on the hospitals of the poor and the unfortunate, and destroyed these noble establishments. It would seem as if they were jealous of the influence which Religion might acquire by charity—wealth by beneficence. These disorders continued for several months, and at length acquired such a head as seriously to endanger the pacific relations of the Republic. A tumultuous army, estimated at thirty thousand men, comprising nearly the whole National Guard of Lyons and the surrounding districts, assembled on the frontier of Savoy, near Pont Beauvoisin, in order to spread the revolution in the Sardinian States; and it was with great difficulty they were prevented from carrying their designs into effect.

41. Delivered over to the rule of a tumultuous mob, the condition of Lyons for several months was miserable in the extreme; and though perfectly aware of these disorders, the Government did not venture to attempt their suppression. Domiciliary visits, under pretence of searching for arms, really for the sake of pillage, were universal; all persons suspected were at once seized, cast into prison, and their effects despoiled; the jails were thrown open and the criminals let loose, their place being filled by the magistrates who had ventured to condemn them; the detached forts invaded, and a general struck down from his horse and massacred in open day. Barriades were erected, and preparations made for a desperate civil war, on the slightest appearance of resistance. In a word, Lyons resembled for long a city delivered over to the rule of a troop of savages; while on the Upper

Rhine religious fanaticism appeared in a general persecution of the Jews, who were driven to seek refuge in the neighbouring territory of Switzerland, where they were hospitably received. As if to furnish the strangest contrast to these excesses of European life, the Revolution was accepted in silence and fear by the half-civilised colony of Algeria; and the Duke d'Aumale addressed a noble proclamation to the inhabitants and the army—by both of whom he was much beloved—on taking his departure.

42. But while M. de Lamartine, as Foreign Minister, was giving reiterated assurances of the pacific disposition of the French rulers, the Radical portion of the Provisional Government were preparing underhand an expedition into Belgium, in order to overthrow the throne of King Leopold, and establish a Republican régime in its stead. For this purpose, with the knowledge and connivance of M. Ledru-Rollin, as Minister of the Interior, an expedition was prepared in Paris, armed with muskets from the public arsenals, and furnished with funds from the public treasury, the object of which was to revolutionise Belgium, and from thence spread the flame of insurrection throughout Europe. In the inquiries made into the conduct of the Provisional Government by the Commission d'Enquête, the complicity of Ledru-Rollin with this expedition was clearly proved, and in fact, in his defence, he made no attempt to deny it. The first move was made on the night of the 24th and 25th March, when 800 Belgians, with 100 French, arrived at Quiévrain by the railway train: but the Belgian Government was on its guard; they were met by superior forces at the frontier, and prevented from entering the Belgian territory. Alarmed at this commencement of armed propagandism, the Belgian Government strongly reinforced the frontier towns with troops on whom they could rely, and they were thus enabled to repulse a more formidable invasion which took place four days afterwards. The troops employed on this occasion consisted of

1500 men, partly Belgian revolutionists, and partly workmen from the Ateliers Nationaux, armed with muskets sent down from Paris by Ledru-Rollin. They set out at midnight from the neighbourhood of Lille, where they had been encamped for some days, and crossed the frontier near Turcoing, firmly believing that they had only to call out "Vive la République" to be received with open arms by the whole Belgian troops and authorities. But they soon found themselves mistaken. Instead of shouts of fraternisation, they were received with discharges of grape and charges of cuirassiers. In a few minutes they were defeated, and driven back across the frontier, with the loss of twelve killed and forty wounded. This ignominious repulse prevented any repetition of the attempt in that quarter; and M. de Lamartine, who really had no hand in it, gave the Belgian Minister the most solemn assurances that the French Government was entirely a stranger to these "*ridiculous manœuvres*," which the Belgian Government were perfectly entitled to repel by force.*

43. While the Provisional Government was thus underhand seeking to revolutionise Belgium, M. de Lamartine was reiterating to a Polish deputation the most solemn assurances of their resolution not to intermeddle at all with affairs on the Vistula. Some days after the publication of his circular to foreign governments, he was waited upon (March 7) by a deputation from the Polish refugees in Paris, requesting in the mean time arms and advances of

* "From the report of the *Commission d'Enquête*, it appears from records which cannot now be disputed, as they cannot be falsified, that the *Commissaires* were not considered sufficient for the purposes of disorganisation, but that a great number of agents chosen by the most violent clubs, and who had sent in their names on a roving commission throughout France, were paid out of the funds of the *Minister of the Interior*. I see also, that in spite of all the assurances which I received at the time to the contrary from M. de Lamartine, the marauding expedition into Belgium was furnished with arms from the *arsenals of the State*, paid out of the funds of the *Minister of the Interior*, and directed by the *agents of that department*."—NORMANBY, ii. 140.

money to enable them to take a part in the struggle which they describe as approaching in Poland, and entreating that France would openly engage on their side. This, however, could only be done by attacking and forcing a passage through the Germanic Confederacy, which was a very formidable attempt, for they had 300,000 men on foot, which could easily be doubled in the event of a serious invasion. On this account, as well as because the cause of Polish independence had always warmly interested the French people, a great degree of importance was not without reason attached to the reception of this deputation by the Provisional Government. But M. de Lamartine was true to his principles. "The Republic," said he, "is republican without doubt. It announces this in the loudest terms to the whole world. But it is not at war, either openly or underhand, with other nations or existing governments, so long as these nations and these governments do not declare war against it. It will neither commit, nor suffer to be committed, if it can prevent it, any act of aggression on the German nations."

44. But although Lamartine, so far as he was concerned, was thus steady in resisting the war of propaganda to which the more violent portion of the Cabinet and the whole clubs were so strongly inclined, he yet saw the necessity of largely augmenting the military force of the country, in order to be in a situation to repel any attack, and maintain a respectable position among the European powers. It was a farther reason for making a great addition to the army that it would furnish, in a creditable way, bread to many of those who were thrown out of employment, and in some degree lessen the weight of the Ateliers Nationaux. With this view, by a decree of the Provisional Government, the army was ordered to be raised from 370,000 to 580,000 men; and in the course of the year, 530,000 men were actually enrolled. Alarming, however, as this great augmentation of the military establishment was to reflecting men, the necessity of the

case was so obvious that it excited very little attention, and passed without opposition.

45. In the midst of this universal excitement and fever, a very serious run took place on the savings banks, and these establishments soon found that they were unable to pay the deposits in specie. They were not a little embarrassed what to do, for the holders of their deposit-receipts formed no inconsiderable part of the working classes, whom it was of the last importance at all hazards to prevent from breaking out into a second revolution, or helping themselves to their neighbours' property. They determined in consequence on the only measure which, in the circumstances, was practicable—viz., a suspension of cash payments on all deposits above 100 francs (£4). A decree, accordingly, was issued on the 27th March, which, setting out with the preamble, that "the most sacred of all properties is the savings of the poor, and that it is not by words but deeds that the Government must show the good faith with which they meet the trust reposed in them by the working classes," proceeded to declare that out of 355,000,000 francs deposited in the savings banks, only 65,702,000 were forthcoming, and that the remainder, consisting of 289,298,000 francs, should be paid in Treasury bills, *at par*, when they had already sunk *fifty per cent* in value; or in Rentes at *par*, when they were down at 72! This was an evident and shameful evasion of their promises, and spoliation of the poorest and most frugal portion of the people. But such was the general panic, that the holders were glad to put up with the loss of half their property, as a salvage paid for the remainder.

46. From the commencement of the revolution the Provisional Government were extremely solicitous to obtain the recognition of their authority by foreign states, and especially Great Britain. The first power which took the decisive step was America: Mr Rush, the Minister of the United States, did so on the 28th February.

On the same day the Ministers of some of the republics in South America sent in their recognition of the new government. As it was a provisional one only, the British Cabinet could not, in the first moments of uncertainty, venture on an official recognition; but on the 28th February, Lord John Russell said in the House of Commons, in answer to a question by Mr Hume, that the British Government had no intention of intervening in any form of government which the French nation might think fit to adopt, nor of taking any part in its internal affairs; and in a few days after, Lord Palmerston said in the House, in answer to a question by Mr Monckton Milnes, that although diplomatic usages prevented the Cabinet of London from formally accrediting any diplomatic ministers to merely provisional governments, yet as soon as that of France was changed by the National Assembly into a definitive Government, an ambassador would be formally accredited to the French Republic, and that in the mean time Lord Normanby would enter into amicable relations with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. This example was immediately followed by a declaration to a similar effect from Prussia and Belgium; while in Switzerland the intelligence of the revolution at Paris was received with the warmest enthusiasm. Lord Normanby and M. de Lamartine immediately entered into the most friendly and confidential communication; and the latter gave a convincing proof of the generous feelings with which he was inspired, by not only remitting a considerable sum for the use of the exiled royal family, but assuring Lord Normanby that, although to appease the public mind the Government had been obliged to consent to the whole property of the Orléans family being put under sequestration, yet they had no intention of confiscating it, but intended only in the mean time, and for the sake of preservation, to put it under public management.

47. But while the wise and pacific language of M. de Lamartine, joined

to the sage conduct of the European powers, was thus tending to deprive the Revolution of its greatest external dangers, at least in the outset of its career, the apprehensions of the extreme democrats, headed by M. Ledru-Rollin, were preparing perils of a still more serious kind in the interior. Although its victory had been so easy and complete, this party was haunted by perpetual apprehensions of a reaction. Profoundly ignorant of the rural population of France, and judging of them by the ambitious and impassioned mob of Paris, they had, in an evil hour for themselves, but in undoubted conformity with their principles, declared for universal suffrage, and solemnly fixed the election of the National Assembly on that basis. But hardly was the ink dry of the decree which took this decisive step, than they became aware that they had committed what would in all probability prove a fatal mistake: that the great majority of the rural inhabitants, so far from favouring the despotism of the Parisian mob, were decidedly opposed to it; and that, in the present temper of men's minds, an assembly elected by the universal suffrage of all France, so far from establishing the Republic and their own power, would destroy both. Devoured by this apprehension, Ledru-Rollin was indefatigable in his endeavours to rouse the rural population, and by every means at his command, whether intimidation, influence, or corruption, to mould them to the election of representatives of the most extreme democratic character. For this purpose, four days after the publication of his first circular to the commissioners, already given, he sent round a second address to them, conceived in still more violent terms, and pointing out the means by which the designs of the Provisional Government might be realised. Its terms are extremely curious, and highly characteristic of the extreme of democratic government.

48. "Your powers," said he, "are unlimited. Agents of a revolutionary government, you are revolutionary

also. The victory of the people has imposed on you the mandate to proclaim, to consolidate their work. To accomplish that task, you are invested with their sovereign powers; you are responsible to no authority but that of your own conscience; you are bound to do what the public safety requires. Thanks to our feelings, your mission does not require anything terrible. Hitherto you have encountered no serious resistance, and you have been enabled to remain calm in the consciousness of your strength. But you must not permit yourselves to be deluded as to the state of the country. *The republican feelings require to be warmly excited*, and for that purpose political functions should be intrusted only to zealous and sympathetic men. Everywhere the prefects and sub-prefects should be changed. In some lesser localities the people petition to have them continued. It is for you to make them understand that we cannot preserve those who have served a power whose every act was one of corruption. You are invested with the authority of the Executive; the armed force is therefore under your orders. You are authorised to require its service, direct its movements, and in grave cases even suspend its commanders. You are entitled to demand from all magistrates an immediate concurrence: if any one hesitates, let me know, and he shall instantly be dismissed. As to the irremovable magistracy, watch carefully over them: if any one evinces hostile dispositions, make use of the right of dismissal which your sovereign power confers. But, above all, the elections are your great work; it is they which will prove the salvation of the country. It is on the composition of the Assembly that our destinies depend. Unless it is animated with the revolutionary spirit, we are advancing straight to a civil war and anarchy. Beware of those double-faced men who, after having served the king, profess themselves willing to serve the people. These men deceive you; never lend them your support. To

obtain a seat in the National Assembly, the candidates must be clear of all the traditions of the past. Your rallying-cry should be everywhere, 'New men as much as possible, sprung from the ranks of the people.' It is for the working men to continue the revolution; without their aid it will be lost in Utopian theories, or stifled under the heels of a retrograde faction. Enlighten the electors: repeat to them without ceasing that the reign of men and of the monarchy is at an end. You may then see how great are the duties with which you are intrusted. The education of the country has not yet commenced; it is for you to guide it. Let the day of the election be the final triumph of the revolution."

49. Invested with these supreme powers, the commissioners were not slow in exercising their authority. Not only nearly the whole of the subordinate magistracy, but many of the supreme judges, were dismissed by them. At Paris the Presidents of the Court of Cassation, the *Cour des Comptes*, and the Court of Appeal, who were not deemed sufficiently pliant, were deprived of their situations; and a great many of the highest legal functionaries in the provinces immediately shared the same fate. Nay, so far did the determination of the revolutionists go to render the courts of justice mere instruments of their will, that by a solemn decree *all judges*, not excepting those of the highest judicatures, were declared to hold their situations during pleasure only. It could hardly be conceived to what an extent the efforts of Government were carried during the critical period which intervened before the elections. Not content with sending down one commissioner to each district, a second was soon after despatched, to stimulate the efforts of the first; and in many cases a third, to see what they both were doing. In some instances, as at Bourges, as was afterwards judicially proved, a fourth was added, who set out with the principle: "The poor are in want of bread; we must take the plate of

the rich to furnish them with it." Not content with the authorised commissioners of Government, a perfect army of agents was despatched from the clubs over all France to join in the same work, all paid by funds secretly provided by the Minister of the Interior.

50. When such elements of discord existed, not only in the State, but in the Provisional Government itself, it was only a question of time when an open rupture was to take place between them. It was brought on, however, somewhat sooner than had been expected, by an ordonnance of Ledru-Rollin, published on 14th March, ordering the dissolution of the flank companies, or *compagnies d'élite* as they were called, of the National Guard, and the dispersion of their members, without distinction or equipment, among the ordinary companies of the legion. The object of this was to destroy the exclusive aspect and moral influence of these companies, which, being composed of the richer class of citizens, formed the nucleus of a body which naturally inclined to conservative principles, and might impede the designs of the extreme revolutionary party. To "democratise," as it was called, the whole body, the decree ordered these companies to be dispersed among the others, and the whole to vote together for the election of the officers, which was to take place in a few days. As the National Guard of Paris, which had been reorganised on the principle of admitting every one without distinction who could shoulder a musket, constituted a body of nearly 200,000 men, any measure affecting their composition or government was a most important matter; and this decree, which threatened to swamp the whole respectability and intelligence of the body by its indigence and ignorant violence, excited the greatest discontent among the companies threatened with dissolution. A meeting, accordingly, was held of their officers, when it was resolved to have a grand military demonstration, to ward off, if possible, the threatened blow. The

project originated with the staff of the Second Legion, which was the most conservative of the whole body, and it was readily embraced by that entire legion and a considerable part of the others. It was resolved to assemble on the following day in strength, and proceed in uniform, but without arms, to the Hôtel de Ville, to demand repeal of the obnoxious decree. At one in the afternoon of the 16th accordingly, 25,000 men of the *compagnies d'élite* marched to the Place de Grève, and soon began to fill all the approaches to the Hôtel de Ville.

51. How formidable soever this demonstration was, both in appearance and reality, it failed in its object from want of unity in design and vigour in execution in those intrusted with its direction. Without arms or any settled plan of procedure, the flank companies constituted only a well-dressed mob, exposed by their uniform and equipments to the jealousy and dislike of the immense majority of their fellow-citizens. Several of them were obstructed and forced to turn back, before reaching the place of rendezvous, by armed mobs or other bodies of the National Guard, who had obtained intelligence of their designs. Those who did reach the Hôtel de Ville found the approach to it occupied by an immense body, who were calling out, "Vive Ledru-Rollin!" and singing the "Marseillaise." It was evident the design had got wind: the demonstration had failed of its moral effect, and could be rendered successful only by force, for which, without arms, they were not prepared. Lamartine was loudly cheered as he passed through the ranks on his way to the Hôtel de Ville: but Ledru-Rollin was as vehemently applauded by the still more numerous body which encircled the building, and prevented the deputation of the flank companies from obtaining an entrance. After waiting two hours in impotent silence, the *compagnies d'élite*, seeing the multitude which opposed their progress hourly increasing, at length obeyed the voice of M. de Lamartine,

who entreated them, and General Courtais their commander, who ordered them, to retire. They withdrew, accordingly, at four o'clock, amidst the derision and hisses of the multitude, covered with the obloquy with which an unsuccessful demonstration never fails to invest those by whom it has been attempted. General Courtais next day issued an order of the day, in which he stigmatised the *compagnies d'élite*, who had taken part in the demonstration, as "misled men, who were the instruments of impotent wrath, so different from the people who suffer, *but avertit*."

52. The real meaning of these words was made manifest on the following day. For some time past a great demonstration had been in preparation, emanating from the Socialists of the Luxembourg, and intended to force the Government into the immediate appointment of a Minister for "the Organisation of Labour," and those measures for equalising and raising wages, and providing state employment for all, which M. Louis Blanc and the commission which sat there had for a fortnight been promising. The demonstration had been fixed for the 17th; but it was rendered much more formidable and imposing by the failure of the counter-display on the preceding day, which united in it many ambitious and unscrupulous characters who were not originally intended to have formed part. Louis Blanc, Albert, and their colleagues at the Luxembourg, had projected the movement, and Ledru-Rollin had assented to it—the former, from a desire to have Socialism fully established before the National Assembly met; the latter, because he feared that without some great additional stimulus its spirit would not be so democratic as he wished. But, unknown to these leaders, other ambitious spirits combined to take advantage of the projected movement. The design had got wind; the clubs were in motion; and Blanqui, Cabet, and Raspail, decided and ardent democrats, who acted for themselves, and took directions from none, had roused the whole

republican strength of the capital, in order to effect a movement which might overawe the Provisional Government, and possibly establish themselves in their room. At ten in the morning a few men entered the Boulevards, shouting the well-known Jacobin cry, "*À ira!*" which speedily assembled a crowd, who repeated it; and a placard was quickly posted through the city, which bore—"The people watch with jealousy manifestations against those of the Government who have given so many pledges to the Revolution. We await with confidence the realisation of the promises of Government. The people have shed their blood in defence of the Republic; they are ready to do so again."

53. At noon the mob, which by this time had swelled to an enormous multitude, advanced in silence and military array towards the Hôtel de Ville, which was only protected by three battalions of the Civic Guard. Their appearance is thus described by an eyewitness: "Every minute the Provisional Government went to the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville, from whence the column might be seen approaching. At length it made its appearance. The front of the body was composed of five or six hundred of the *élite* of the clubs of Paris, marching in military order under the guidance of their most renowned orators. They advanced forty abreast, with their hands held together after the fashion of a religious procession, and round each group a long tricolor or red scarf was bound like a vast girdle. In front of each company were three men and a woman, who bore red flags, the well-known emblems of a bloody revolution. Their appearance excited terror, and in some places indignation, in the mob who surrounded them. Behind this organised procession of the clubs came thirty or forty thousand workmen, grave in aspect, decently clothed, saddened in expression, who seemed oppressed by the calamities of their situation. The immense crowd which followed inundated the whole Place de Grève, and extended from the Hôtel de Ville along the quays to the Champs Elysées. By

one o'clock it was evident that above a hundred and twenty thousand men were collected." * "When I saw the procession advancing from the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville," says Louis Blanc, "my eyes filled with tears of joy." Their approach brought to light the violent dissensions in the Provisional Government. In the fulness of his heart at what seemed his approaching triumph, Ledru-Rollin said to his colleagues—"Do you know that your popularity is as nothing to mine? I have but to open that window and call upon the people, and you would every one of you be turned into the street. Do you wish me to try?" rising and moving towards the window. Upon this, Garnier Pages walked up to him, drew a pistol from his pocket, placed it at Ledru-Rollin's breast, and said—"If you make one step towards that window, it shall be your last." Ledru-Rollin paused a moment, and sat down.

54. When this formidable demonstration reached the railing in front of the Hôtel de Ville, they found the gates closed; and Colonel Rey, the officer in command, refused them admittance. At the request of Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc, however, it was agreed to let in a limited number within the barrier to state what their wishes were. When the deputation entered, the members of the Government rose up, and remained standing while the discussion, which continued several hours, lasted. The sight of their faces, however, considerably abated the satisfaction of the extreme portion of the Government. In addition to those whom they expected, and who were in their interest, Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc beheld a number of others who were unknown to them, but who, being in the train of Blanqui, Sobrier, Raspail, Lacambre, and others, known to be extreme Revolutionists, were sufficient to inspire serious apprehensions. The secret was out: this violent party had adopted the movement as a means of overawing even the most democratic of the Provisional Government, and it was directed not less against Ledru-

Rollin and Louis Blanc than Lamartine and Garnier Pages. A sense of this common danger produced a unanimity in the Government which could not otherwise have been witnessed. They were all agreed in combating or evading the demands of the deputation. Blanqui explained them, and they were,—the postponement of the elections, the immediate and perpetual removal of all the troops from Paris, the implicit obedience of the Government to the voice of the people as expressed by the clubs, the postponing of the meeting of the Assembly to the 31st May—in fine, the entire surrender of the Government to the people of Paris, without any regard to the wishes of the remainder of France. The orator concluded with demanding, in a menacing tone, the immediate concession of these requisitions without a moment's delay.

55. Loud applause from the followers of the deputation, accompanied with the most menacing gestures, followed these words; and eight hundred men, who crowded the hall and surrounded the speaker, seemed ready to exterminate the Provisional Government, who, unarmed and defenceless, constituted yet the sole remaining political strength of France. But the members of it, seeing that their very existence was at stake, were united and firm. Ledru-Rollin spoke with ready and nervous elocution; Lamartine was not wanting to his great reputation for courage and eloquence; and Louis Blanc openly combated a movement which he himself had originated, but which had now outstripped his intentions. At length, wearied with an altercation of four hours, and disconcerted by the union of the Provisional Government, which they had not expected, the deputation, with their followers, withdrew at five o'clock. As they went out, a man, pale with indignation, went up to Louis Blanc, and said, "Then you, too, are traitors—you!" The whole procession marched past the Hôtel de Ville in silence and military order, and directed its steps across the centre of the city to the Column of the Bastille. The streets

* LAM. ii. 207, 208.

were crowded, but silent; the citizens, in terror, awaited the event. Before nightfall, a hundred and fifty thousand men had passed in procession.

56. Although, by their unlooked-for union and resolution, the Provisional Government had surmounted this great danger, its effects were very visible, though very different, in Paris and the departments. In the capital, nearly the whole elections, both of the officers of the National Guard and for the Assembly, were in favour of the extreme democratic party, and the case was the same in the principal towns of the departments. But in the rural districts it was very different. There the reports of the proceedings on the 17th March, and the open attempt made by the mob of Paris to dictate their own terms to the Government, and through it to all France, excited the most unbounded indignation. The determination, also, of the Paris mob to make Government entirely subservient to their own purposes, had appeared in the decree regarding the hours of labour, which fixed them at ten hours a-day in Paris, and *eleven in the departments*. The result was that the elections in the departments of the officers of the National Guard generally went against the extreme candidates; and as this augured ill for the elections for the Assembly, it was resolved to have, not a demonstration, but a regular assault on the Government, before the elections, which stood for the 22d April, should come on. In anticipation of that event, the clubs redoubled their activity. The most powerful of them, called the "Club of Clubs," took possession of one of the police-offices in the Rue de Rivoli, where they were furnished with five hundred muskets and thirty thousand cartridges by the Minister of the Interior; while M. de Lamartine, hoping to avert the tempest by concession, not only lavished his flatteries and caresses on Barbès, Cabet, Caussidière, and Sobrier, but, by his own admission, offered a diplomatic situation to Blanqui himself.

57. The object of the conspirators was to obtain a farther adjournment of

the elections, in order to gain time for the more thorough diffusion of extreme ideas among the people in the country, and to remodel the Government so as to retain none in power but the most ardent republicans. The dictatorship was to be bestowed on Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Albert, and Caussidière. By this means a Socialist majority would be secured in the executive, and the entire realisation of the dreams of the Luxembourg rendered certain. For some days before that appointed for the insurrection the most alarming rumours were in circulation, and the Minister of Police formally warned the Minister of the Interior of the impending danger. Ledru-Rollin, however, it may readily be believed, was in no hurry to take measures against a state of things which he was underhand promoting, and from which he hoped to profit; the clubs continued their defiant attitude, and the preparations for the rising went on without intermission, and with scarcely any concealment. A design was formed for blowing up the Hôtel de Ville, which was only prevented from being carried into execution by the barrels of powder being discovered a few hours before the explosion was to have taken place. Meanwhile Lamartine, who well knew he would be the first victim of the revolt if it proved successful, burnt his secret papers on the night of the 15th, and prepared for the worst.

58. But while Ledru-Rollin was awaiting the reward of his underhand intrigues with the clubs against his colleagues, another still more formidable insurrection was preparing at the "Club of Clubs," the object of which was to destroy his own ascendancy and establish that of Blanqui instead. These new conspirators did not propose to exclude the Minister of the Interior from the dictatorship, but to give him so many colleagues as should throw him into a minority, and render him powerless. But when the proposed members were brought together, Ledru-Rollin refused to act with Blanqui, who on his side was equally determined not to belong to a Govern-

ment which contained Ledru-Rollin. The fact was, that the latter had found in the archives of the Minister of the Interior a document which proved that Blanqui had been on secret terms with the Government of Louis Philippe, and furnished it with all the details of the Liberal conspiracies in 1846. The knowledge of this naturally made them mutually suspicious of each other. The other conspirators did their utmost to reconcile the rival chiefs, but in vain; and at midnight on the 15th they left Ledru-Rollin with these words: "Well, since you don't choose to go with us, you shall be thrown out of the window to-morrow with the others. Reflect on this: we are in a situation to make good our words."

59. Threatened in this manner with instant destruction by his former allies, Ledru-Rollin, after passing the night in the most cruel uncertainty, at length resolved to throw himself on M. de Lamartine, and reveal everything. He went to him accordingly at day-break, and informed him of the designs of the conspirators and the imminence of the danger. "In a few hours," said he, "we shall be attacked by one hundred thousand men. I have come to concert measures with you, as I know your resolution, and that extremities do not disturb it." "In that case," said Lamartine, "there is not a minute to lose. Set out instantly and summon the National Guard; your situation as Minister of the Interior gives you a right to do so. I will fly to gain the three battalions of the Garde Mobile, who may be in a state fit for action. I will shut myself up in the Hôtel de Ville, and there await the first brunt of the assault. One of two things must happen—either the National Guard will refuse to turn out, and in that case the Hôtel de Ville will be carried, and I shall die at my post; or the *rappel* and the fire of musketry will bring the National Guard to the support of the Government attacked in my person at the Hôtel de Ville, and then the insurrection, placed between two fires, will be stifled in blood, and the Government

delivered. I am prepared for either result." Ledru-Rollin acquiesced in this plan, and set out professedly to give orders to beat the *rappel* to collect the National Guard, while Lamartine flew to the headquarters of the Garde Mobile to bring them forth to the combat. They at once agreed to turn out under their brave general, Duvivier, to whom they were extremely attached. After this Lamartine went to the headquarters of the National Guard, desiring General Courtais to beat the *rappel*; but he refused, would only consent to allow fifty men to be summoned from each battalion, and positively declined to furnish them with cartridges. Upon this Lamartine, in despair, returned to the Hôtel de Ville.

60. But, fortunately for France, chance had at that moment brought a man to the Hôtel de Ville equal to this crisis, and whose decision and courage proved the salvation of the Government. General Changarnier, who had been appointed by Lamartine Minister at Berlin, had called that morning at the hotel of the latter in order to receive his last instructions, and he was then informed by Madame Lamartine of the extreme danger of her husband, and the critical position of affairs at the Hôtel de Ville. Thither accordingly he immediately hastened, and found Lamartine and Marrast there. The first question Changarnier asked was whether the National Guard had been summoned, and upon Lamartine replying in the negative, he persuaded Marrast that it was his duty as Mayor of Paris to call them out when the public tranquillity was threatened. Marrast acquiesced, and twelve horsemen were instantly despatched to the twelve sub-mayoralities of Paris, with orders to beat the *rappel*. But during these arrangements and hesitations much precious time had been lost; the insurgents, in great strength, were not far distant, and the Garde Mobile had not yet arrived. At length they made their appearance, though only three battalions of four hundred men each; and Changarnier, who at once

took the entire direction of the defence, wisely withdrew them within the building, the doors and windows of which were strongly barricaded. Still the *rappel* was not heard in the streets; it was evident some hours must elapse before even the first battalions of the National Guard could arrive; and all Lamartine's firmness and Changarnier's military skill were required to avert the catastrophe in the interval before they came up, for the heads of the enormous column of the insurgents were already beginning to appear.

61. For two hours longer the inmates of the Hôtel de Ville remained shut up in the building; and though the *rappel* had been heard, no part of the National Guard had yet arrived. All seemed lost, for the mob had already entered the Place de Grève, and occupied all the opposite end of the square. A battalion of volunteers arrived at this critical moment, and were harangued by Lamartine, who throughout evinced the greatest courage. Meanwhile a column of thirty thousand insurgents met at the Louvre two regiments of the National Guard, commanded by General Courtais; he allowed part to pass, and then, pushing forward his men in double-quick time, interposed them between that part and the remainder. This retarded the advance of the head of the column, and its leaders were perplexed by not seeing at the windows of the Hôtel de Ville the expected signals, and by the seizure of a *fourgon* containing fifteen hundred loaded muskets, which Changarnier had detected near the building, disguised under the appearance of a holiday waggon. Soon after, the heads of the columns of the National Guard were seen on the left bank of the Seine, and, passing over the bridges in double-quick time, they debouched into the Place de Grève, and, drawing up in close column in front of the Hôtel de Ville, presented an impenetrable barrier to the insurgents. The victory was now gained, and the revolutionists were obliged to submit to the humiliation of advancing with their petition with-

out arms, in single file, through the armed battalions. Before nightfall it was rendered complete by the arrival of the remainder of the National Guard in such numbers that before dark one hundred and thirty thousand men were assembled round the building. Then, *and not till then*, L. Blanc, Ledru-Rollin, and the other members of the Government, who had either been intimidated or in secret favoured the insurrection, came to the Hôtel de Ville. They had all passed the day, *far from danger*, in the hotel of the Minister of Finance. The meeting between them and Lamartine was so stormy that it was evidently only a question of time when the Provisional Government should fall to pieces from its own divisions.

62. When discussions so violent were shaking not only the capital but the Provisional Government itself, it was not to be supposed that the provinces should escape without convulsions. They broke out with peculiar severity in the manufacturing towns, where the greatest efforts had been made to spread Socialist principles, and the prevailing distress insured them the most ready reception. Anxious to avert them, the prefect of Ronen, M. Deschamps, on 10th March, yielded to the solicitations which, on such occasions, are so often addressed to those in authority, and imprudently issued a tariff, fixing the operatives' wages at certain rates, according to their supposed capacities and the necessities of their situations. The consequence might have been foreseen: the master manufacturers, unable from the general depression to pay the sums fixed, dismissed their workmen and closed their doors. Upon this the public agitation rapidly increased; tumultuous crowds assembled in the streets, shouting "Vive Deschamps! à bas les capitalistes!" A strong body of troops, which soon after arrived, restored order at the time, but the workmen remained idle, suffering, and in sullen discontent. This ill-humour was at first vented on a body of four thousand English workmen, who, in defiance of Lord Normanby's remonstrance, were forcibly ejected,

and sent back to England without any of the sums they had deposited in the savings bank. At length the general indignation rose to such a pitch that barricades were run up in all the densely-peopled parts of the town, which were stormed by the troops of the line, not without serious slaughter on both sides. Similar disorders took place about the same time, and were suppressed by the like sanguinary measures, in Elberuf, Nantes, Nîmes, and several other places; while at Limoges the tumult was so violent that the polling-office was stormed when the elections were going on—five hundred national guards, sent to suppress the tumult, were surrounded and disarmed—and a provisional government appointed, which for some time ruled the town and surrounding district.

63. Anxious to improve the victory which they had gained in the capital, the members of the Provisional Government agreed on a grand military demonstration in Paris, and for this purpose assembled together not only the whole national guards of the city and *banlieu*, but large bodies of regular troops from the towns and departments in the neighbourhood. The day was fixed for the 21st April; it proved uncommonly fine, and the military force assembled was of unparalleled magnitude, and, if it could all have been relied on, might well have inspired the Provisional Government with the consciousness of invincible strength. The Provisional Government and Ministers took their stations at daybreak at the arch of the Etoile to see the troops defile before them, and from thence the eye wandered over a sea of helmets, bayonets, guns, and standards, which filled the whole avenue of the Champs Elysées, the gardens of the Tuileries, with the quays and principal streets beyond them. Everything wore a joyous aspect; the bayonets of the soldiers were decorated with ribbons, the touch-holes of the cannon ornamented with flowers; universal satisfaction and enthusiasm seemed to prevail; and before eleven at night, when the procession ceased, three hundred and fifty thousand armed

men had passed, and fifty thousand more were obliged to be put off to the following day. Yet amid all "this pomp and circumstance of glorious war," there were many symptoms which were of a more dubious character, and awakened mournful presentiments in the minds of the beholders. Already the division between the rural National Guard and those of the metropolis was painfully conspicuous: cries of "*Vive la République!*" were heard from the latter, but those of "*Vive Lamartine! à bas les Communistes!*" broke from the former. Amidst all the seeming unanimity the seeds of future intestine war were very apparent, and beyond the magnificent display, intended to foreshadow the eternal duration of the Republic, the prophetic eye could already discern the prognostics of its fall.

64. The elections came on amidst this tumult of contending hopes, fears, anxieties, and interests; and although they were of course materially affected by the influence of particular plans or men, yet upon the whole one broad line of demarcation separated them. Generally speaking, the cities returned democratic and the provinces conservative members. All returned were of course, or rather professed to be, republican; and the disposition among the latter almost universally was to support the Provisional Government as the last remaining barrier between the country and the usurpation of the Parisian Communists. But the majority were far from being inclined to adopt the republican as the ultimate form of government in France. They regarded the Revolution in Paris as a mere surprise, in promoting or resisting which the country had taken no share. They supported the Provisional Government because it was in possession of Paris, and in the mean time there was nothing better to support; but they sighed for the period when a government might be established more in unison with the wishes, and suited to the circumstances, of the entire country. Lamartine was the universal hero both with the conservative party in the towns and nearly the whole rural

electors; he was the champion of order against the disorganising doctrines of the Socialists, and their attempted despotism over France; and his popularity was proved by his being spontaneously returned by ten electoral districts besides that which he selected for his seat in Paris. The following is the account which he has himself recorded of his popularity at this period: "The National Assembly was almost throughout inspired by the desire of public safety. The name of Lamartine issued ten times from the electoral urn, without his even knowing that he had been put up as a candidate. Had he said a word, expressed a desire, given a sign,* he would have been elected in eighty departments. His popularity was without bounds at Paris, in France, in Germany, Italy, America. In Germany his name was synonymous with peace; in France it was a guarantee against terror; in Italy it was the symbol of hope; in America it was identified with the republic. He had

in truth at that moment *the sovereignty over European thought*. He could not move a step in the streets without receiving acclamations. They followed him to his dwelling, they interrupted his slumbers. Twice at the opera, when he was recognised, the audience suspended the performance and stood up. France personified in him its joy to have again obtained a government." Such is Lamartine's own account of his popularity at this period; probably it will be somewhat impaired in future times by his being himself the party who proclaimed it.*

* The votes given in the department of the Seine to the different candidates were as follows, which probably pretty fairly represent their respective popularities—viz. Lamartine, 259,800; Dupont de l'Eure, 245,083; François Arago, 248,640; Garnier Pagès, 240,890; Armand Marrast, 239,166; Marie, 225,776; Crémieux, 210,699; Beranger, 204,271; Carnot, 195,608; Bethmont, 189,252; Duvalier, 182,175; Cavaignac, 144,187; Buchez, 135,678; Caussidière, 133,775; Albert, 133,041; Ledru-Rollin, 131,587; Flocon, 121,864; Louis Blanc, 121,140.

CHAPTER LXVII.

FRANCE, FROM THE MEETING OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE GREAT REVOLT IN JUNE 1848.

1. THE National Assembly met on the 4th May, the anniversary of the meeting of the States-General in 1789. The Provisional Government had decreed that the deputies should all appear in a particular costume, of which a *gilet à la Robespierre* was the most conspicuous part. But the good sense of the deputies disregarded the injunction, and one only, Caussidière, appeared in the prescribed dress. Audry de Puyraveau was the first chairman, and Dupont de l'Eure opened the proceedings on the part of the Provisional Government. "You are about," said he, "to form a new government on the sacred base of democracy, and to give to France *the only*

constitution which suits it, the republican constitution. Faithful to our origin and our convictions, we have not forgotten to proclaim the republic in February. To-day we inaugurate the National Assembly by the only cry which should rally it, 'Vive la République.'" Loud cries of "Vive la République" were heard upon this; but they proceeded chiefly from the galleries, and were at length re-echoed from the Left only. The Centre and Right remained nearly silent, and they formed the decided majority of the Assembly. It was already evident that the greater part of the members, though neither royalist nor reactionary, were as moderate as a legislature

elected under such circumstances could possibly be. The meeting was held in a wooden building, erected in the court-yard of the former palace of the Chamber of Deputies, as the old edifice was wholly unable to contain the enlarged number of deputies, which was 900. About 620 were present, and the reception of the Provisional Government was extremely cold. The circumstance of the Assembly holding its meetings in a temporary building was regarded by many as ominous of the duration of the constitution they were called together to frame. There was none of the enthusiasm of 1789 on this occasion. Then all was hope and confidence in the coming regeneration of society by the establishment of government on a popular basis. Now experience had chilled these hopes, and the general feeling was a desire to extricate the country as quickly as possible from the dangers with which it was surrounded.

2. On the day following, the election of a president took place, when M. Buzoz, joint-mayor of Paris, was chosen by 329 votes out of 727 which were presented. On the 6th the Provisional Government solemnly resigned their authority into the hands of the Assembly, and each of them rendered an account of his stewardship in the department committed to his direction. That of M. de Lamartine was remarkable, as containing his views on the external policy of the Republic. "Our system," said he, "is that of democratic truth, which will gradually enlarge itself into faith in universal social brotherhood. Our vital air is the breath of liberty in every free state in the universe. Three months have not yet elapsed since it was established amongst us; and if democracy must have its thirty years' warlike protestantism at this moment, instead of marching at the head of thirty-six millions of men, France, counting among its allies the free states of Switzerland, Italy, and the emancipated people of Germany, is already at the head of eighty-eight millions of confederates and allies! What victory could equal to the Republic such a

confederacy, conquered without shedding one drop of blood, and cemented by the conviction of our disinterestedness? France, on the fall of royalty, rose up from its abasement, as a vessel loaded with a foreign weight rights itself when it is removed. Such, citizens, is the exact position of our exterior affairs. The prosperity and glory of that situation is entirely owing to the Republic. We accept the whole responsibility connected with it; and we congratulate ourselves upon having appeared before the representatives of the nation, with its grandeur secured, with its hands full of alliances, and unstained by human blood."

3. The first serious care which awaited the Assembly was the appointment of an Executive Commission to supply the place of the Provisional Government which had resigned, until a constitution could be framed and agreed to, and a regular administration appointed. It was agreed that the nomination of the ministers should be intrusted to a commission of five members of the Assembly. Of course the appointment of them became an object of the very highest importance, rousing into activity all the ambitions and passions of the members. Such was Lamartine's vanity and confidence in his popularity, that he never doubted that the first place in this important commission would be conferred upon himself. When informed by M. Marrast, on occasion of the previous election, of his position at the head of the poll, he said in the pride of his heart, "Then I am a head taller than either Alexander or Caesar." But his fall was at hand. In order to secure his nomination, he entered into a coalition with Ledru-Rollin and Marie, with whom he had so recently been literally on terms of daggers-drawing, and whose principles, he well knew, were utterly inconsistent with anything like regular government. On the 9th May he made a strange ambiguous speech, in which he declared that "between him and his former colleagues the differences were more apparent than real," and con-

cluded with openly supporting M. Ledru-Rollin. The result at once showed how completely he had mistaken the temper of the Assembly. When the votes were counted, instead of being, as he expected, at the head of the list, he was fourth, and next to Ledru-Rollin !* Lord Normanby had warned him, in the most earnest terms, of the danger which he ran by entering into the coalition ; but he was deaf to his representations, saying, he knew he would "be damaged at the moment, but that it would be a three weeks' wonder, and then his reputation would become higher than ever." The event has proved that he was mistaken ; he has never recovered the injury inflicted on his character by this unprincipled coalition. He has entered, in his *History of the Revolution*, into a laboured vindication of his conduct, but in vain ; and, like Sir Robert Peel, he remains an enduring monument of the eternal truth, that dereliction of principle on a vital question, however speciously supported, and with whatever genius accompanied, never fails to be fatal to the reputation of public men.

4. But there were other ambitions besides that of Lamartine which were disappointed by the election of the five members of the Executive Commission. Neither Louis Blanc nor Albert, neither Blanqui, nor Barbès, nor Raspail were to be found in it, although the two first were members of the Assembly, and eligible to a place. They had resigned their situations as President and Vice-President of the Commission of the Luxembourg ; and on the day following, Louis Blanc brought forward a distinct motion to have the Commission reappointed, under the direction of a "Minister of Progress and Labour," which situation he made no attempt to disguise was suited for himself. In his speech he characterised himself as the martyr of his love for the people, and drew a picture, in the most lugubrious terms,

of the condition of industry in France, literally in the last agonies of dissolution. He was far from being supported, however, in his demand for a Minister of "Labour and Progress ;" and the finishing-stroke was given to his *éloge* of the former Commission by the ironical observation of M. Peupin, formerly delegate of the watchmakers : "I am far from blaming the Commission of the Luxembourg, and they would err greatly who say that it has been in fault. *Can those be culpable who have done nothing ?*" Instead of appointing Louis Blanc Minister of Progress, the Assembly, on the motion of M. Arago, named a commission, of which he was only a member, to inquire into the condition and sufferings of the working-classes. On the day following, the various offices of Government were filled up by persons for the most part not very eminent, and apparently selected chiefly for their negative quality of not belonging to either of the extreme parties.*

5. The truth was now apparent even to the most obtuse among the republicans, that they were in a decided minority in the Assembly. *Democracy in France had been extinguished by Universal Suffrage*—a strange result, wholly unexpected by the great majority of the revolutionists, but by no means surprising when the fact is recollected that above ten millions of landed proprietors existed in that country, most of whom were inspired with the most mortal apprehensions of the Parisian Communists. "*The republican sentiment*," says Lamartine, "*is weak in France*. Such as it is, it is ill represented in Paris and the departments by men who inspire horror and aversion to the Republic among the rural population. *The Republic is a surprise*, which we have, almost by a miracle, turned to good account, by the wisdom of the

* The numbers were—Arago, 725 ; Garnier Pagès, 715 ; Marie, 702 ; Lamartine, 643 ; Ledru-Rollin, 458.—*Moniteur*, 10th May 1848.

* The Ministry stood as follows :—Justice, M. Crémieux ; Foreign Affairs, M. Bastide ; War, M. Charras ; Navy, Admiral Lacy ; Interior, M. Recut ; Finances, M. Duclerc ; Public Works, M. Trélat ; Public Worship, M. Bethmont ; Commerce, M. Flocon ; Public Instruction, M. Carnot.—*Moniteur*, May 11, 1848.

people of Paris, and by the character of moderation, clemency, and concord which we have impressed upon it. But impressions are brief and short-lived among all people, and most of all in France. Hardly will the majority of the population which has thrown itself, under the enthusiasm of fear, into the arms of the Revolution, have recovered its natural tone of mind, than it will turn against those who have saved it, and accuse the Republic. Then, if there are no republicans of old date in the Republic, or if they are few in number, and divided in presence of their common enemies, it is all over with the Republic. And if the Republic, the sole existing asylum of society, falls before the returning monarchical ideas or used-up monarchical institutions of the country, what will become of France?"

6. Sensible that the National Assembly elected by the universal suffrage of all the country by no means answered their purposes, the Socialists and extreme revolutionists soon conspired to overturn it. They had expected to become a tyrant majority; they had no intention of sinking into a tyrannised-over minority. The unrestrained domination of the clubs of Paris, the general establishment of the socialism which had been preached at the Luxembourg, and universal war with Europe, were their ulterior objects. Blanqui, Raspail, and Cabet, the three principal leaders of the clubs, were highly discontented, for they had not succeeded even in getting seats in the Assembly; Louis Blanc and Albert were equally chagrined, for they were not members of the Executive Commission. They had strong hopes of being supported by Ledru-Rollin, for the *Bulletin of the Republic*, No. 16, published under his auspices, had announced the "determination of the people of the barricades to adjourn the decisions of a false national representation, if the returns did not secure the triumph of socialism." The better to unite these different parties together, it was resolved to take a ground on which

they could all coalesce, and with this view they selected the presentation of a petition in favour of Poland, and for the immediate declaration of war against Germany. They openly boasted that the petition should be presented by a hundred thousand men. The Assembly feeling, in Lamartine's words, that a petition so presented was "not a petition but a menace," passed a decree forbidding the presentation of petitions at their bar. Upon this the whole clubs were in motion, and it was resolved to have a grand demonstration on the 15th of May. There was no concealment of the designs of the conspirators; the Assembly were perfectly aware they were to be the objects of attack. But the Executive Commission was weak from distraction of opinion, the National Guard divided, the new ministers wholly ignorant of the mode of governing men, and no adequate preparations had been made to meet the danger. It came accordingly, and all but overturned the Government, and with it the Republic.

7. M. Walewski, the deputy to whom the advocating the cause of Poland had been committed, was speaking in favour of an armed intervention, by declaring of war against the German Confederation, when an alarm was heard that the Assembly was threatened, and in danger of being forced. It was not that there were no troops to protect them: there were plenty, but no one would take upon himself the responsibility of giving the order to resist. General Courtais was at the head of several regiments of the National Guard in front of the Madeleine, but he was irresolute, and was persuaded to let the procession, which consisted of fully fifteen thousand persons, file through his armed bands. Two battalions of the Garde Mobile were stationed on the Pont de la Concorde over which the procession required to cross to reach the Assembly, but they had no orders, and their officers, hearing what General Courtais had done, allowed the multitude to pass. An immense crowd now surrounded the rails forming the de-

fence of the Palais du Corps Legislatif, loudly demanding admission, which a battalion of national guards intrusted with that post refused. In vain Ledru-Rollin, who came out to harangue them, endeavoured to obtain a hearing: he was received with a few cheers, drowned in a storm of hisses. Lamartine was next sent for, but even his voice failed of effect: he was hooted down with cries of "*Assez joué de la Lyre; mort à Lamartine!*"* In a few seconds the rails were passed, the gates of the barrier forced, and a furious crowd inundated the first court at the foot of the columns. Seeing this, Lamartine, and a few deputies who were with him, retired within the second rail, saying, "Reason is no longer heard: to arms! let us defend ourselves!" The inner court was occupied by a battalion of the Garde Mobile, which fixed bayonets, and seemed disposed to do its duty. But at that critical moment an order arrived from General Courtais to *unfix bayonets*, and return them to their scabbards. No longer resisted, the multitude now broke in tumultuous bodies into the hall where the Assembly was sitting; and the galleries being soon filled, those in front, pushed forward by those behind, were forced over the front of the gallery, and fell among the deputies seated beneath. Lamartine, seeing the Assembly thus forced, raised his arms towards heaven, and said in utter agony, "All is lost."

8. In truth, all was lost, if the case had rested upon the resolution of the Government, or its ability to defend itself. In the front rank of the petitioners stood M. Barbès, who said, amidst deafening shouts, "Citizens, you have come here to exercise your right of petitioning: you have done well to enforce that right, and it now lies with you to take effectual measures to prevent it from ever again being contested. The duty of the Assembly is to take into consideration what you demand; and as the wish which you have expressed is precisely

"We have had enough of the Lyre; Death to Lamartine!"

that of all France, the Assembly *will have to decree what you demand*. The Assembly has heard your demands: it must obey them; but to avoid the appearance of restraint, it would be well that you should now retire." But having once got possession of the hall, the insurgents were in no hurry to withdraw, and it soon appeared that the vast majority were set upon objects of more pressing importance than the restoration of Poland. "The real friends of the people," exclaimed Blanqui, "have been systematically excluded from the Assembly and the Government." Lists were handed down for the inscription of the names of those who were ready to fight in behalf of Poland: only four signed the paper. "We have other things to do," cried they on all sides; "we have had enough of Poland." A furious crowd surrounded M. Buchez, the President, threatening him and the whole Assembly with instant death, unless he signed orders forbidding the rappel to be beat, and enjoining the National Guard not to act. He long resisted; but at length, with the dagger at his throat, he yielded. Upon this, the tumult increased to a frightful degree, and all order or respect to the Assembly was lost. M. Barbès was again forced into the tribune, to state their new demands. "I insist," exclaimed he, "that a forced tax of a milliard (£40,000,000) shall be laid upon the rich, and that whoever gives orders to beat the rappel shall be declared a traitor to the country." "You are wrong, Barbès," cried a voice from the crowd; "*two hours of pillage* is what we want." Wearied at length with these endless and varied demands, which, from the clamour and noise, could neither be put nor considered, one of the most violent of the insurgents, named Huber, was carried on the shoulders of his comrades to the tribune, from whence he said, in a stentorian voice, "In the name of the people, whose voice the Assembly has refused to hear, I declare the Assembly dissolved." Loud applause followed these words, which were immediately succeeded by

a dozen men scaling the President's chair, and dragging him from his seat. In confusion and utter dismay the Assembly rose up, and, following its chief, abandoned the hall.

9. Having thus dissolved the Assembly, the insurgents proceeded to nominate a new Provisional Government. The persons first appointed were Barbès, Louis Blanc, Ledru-Rollin, Blanqui, Huber, Raspail, Caussidière, Etienne Arago, Albert, Lagrange. This list, however, was deemed not sufficiently socialist; and a new one was read out, and agreed to by acclamation, which embraced Cabet, L. Blanc, Pierre Leroux, Raspail, Considerant, Barbès, Blanqui, Proudhon. The preponderance of the Communist element was very clear here, and several voices called out, "There are too many Socialists." The Government, however, was agreed to, and the whole proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville, preceded by a hideous mob shouting, "The Assembly is dissolved; long live the Revolutionary Government! — long live Barbès!" The procession, swelling as it advanced, passed without obstruction before the Prefecture of Police, and took possession of the Hôtel de Ville, where the new Government was formally installed. But meanwhile Lamartine had despatched several trusty messengers to the battalions of the National Guard and the Garde Mobile who were most likely to prove faithful, to hasten to the deliverance of the Assembly. At length, about four o'clock, the welcome roll of a drum was heard on the other side of the Seine, and soon the bayonets of a corps of the Garde Mobile were seen crossing the Pont de la Concorde at the *pas de charge*. In an instant the Hall of the Assembly was cleared, and the rude intruders chased out of the doors and windows. They fell back upon the Hôtel de Ville, where the Insurrectionary Government was established, and the principal strength of the rebels was to be found. Preparation for a desperate resistance had been made, and four pieces of artillery were brought up before the infantry, in or-

der to breach the walls of the building before an assault was made. The moment was terrible; but the hearts of the insurgents failed them at the decisive moment; they evacuated the building when they saw the guns pointed against it; and it was taken possession of without resistance by the forces of the Government. Seventy-two prisoners were made on the spot, among whom were Barbès and Albert.

10. Three thousand of the insurgents, all armed, shut themselves up in the Prefecture of Police, where they prepared to resist; but next morning they surrendered to six thousand of the National Guard, which were brought against them. The whole members of the Insurrectionary Government were arrested, and conducted to Vincennes. General Courtais, whose conduct at the head of the National Guard had been more than doubtful, was dismissed, and succeeded by General Clement Thomas, and Caussidière, after some hesitation, resigned the situation of head of the police, and was succeeded by M. Trouve-Chauvel. The battalions of the Garde Républicaine, which had universally failed in their duty, were purged of their most disaffected members, and reduced to something like military order and obedience. General Cavaignac, who had arrived from Algeria, received the portfolio of Minister of War. Finally, the entrance of great numbers of National Guards from the neighbourhood of the capital, all animated with the strongest indignation against the Parisian Socialists, enabled the Government to take the decisive step of closing the clubs, which was done on the succeeding days, not without violent resistance and some bloodshed. A commission was appointed to make inquiry into the insurrections of the 16th April and 15th May, which immediately commenced its labours, and published a report, under the title of "*Rapport de la Commission d'Enquête*," containing a vast deal of information on the subject, and more authentic evidence on the effects of the revolution than any other collection in existence.

11. The facts brought out by the Commission d'Enquête appeared so strongly to implicate M. Louis Blanc, that the Procureurs-Generaux, MM. Portalis and Landaries, demanded permission from the Assembly to institute a formal accusation against him. The question was warmly debated; but at length, by a majority of 369 to 337, they negatived the demand. It appeared from the evidence that, though Louis Blanc had been borne on the shoulders of the people from the Hall of the Assembly to the Hôtel de Ville, and there named one of the insurrectionary government, yet he was, in truth, hardly a free agent on the occasion, and that he was implicated in the rebellion rather from the doctrines he had promulgated at the Luxembourg than from immediate accession to the attack on the Assembly. But in truth, even if the case had been otherwise, they were too well aware of the strength, at least in Paris, of the party of which he was the head, and the insufficiency of their means of resistance, to venture on the prosecution which was demanded. Meanwhile the disorders in the provinces continued without abatement. At Lyons, on the 18th May, a furious mob arose, demanding the instant liberation of the prisoners who had been arrested on occasion of the tumults in February. The prefect, unable to withstand the violence with which he was threatened, was obliged to sign an order for their discharge; and they were immediately carried in triumph to the Croix Rouge, where barricades were constructed, and a sort of provisional government established. Surrounded by so many and such serious dangers, the Assembly still strangely kept their eyes fixed on those which were passed, and by a majority of 632 to 63, adopted a law, proposed by the Executive Commission, banishing for ever the younger branch of the house of Bourbon, as the elder branch had already been, from the French territory.

12. But the Government soon found that they had more serious causes of disquietude than the dread of a reac-

tion, and more formidable competitors for power to contend with than the princes of the house of Orléans. Among other persons who were brought forward as candidates for a seat in the Chamber in the elections coming on in June, was one whose name spoke powerfully to every heart in France, LOUIS NAPOLEON. A placard, recommending him to the electors of Paris, bore these ominous words: "Louis Napoleon only asks to be a representative of the people; and he has not forgot that Napoleon, before being the first magistrate of France, was its first citizen." His name was heard in various groups on the Boulevards at night: "Vive l'Empereur!" broke from the masses as often as "Vive Barbès!" "Vive la République démocratique!" Alarmed at these appearances, M. de Lamartine, taking advantage of a report, which was afterwards proved to be false, that the commander of the National Guard had been fired at from a crowd which was raising cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" proposed to the Assembly to renew against Louis Napoleon by name the general decree of banishment against the princes of the family of Buonaparte passed in 1832. "We will never," said he, "permit France to degrade herself, as was the case in Rome during the days of the Lower Empire, when the Republic was bought by a name shouted by a few noisy conspirators." These words produced at first a great impression; but ere long it wore off, and in the end the project of banishment was negatived by a majority of two to one. Louis Napoleon, in consequence, was permitted to remain on the roll of candidates, and he was simultaneously elected by the departments of the Seine, the Yonne, the Sarthe, and the Charente-Inférieure. He notified his acceptance of the charge in a letter, some of the expressions in which singularly contrast with his subsequent career, but he afterwards declined to take his seat, from a desire to avoid causing dissension in the Republic.*

* "Your confidence imposes on me duties which I shall know how to discharge. Our feelings, our interests, our wishes, are the

13. The elections for the Assembly in June were very remarkable, as evincing the steady and now uninterrupted growth of reactionary principles in the greater part of the country. The former repugnance to the statesmen who had served in the Chamber of Deputies under Louis Philippe was fast wearing away, and a dread of the rashness of inexperienced men succeeding in its place. Then were, for the first time since the Revolution, returned to the Assembly M. Thiers, M. Victor Hugo, Charles Dupin, General Changarnier, General Rulhières, M. Molé, Marshal Bugeaud, M. A. Fould, M. Rivet. M. Molé was sought after in his retreat by the electors of the Gironde, and forced to accept their representation. On the other hand, the electors of Paris returned MM. Causidière, Proudhon, Pierre Leroux, and Lagrange—that is to say, the chiefs of Socialism. Everything thus conspired to indicate a terrible struggle between the country and the metropolis, which, although it might begin in the Assembly, would to all appearance terminate in the streets. And in the presence of this evidently approaching danger, it was melancholy to see the pitiable state of weakness to which the executive Government was reduced. Formed by an avowed coalition of men of the most diametrically opposite opinions, its members had lost the weight of individual character without having gained the force of united action. The Socialists were determined on an insurrection against the Assembly, which they now saw was decidedly opposed

same. A child of Paris, now a representative of its inhabitants, I will unite my efforts with those of my colleagues to re-establish order, credit, industry, to secure external peace, consolidate democratic institutions, and mutually conciliate those interests which now appear hostile, because they suspect each other to run counter, instead of conspiring to one end—the prosperity and glory of the country. The people have been free since the 24th February; they can now obtain everything without having recourse to brute force. Let us rally round the altar of our country under the standard of our country, and let us give to the world the great example of a people who regenerate themselves without violence, without civil war, without anarchy.” —*Ann. Hist.* 1848, p. 208.

to their demands; and the Executive Commission, divided in itself, felt so unequal to meet it that Lamartine strongly advised them to resign, which shame at the thought of retiring in presence of danger alone prevented them from doing. In the mean time, every precaution was taken to protect them from insult; and the strange spectacle was exhibited to the world of a sovereign legislature, elected by universal suffrage, deliberating under the protection of cannon pointed against its own constituents.*

14. Meanwhile the state of the finances was daily becoming more alarming, and France was beginning again to experience the bitter truth, that the inevitable effect of revolutions is at once to diminish the revenue and enormously increase the expenditure. In the sixty-nine days which had elapsed between the fall of Louis Philippe and the installation of the National Assembly, the Provisional Government had opened extraordinary credits to the amount of 206,183,035 francs (£8,240,000); and such was the necessitous state of the Treasury, notwithstanding the addition of 45 per cent to the direct taxes, that the only resource which remained to M. Duclerc, who had succeeded M. Garnier Pages as Finance Minister, was a fresh loan of 150,000,000 francs (£6,000,000), and then to cut down woods to the extent of 25,000,000 francs, and alienate lands belonging to the State or the Crown to the extent of 200,000,000 more (£8,000,000)! Immense as these sums were, they did not embrace the whole obligations incurred by the State in consequence of this most disastrous Revolution; for the Bank of France had already advanced 245,000,000 francs to the Provisional Government, making, with M. Duclerc's fresh loan of 150,000,000 francs, no less than 395,000,000 francs, or nearly

* The votes for these new candidates were as follows in the department of the Seine: Causidière, 146,400; Moreau, 126,889; Goudchoux, 107,097; Changarnier, 105,559; M. Thiers, 97,394; Leroux, 94,375; Victor Hugo, 86,906; Louis Napoleon, 84,426; Lagrange, 78,682; Boissel, 77,247; Proudhon, 77,094 — *Moniteur*, June 12, 1848.

£16,000,000 sterling, of debt already incurred from its effects. The fearful shortcoming of the indirect taxes, which in the course of the year fell off 150,000,000 francs (£6,000,000), the enormous charges of the Ateliers Nationaux, and the great increase of the army, were the chief causes of this most disastrous state of things. The men daily receiving wages at the Ateliers Nationaux were now 118,300, and their cost was 250,000 francs (£10,000) a-day. Of this immense multitude not more than two thousand were actually employed in any species of labour, the remainder being paid for doing nothing, or holding themselves at the beck of the leaders of the clubs to assemble in multitudes, in order to overawe the Government.

15. It was impossible that such a state of things could continue, and yet it was equally evident that it could not be terminated without a desperate struggle; for the paid workmen, who were for the most part able-bodied and armed, were determined not to relinquish the advantage they had gained. In order to derive some advantage from this immense mass of idle proletaires, M. Leon Faucher, in the end of May, brought forward a proposal for employing a certain number of them in the formation of the lines of railway which had been in progress when the Revolution broke out. At the same time some regulations were laid down for correcting the abuses so prevalent in the drawing of pay, and M. Emile Thomas, the superintendent, who had connived at them, was sent under the surveillance of the police to Bordeaux. The committee to whom the matter was reported, recommended that the workmen who had not been domiciled more than three months in the department of the Seine should be sent to their respective homes, to be employed in such productive labour as could there be found for them; and the Assembly, adopting this report, passed several decrees for enforcing the removal of a certain number of the men to various railway works. Victor Hugo, the celebrated novelist, albeit a decided Liberal, who had obtained a

place in the Assembly, said on this occasion: "The Ateliers Nationaux were necessary when first established; but it is now high time to remedy an evil of which the least inconvenience is to squander uselessly the resources of the Republic. What have they produced in the course of four months? Nothing. They have deprived the hardy sons of toil of employment, given them a distaste for labour, and demoralised them to such a degree that they are no longer ashamed to beg on the streets. The Monarchy had its idlers; the Republic has its vagabonds. God forbid that the enemies of the country should succeed in converting the Parisian workmen, formerly so virtuous, into lazzaroni or prætorians. *When Paris is in agony, London rejoices*; its power, riches, and preponderance have tripled since our disturbances commenced."

16. These measures excited the most violent discontent among the workmen; and an insurrection was openly talked of, which was first fixed for the 14th July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. But the measures directed against the Ateliers Nationaux brought matters to a crisis at an earlier period. On June 20, M. Leon Faucher, on the part of the committee to whom the matter had been intrusted, reported that 120,000 workmen were now paid daily at the Ateliers Nationaux, and 50,000 more were demanding to be admitted. Horrorstruck at this prospect, he saw no resource but a fresh loan of 150,000,000 francs by the Government, to set in motion in the provinces the industry so fatally arrested by the Revolution; but to this the Finance Minister made the strongest possible objections. Thus, between the two, nothing was done; and meanwhile the paid workmen and Socialists, encouraged by the leaders of the clubs, made open preparations for insurrection, and resolved to resist any attempt at removal. "We must not go," said they; "they are about to destroy the Republic."

17. It was all very well, however, as a figure of speech to declaim on 100,000 armed men as ready to support the de-

mocratic and socialist Revolution; but when the contest commenced, it was found that the actual number who could be relied on was much less considerable. Altogether it was computed that from 25,000 to 30,000 would come forth to support the insurrection, composed of 12,000 liberated convicts, 6000 of the most determined from the Ateliers Nationaux, and 8000 or 10,000 from the secret societies and clubs. On the other hand, the forces Government had *nominally* at its disposal were much more considerable. There were 20,000 regular troops in the barracks of Paris, with ample artillery and cavalry; 15,000 in the neighbouring towns; and the National Guard in the metropolis and the *banlieu* had already turned out, *for a review*, forces said to amount to 300,000 men. But though abundantly ready to come forward on days of holiday parade, it was very doubtful how far the majority of these would either appear or act when shots were to be fired in anger; and it was well known that a large proportion of them were in secret inclined to the insurgents, and would, if the contest appeared at all doubtful, in all probability join them. A similar disunion pervaded the executive, and no united action could be expected from a directory in which such opposite characters as Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, and Marie held the reins of power. On the other hand, the insurgents, impelled by necessity and in dread of starvation, were united and desperate, and obeyed leaders of no small military ability, invested with that absolute power with which mutineers never fail to invest those whom for a time they have placed in command. Thus, though in appearance unequal, the contest was in reality more evenly balanced than might be supposed; and at any rate, the most desperate conflict which had occurred since the first beginning of the troubles in 1789 was evidently approaching. It was much to be feared that any serious reverse at first would throw all the waverers into the arms of the insurgents, and in all probability consign France to the sanguinary rule of a Red Republic.

18. Hostilities commenced at nine at night on the 22d June by the assembling of crowds on the quays, from the bridge of Notre Dame to the Hôtel de Ville, and the placarding of an address calling on all Frenchmen to sign a petition to the National Assembly on the "organisation of labour." At the same time a brigade of the workmen which had been sent to Corbeil returned, contrary to orders, to Paris, and stationed themselves in the Place of the Bastille and at the Barrière du Trône, calling out, "Vive Napoleon!" "Vive l'Empereur!" "À bas Marie!" "Nous resterons!" During the whole night the workmen of the Ateliers Nationaux remained in the streets, and their leaders and the orators from the clubs harangued them without intermission. Every leader had his post assigned to him. The organisation of the insurrection corresponded exactly to that of the brigades of the Ateliers Nationaux. The whole were under the powerful and able direction of the Société des Droits de l'Homme, which had reconstituted itself in defiance of the Government on the 11th June. Early on the morning of the 23d the erection of barricades commenced, and proceeded with a rapidity, order, and consistency which evidently bespoke a long-laid plan. Nearly the whole population, men, women, and children, in the disaffected districts, which comprised a full moiety of the city, were employed on these works, which sprang up as if by enchantment, and soon appeared of stupendous magnitude. Before noon, nearly one half of Paris, comprising all lying to the eastward of a line drawn from the Pantheon to the Château d'Eau, was covered with barricades. Two strong ones were erected at the Porte St Denis, one at that of St Martin, one at the entry of the Faubourg du Temple, four in the streets leading to the Hôtel de Ville, one of stupendous magnitude at the entrance of the Faubourg St Antoine, and thirty in the neighbourhood of the Isle of St Louis, the Faubourg St Jacques, and the Faubourg St Marceau.

19. During all this time nothing whatever was done on the part of Gov-

ernment to interrupt these preparations. The truth was, they had not, in the outset, the means of combating the insurrection over the immense surface over which it extended. General Cavaignac, in whom, as Minister at War, the supreme command was invested, had only at his disposal 23,000 infantry and 2000 horse, of whom not more than 20,000 of both arms could be calculated upon as effective. The *général* was immediately bent in all the streets; but the National Guard was very backward in answering the call, and many of them, as well as some of the Garde Mobile, were to be seen in the ranks of the insurgents. Orders were sent off immediately to four regiments at Versailles and Orléans to come to Paris; telegraphic messages to the same effect were despatched to those stationed at Lille, Metz, and Rouen, and even a division of the Army of the Alps was ordered to the capital. But some time must necessarily elapse before even the nearest of these troops could arrive, and meanwhile every hour was precious; something required to be done instantly to stop the progress of the insurrection. But Cavaignac was too old and too good a soldier not to know the extreme hazard of involving troops in insufficient numbers in the narrow streets of an insurgent capital, and too much experienced in revolutions not to be aware of the ruinous results which might ensue from the defeat or capture of even an inconsiderable body of regular soldiers. He positively refused, therefore, to divide his forces, or act on any extended scale before the reinforcements came up. In this opinion he was strongly supported by Lamartine. "Do not deceive yourselves," said he to the other members of the Provisional Government; "we do not advance to a strife with an *ennemi*, but to a pitched battle with a confederacy of great factions. If the Republic, and with it society, is to be saved, it must have arms in its hands during the first years of its existence; and its forces should be disposed, not only here, but over the whole surface of the empire, as for great wars which em-

brace not only the quarters of Paris, but the provinces, as in the days of Cæsar and Pompey."

20. Cavaignac kept his regular troops in reserve nearly the whole of the 23d, and devoted himself to the organisation of his forces as for a serious campaign. He divided his men into four columns, which were placed under the orders of Generals Lamoricière, Duvié, Damesne, and Bedeau. The first of these took post near the Porte St Denis and Porte St Martin, prepared to combat the insurrection in the northern parts of the city; the second, in the centre, was intrusted with the defence of the Hôtel de Ville, the general headquarters of the Government, but which was threatened with an attack on every side; the third, to the south of the Seine, was stationed on the Place Cambray and the Bridge St Michel; and the fourth was to support General Damesne in the quarter of the Pantheon and the Faubourg St Marceau. The insurgents, on their side, were also divided into four columns of five or six thousand men each, supported by an immense body of tirailleurs and detached musketeers. Their efforts were mainly directed to gain possession of the Hôtel de Ville by advancing through the narrow streets and houses adjoining it, where cavalry could not act, and artillery could not be introduced. For this purpose two divisions were to operate on the right and two on the left bank of the Seine. On the right bank the headquarters of the first corps were in the hospital of Clos St Lazare, and stretched to the north as far as the Faubourg du Temple; while the second had constructed a gigantic barrier on the Place of the Bastille, and occupied the whole streets as far as the Eglise St Gervais, behind the Hôtel de Ville. On the other side of the river the third corps was established in the Pantheon, and occupied all the streets stretching from thence to the Pont St Michel and the Seine; and the fourth held the Rue St Victor, the Place Maubert, and the bridge of the Hôtel Dieu.

21. The first hostilities commenced on the afternoon of the 23d, when the

National Guard, though unsupported by troops of the line, attacked and carried the barrier at the Porte St Martin. This was followed by an assault on that of the Porte St Denis, where a most desperate resistance was experienced, and where the enthusiasm of the people was evinced by several women combating on the work, one of whom fell pierced by several balls. On the other side of the river General Bedeau was engaged in a fearful strife in the Faubourg St Marceau. After sustaining great loss, he at length succeeded in carrying the barricades there; but he was wounded in the moment of success, and had to quit the field. On the morning of the 24th, matters looked very serious, and the Assembly, which had endeavoured to ignore the danger, was forced to recognise and take measures to avert it. The inefficiency of the Executive Commission, and the distrust they had inspired in the National Guard, having become painfully conspicuous, a motion was made at noon on the 24th, to confer absolute power on a Dictator, and General Cavaignac was suggested and approved almost unanimously. Some hesitation having been expressed as to the mode of doing this, and the authority to be conferred, M. Bastide cut the discussion short with these words: "If you hesitate, in an hour the Hôtel de Ville may be taken." This announcement proved decisive. The appointment was immediately passed by acclamation; and such was the confidence which it inspired, that, in two hours after it was known, twenty thousand additional men appeared in the ranks of the National Guard. The Executive Commission, finding themselves thus superseded, resigned their appointments, and absolute uncontrolled authority was vested in the Dictator.

22. The effects of this great change were soon apparent. Immense was the difference between the hesitation and disunited action of five civilians in presence of danger, and the decided conduct of one single experienced military chief. The first object was to repel the enemy in the centre from the

vicinity of the Hôtel de Ville. The task was no easy one, for the streets around it swarmed with armed men; every window was filled with tirailleurs, and from the summit of barricades, which were erected across the narrow thoroughfares at every hundred yards, streamed a well-directed and deadly fire of musketry. At length, however, after a dreadful struggle, the nearest streets were carried, and the Hôtel de Ville put for the time in a state of comparative safety. The attack was then carried by General Duvivier into the adjoining quarters of the Eglise St Gervais and the Rue St Antoine. To the north General Lamoricière had commenced operations on the afternoon of the 23d. He pushed on towards the Faubourg St Denis, and then, wheeling to his left, commenced an assault on the Faubourg Poissonnière. The combat here was long and bloody, and at the end of three hours' fighting the progress made was far from considerable. The insurgents defended each barricade as it was attacked as long as possible, and when it was about to be forced, they quickly retired to the next one in rear, generally not more than one or two hundred yards distant, which was stubbornly held in like manner; while upon the column which advanced in pursuit a heavy and murderous fire was directed from the windows of the adjoining houses. In vain Cavaignac threatened to bring up mortars to throw bombs into the houses behind the barricades if they were not abandoned. This threat had no effect; and it was only late in the afternoon that the Place Lafayette was carried, and that with very heavy loss to the assailants.

23. Forcing, by a flank movement, the position of La Villette, Lamoricière, after sustaining great loss, at length succeeded in carrying the barricades of the streets of the Jardin and the Faubourg Poissonnière. He experienced in his progress the most formidable resistance in the Rue St Maur, where a barricade had been constructed of such magnitude and strength that it long repelled all attacks of the in-

fantry. Cavaignac, who hastened to the spot, brought up a gun, but the fire from the barricade and windows was so heavy that in a few minutes all the artillerymen and horses were struck down. A second piece was brought up, but with the same results. Shells were then thrown from a little distance, and while they were exploding, an assault was made on the barricade, and after a frightful slaughter on both sides it was carried, and the defenders put to the sword. At the same time General Foucher received orders to attack five barricades, erected near the Barrier of Belleville, which mutually supported each other. He did so, and was wounded, as well as General François, in the assault; and although it was made and supported with the utmost resolution, two only of the barricades were taken.

24. These bloody conflicts decided nothing; and success was so equally balanced, and the loss, especially in officers, so severe, that it was difficult to say to which side victory would ultimately incline. Real success was first gained at one in the afternoon of the 24th, when preparations were made, to the south of the Seine, for storming the Pantheon. General Damesne, who commanded, did not trust on this occasion to his infantry, however numerous and resolute, but brought up his heavy guns, which battered the splendid edifice for an hour, when, an aperture in the walls having been made, the troops rushed in, and the building was carried. But the insurgents were nowise daunted by this disaster: retreating, with comparatively little loss, to the next barricade in the Rue Clovis, they there again presented an undaunted front to their assailants. General Damesne was dangerously wounded in attempting to storm it, and General Brea, who then took the command, was unable to expel the enemy from these strongholds. Equally formidable was the resistance still opposed to General Lamoricière in the Faubourg Poissonnière, where the insurgents during the night had reoccupied nearly all the positions which they had lost on the preceding day.

The barricade in the Rue Rochechouart was particularly formidable, being twelve feet high, built of solid masonry, and flanked by another of nearly equal elevation at the corner of the Rue Faubourg Poissonnière. The *fusillade* had been extremely warm here during the whole day, and it was not till six at night that the front barricade was carried. Even after this advantage had been gained the flank barricade held out, though battered in front by heavy guns; and it was not till late in the evening that it was at length carried by a sudden rush of the stormers on its flank resting on the boulevards. •

25. It was not surprising that the progress even of the vast and hourly-increasing military force at the disposal of the Dictator had been so slow; for the task before them was immense, and to appearance insurmountable by any human strength. The number of barricades had risen to the enormous and almost incredible figure of *three thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight*, nearly all of which were stoutly defended. The great strongholds of the insurgents were in the Clos St Lazare and the Faubourg St Antoine, each of which was defended by gigantic barricades, constructed of stones having all the solidity of regular fortifications, and held by the most determined and fanatical bands. The night of the 24th was terrible; the opposing troops, worn out with fatigue and parched with thirst, sank down to rest within a few yards of each other on the summit of the barricades, or at their feet, and no sound was heard in the dark but the cry of the sentinels. Early on the morning of the 25th the conflict was renewed at all points, and ere long a frightful tragedy signalled the determination and ferocity of the insurgents. General Brea, before renewing the fight on his side, which was on the left bank of the Seine, at the barrier of Fontainebleau, humanely went with a flag of truce to the headquarters of the insurgents, to endeavour to persuade them to come to an accommodation. They received him, and the aide-de-camp

by whom he was accompanied, within their lines; and having done so, they surrounded them, and insisted on the general signing and sending to his troops a written order to surrender their arms and ammunition. Upon the general's refusal to do so, he was overwhelmed with insults, shot down, and left for dead on the ground; his aide-de-camp, Captain Mauguin, was at the same time put to death, and his remains mutilated to such a degree that the human form could hardly be distinguished. After waiting an hour for the return of his general, Colonel Thomas, the second in command, having learned his fate, and announced it to his soldiers, made preparations for an assault. Infuriated by the treacherous massacre of their general, the men rushed on, and carried at the point of the bayonet seven successive barricades. All their defenders were put to the sword, to avenge their infamous treachery. The body of General Brea was found still breathing, but the vital spark was soon extinct. He was cruelly mutilated, his arms and legs having been cut off. This savage barbarity was the more inexcusable, that General Brea was a man of singularly mild temper and humane disposition. His character was beautifully drawn by the priest at Nantes, who officiated at the interment of his mangled remains: "The character of General Brea was less that of a military chief than of a Christian. The warrior was forgotten in the gentleness of his disposition, the warmth of his heart, the sincerity of his love, the glow of his charity."

26. Similar contests ensued in all the other quarters, but before evening the superiority of the regular soldiers became very apparent. The arrival of reinforcements, both of troops and national guards, from Anniers and Rouen, as well as a large train of artillery from Bourges, proved of essential service. Success was, by their assistance, gained in nearly every quarter, but it was dearly purchased. To the north of the Seine the barriers near the Faubourg Poissonnière and the Rue Rochechouart, which had

been again reoccupied by the insurgents during the night, were all forced in the morning, and the Clos St Lazare stormed. The Faubourg du Temple was soon after carried, and the insurgents were driven out of St Denis and St Martin. Heavy losses, however, attended all these advantages; and in the centre of the city the insurgents were so far from being subdued, that General Duvivier was wounded in the neighbourhood of the Hôtel de Ville, and obliged to relinquish his command to General Perrot. Still the Faubourg St Antoine, the great stronghold of the insurgents, remained in their hands, and till it was wrested from them the victory could not be said to be complete. The position of the enemy there was extremely strong, every entrance being closed by successive barricades of enormous height and thickness, and proof against any but the very heaviest siege-artillery. The troops destined for the assault of this formidable citadel were divided into two columns, one of which, starting from the Hôtel de Ville, followed the line of the quays on the banks of the river, while the other moved by the Rue St Antoine direct on the Place of the Bastille. Both experienced the most determined resistance.

27. The barricades, and every window in the streets leading up to them, were filled with armed men, animated with a fanatical courage. Two pieces of cannon, placed in the Rue St Antoine, were brought up, and played at point-blank range on the first barricade; but such was the severity of the fire which the insurgents maintained, especially from the windows, that twice over every man at the guns was killed or wounded; and after two hours' firing, the rampart was still but little shaken. Colonel Regnault, with the 48th Regiment, then led on the charge, and carried it by a sudden rush; but he was basely slain, after having surmounted the pile, by a prisoner whose life he had just saved. Three other barricades, one behind the other, were in like manner stormed after a desperate resistance,

and with great loss on both sides. The fifth barricade, close to the Place of the Bastille, presented a still more formidable front, for it was constructed of solid square blocks of masonry, and surmounted by embrasures like a regular fortification. For two hours it resisted alike the fire of the guns and the assaults of the troops, but at length it was carried. At the same time, the barriers on the quays were forced by the other column, though the slaughter there was even greater, and General Negrier and the deputy Charbonnel were killed. By these successes the two columns of attack made themselves masters of the Place of the Bastille, where they effected their junction, and both moved on to the attack of the Faubourg St Antoine, the last and most formidable stronghold of the insurgents.

28. But ere the attack commenced, a sublime instance of Christian heroism and devotion occurred, which shines forth like a heavenly glory in the midst of these terrible scenes of carnage. **MONSIEUR AFFRÉ, ARCHBISHOP OF PARIS**, horror-struck with the slaughter which for three days had been going on without intermission, resolved to effect a reconciliation between the contending parties, or perish in the attempt. Having obtained leave from General Cavaignac to repair to the headquarters of the insurgents, he set out, dressed in his pontifical robes, having the cross in his hand, accompanied by two vicars, also in full canonicals, and three intrepid members of the Assembly. Deeply affected by this courageous act, which they well knew was almost certain death, the people, as he walked through the streets, fell on their knees and besought him to desist, but he persisted, saying, "It is my duty. *Bonus pastor dat vitam suam pro ovis suis.*" * At seven in the evening he arrived in the Place of the Bastille, where the fire was extremely warm on both sides. It ceased on either side at the august spectacle, and the Archbishop, bearing the cross

aloft, advanced with his two vicars to the foot of the barricade. A single attendant, bearing above his head a green branch, the emblem of peace, preceded the prelate. The soldiers, seeing him come so close to those who had so often slain the bearers of flags of truce, approached in order to be able to give succour in case of need; the insurgents on their side descended the barricade, and the redoubtable antagonists stood close to each other, exchanging looks of defiance. Suddenly at this moment a shot was heard; instantly the cry arose, "Treason, treason!" and the combatants, retreating on either side, began to exchange shots with as much fury as ever. Undismayed by the storm of balls which immediately flew over his head from both quarters, the prelate advanced slowly, attended by his vicars, to the summit of the barricade. One of them had his hat pierced by three balls when ascending, but the Archbishop himself, almost by a miracle, escaped while on the top. He had descended three steps on the other side when he was pierced through the loins by a shot from a window. The insurgents, horror-struck, approached him when he fell, stanching the wound, which at once was seen to be mortal, and carried him to the neighbouring hospital of *Quinze-Vingts*. When told he had only a few minutes to live, he said, "God be praised! and may He accept my life as an expiation for my omissions during my episcopacy, and as an offering for the salvation of this misguided people;" and with these words he expired.

29. Immediately after his decease, proposals came for a capitulation from the insurgents, on condition of an absolute and unqualified amnesty. General Cavaignac, however, would listen to nothing but an unconditional surrender. This was refused, and both sides prepared for a renewal of the conflict on the following morning. At daybreak the combatants on either part stood to their arms; the barricades and windows were filled with musketeers, the gunners stood with lighted matches beside their pieces;

* "A good shepherd gives his life for his sheep."

but ere long sounds were heard which convinced the insurgents that further resistance was hopeless. A loud cannonade, which every minute came nearer, was distinguished in the rear of the faubourg; it was General Lamoricière, who, having forced his way through the Faubourg du Temple, was in a position to assail them from behind. Still the insurgents held out, and ten o'clock, the period assigned for an unconditional surrender, having elapsed without submission, the fire recommenced. An immense shower of shells immediately fell in the faubourg, which set it on fire in several places. The troops on the Place of the Bastille, without waiting for orders, rushed on and attacked it in three columns on the side of the Rue St Antoine, the Rue de Charenton, and the Rue de la Roquette. All attacks proved successful, and at last the enemy capitulated. With it this terrible insurrection came to an end; the Socialists were crushed, and victory remained to the Government and the sword.

30. The losses on either side in this memorable conflict were never accurately known; for the insurgents could not estimate theirs, and the Government took care not to publish their own. But on both sides it was immense, as might have been expected, when forty or fifty thousand a-side fought with the utmost courage and desperation for four days in the streets of a crowded capital, with nearly four thousand barricades erected and requiring to be stormed. General Negrier was killed, and Generals Duvivier, Damesne, Koste, Lafontaine, and Fouché wounded mortally, — General Bedeau more slightly. Ten thousand bodies were recognised and buried, and nearly as many, especially on the side of the insurgents, thrown unclaimed into the Seine. At the close of the contest nearly fifteen thousand prisoners were in the hands of the victors, and crowded, almost to suffocation, all places of confinement in Paris. Three thousand of them died of jail fever; but the immense

multitude which remained, created one of the greatest difficulties with which for long the Government had to contend. The concourse of troops and national guards who flocked together from all quarters, on the 27th and 28th, enabled the Dictator to maintain his authority, and restore order, by the stern discipline of the sword. The Assembly divided the prisoners into two classes: for the first, who were the most guilty, deportation to Cayenne, or one of the other colonies, was at once adjudged; the second were condemned to *transportation*, which with them meant detention in the hulks, or in some maritime fortresses of the Republic. Great numbers were sent to Belleisle, and the gloomy dungeons of St Michel, on the coast of Normandy; but all means of detention ere long proved inadequate for so prodigious a multitude, and many were soon liberated by the Government from absolute inability to keep them longer. This terrible strife cost France more lives than any of the battles of the Empire;* the number of generals who perished in it, or from the wounds they had received, exceeded even those cut off at Borodino or Waterloo.

31. It is painful to be obliged to add, that the savage cruelty exhibited by the insurgents to such prisoners as fell into their hands, sullied the character which they had justly acquired for courage and resolution. Towards the Garde Mobile in an especial manner their barbarity knew no bounds: they looked upon them as traitors to the cause for which they had been originally enrolled, and as such they subjected them to the most atrocious barbarities. The women here, as in all similar cases, took the lead in atrocity. One amazon boasted she

* In confirmation of his statements in this section, the Author is happy to be able to refer to the able work of his friend Mr Edward Cayley, entitled *The European Revolutions of 1848*, which exhibits equal industry, accuracy, and acuteness, and proves that the talents which have rendered his father, the Member for the North Riding of Yorkshire, so distinguished in Parliament, are hereditary in his family.

had cut off the heads of five officers of the Garde Mobile, after they had been made prisoners, with her own hands: others threw vitriol in their faces, and burnt them in so shocking a manner that they implored death to put a period to their sufferings. A pump was found behind the barrier Rochechouart half full of oil-of-vitriol, intended to be used in this manner. In one place they took four or five of the Garde Mobile, perfect children, prisoners; they stuck pikes through their throats under the chin, tied their hands down, and, placing them in front of the windows, fired under their legs, thinking the troops would not return the fire when they saw the uniform. They cut off the head of one, filled the mouth with pitch, lighted a match in it, and, like cannibals, danced round it to the tune of "Les Champions." The prisoners they took were shot down by dozens at a time; a proceeding which, of course, led to terrible reprisals from the military when they, in their turn, had the power. Such, too, was the exasperation of the insurgents when they became the losing party, that deeds of treachery accompanied the usual barbarities of domestic dissension. After carrying a formidable barricade in the Rue St Antoine, the 48th Regiment made a number of prisoners. One of them resisted, and the soldiers were about to bayonet him, when their colonel, Regnault, came up and saved his life. "Thank you," said the perfidious wretch, and with these words drew a pistol, and shot him dead on the spot.

32. Amidst such instances of treachery and cruelty; it is consolatory to have many deeds of an opposite character to recount, proving that, even in its darkest moments, and under the most disastrous circumstances, the national spirit and generosity of the French character were not altogether extinct. The Marquis de la Forte, a nobleman of tall stature and commanding air, was doing duty as a private in the 1st Legion of the National Guard, and when waiting in the front to storm one of the barricades, he

found himself beside a little garde mobile, who had already made his valour conspicuous in the combat. They were before a barricade, on which a red flag floated in proud defiance. "Great national guard," said the little hero to his companion, "shall we two take that flag?" "With all my heart," replied the marquis, and with that they ran forward together, and began to ascend the barricade. They were about two-thirds up, when the boy fell wounded in the leg. "Alas!" he said, "great national guard, I shall have no hand in the taking of that flag." "But you shall though," replied the generous marquis, "little garde mobile;" and with these words he lifted the boy up in his left arm, and, making his way with his sword in his right, pushed courageously on. Amidst a general fire from the defenders, they got so near that the boy was able to seize the flag and wave it for a few seconds overhead; after which the two descended, the marquis still carrying his companion, and reached their comrades in safety. When escorted from the Faubourg St Antoine by a party of the Garde Mobile to the rear, the Archbishop of Paris saw a boy in the ranks whom he had particularly observed combating bravely in the fight. Raising his arms, he took a small rosary, and gave it to the young soldier, whose name was François de la Vignière—"Do not lose this cross," said the prelate; "put it on your heart: it will bring you happiness." He received it kneeling, and promised never to part with it. Cavaignac, on another occasion, took the cross of the Legion of Honour from his breast, and gave it to one of the Garde Mobile, whom he had seen particularly distinguishing himself. "How happy this will make my father!" said the recipient, without a thought of himself.

33. The victory once decidedly gained, Cavaignac lost no time in abdicating the dictatorial powers conferred upon him during the strife. But the Assembly were too well aware of the narrow escape which they had

made, to entertain the thought of resuming the powers of sovereignty. If they had been so inclined, the accounts from the provinces would have been sufficient to deter them, for the insurrection in Paris was contemporary with a bloody revolt at Marseilles, occasioned by the same attempt to get quit of the burdensome pensioners at the Ateliers Nationaux, which was only put down after three days' hard fighting by a concentration of troops from all the adjoining departments. At Rouen and Bordeaux the agitation was so violent that it was evident nothing but the presence of a large military force prevented a rebellion from breaking out. Taught by these events, the National Assembly unanimously (June 28th) continued to General Cavaignac the powers already conferred upon him, and prolonged the state of siege in the metropolis. The concourse of troops to Paris was soon immense; that capital had not been surrounded by so many armed men when it was environed by the allied armies in 1814 and 1815. Supported by this force, the reality of military government—the only one practicable in the circumstances—was soon brought home to the inhabitants; and on the motion of M. Martin of Strasbourg, the dictatorship was formally bestowed on General Cavaignac, with the title of President of the Council, and the power to nominate his ministers. The last privilege was slightly contested in the Assembly, but passed by a large majority. The powers of the dictator were to last till a permanent president was elected either by the Assembly or the direct voice of the citizens; and in the mean time General Cavaignac proceeded to appoint his ministers, who immediately entered upon their several duties.*

34. The first care of the new Government was to remodel the armed force of the metropolis, and extin-

* The Ministers were: Foreign Affairs, M. Bastide; Interior, M. Senard; War, General Lamoricière; Finances, M. Goudchaux; Public Works, M. Recurt; Commerce and Agriculture, M. Tourret (de l'Allier); Justice, M. Bethmont; Public Instruction, M. Car-

guish those elements of insurrection which had brought such desolation, bloodshed, and ruin upon the country. The Ateliers Nationaux were immediately dissolved; this had now become, comparatively speaking, an easy task, for the most formidable part of their number, and nearly all who had actually appeared with arms in their hands, had either been slain or were in the prisons of the Republic. Those legions of the National Guard which had either hung back or openly joined the insurgents, on occasion of the late revolt, were all dissolved and disarmed. This, too, was easy, for the immense body of national guards which had been brought up by the railways, especially from *La Vendée*, upon whom entire reliance could be placed, rendered all resistance hopeless. The licentiousness of the press and the clubs next attracted the attention of the Dictator. Already, on June 25th, when the insurrection was at its height, a decree was issued, which suspended nearly all the journals of a violent character on either side, and even M. Emile Girardin, an able writer and journalist of moderate character, was arrested and thrown into prison. These measures, how rigorous soever, were all ratified by a decree of the Assembly on the 1st of August, and passed unanimously. "The friends of liberty," says the contemporary analyst, "observed with grief that the Republic had in a single day struck with impunity a severer blow at the liberty of the press than the preceding governments had done during thirty years." At the same time the clubs, those great fountains of treason and disorder, were closed.

35. Thus was another proof added to the innumerable ones which history had previously afforded, that popular licentiousness and insurrection, from whatever cause originating, must ever end in the despotism of the sword. This, it will be said by superficial ob-

not; Marine, Admiral Leblanc; Chief of the National Guard, General Changrinier. Admiral Leblanc having declined the Ministry of the Marine, it was given to M. Bastide, and General Bedeau became Minister of Foreign Affairs.—*Moniteur*, June 29, 1848.

servers, is a truism which no one denies, and therefore why repeat it? It would be well for the world if no one *in reality did deny it*, and no deeds were done in every succeeding age inconsistent with the denial. But even if it were as universally admitted in action as it ever must be by well-informed persons in theory, that only makes it the more essential that the observation should be here repeated. The most important use of history is, in successive ages, to *deduce old maxims from new facts*; and such deduction is more valuable and important than any new observation that can possibly be made, for it proves the unchangeableness of the moral laws of nature.

36. But in truth there is more in the case than this; and a new political lesson of the very highest importance may be deduced from the memorable four months of popular rule which followed the fall of Louis Philippe. Since the overthrow of Napoleon, two governments had been established, the first by foreign influence, and the last by domestic choice in France, and both had been overturned by popular insurrections. Each one, as it successively arose, was more rigorous and despotic than its predecessor; the government of Cavaignac was as much severer than that of Louis Philippe, as the latter had been than that of Louis XVIII. or Charles X. The despotism of the Dictator, however, was an escape to France from the still more rigorous and oppressive government with which they were threatened from the Socialists; for their principles were that property was the first and greatest of public robberies, and that "the only state of society in which universal felicity was practicable, was that of *labour and*

families in common, with the Government for the sole director over all." The conclusion to be drawn from this is not merely that popular insurrection inevitably leads to military despotism, but that the *rigour and severity of that despotism are in the exact proportion of the degree in which the popular element has been instrumental in bringing about the insurrection*; and that grievous as may be the oppression which follows the crushing of the revolt, it is less galling than that which would have succeeded its triumph.

37. It is impossible, in contemplating these memorable events, not to be struck with the providential manner in which not merely the guilt of the revolutionists was punished, but they themselves were made to inflict that punishment upon each other. Not the loyal inhabitants of La Vendée, not the royal guards of Charles X. or Louis Philippe, caused them to feel the consequences of their actions. The revolutionists had freed themselves from every restraint but the slavery of their own passions. But they remained to work out the purposes of Omnipotence, and vindicate the justice of the Divine administration. The most memorable retribution recorded in history was inflicted on the party which had achieved those guilty triumphs; but they were inflicted, not by their conquered adversaries, but by their victorious selves. Their insane passions did the work of the Almighty; the avenging angel was found in their own bosoms. They were compelled by an overruling power to inflict punishment on their most guilty ringleaders with their own hands; the other nations looked on in silence while they wrought out upon each other the behests of supreme justice.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

FRANCE, FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF CAVAIGNAC TO THE ELECTION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON AS PRESIDENT OF THE ASSEMBLY—JUNE 24 TO DECEMBER 10, 1848.

1. THE Dictator was soon brought face to face with the difficulties of his situation. The removal of M. Duclerc from the Ministry of the Finances, and substitution of M. Goudchoux in his room, tore aside the veil which had hitherto been thrown over the financial affairs of the republic, and revealed in their real nakedness their disastrous position. M. Duclerc, in a report framed expressly to conceal the truth, had estimated the probable deficit at 140,000,000 francs, and he had exhibited a variety of extraordinary resources, amounting to 500,000,000 francs, consisting of loans, sales of forests and public domains, by which he expected to meet that deficit, and the probable failure to a still greater amount in the indirect taxes. But M. Goudchoux dispelled the illusion, and demonstrated that, of all those supposed resources, none could be relied on as really available but the loan of 150,000,000 francs from the bank. To this loan he proposed to add a third more from extraordinary resources; but the loan would be more than overbalanced by the deficiency in the indirect taxes, and the extraordinary expenses in which the republic had been involved. The 45 per cent added to the direct taxes proved but a feeble resource for these multiplied necessities.

2. These financial measures were immediately succeeded by another of scarcely less urgency and importance. This was the commission of inquiry appointed to investigate the insurrections of May and June, and report to the Assembly who were the parties implicated, and what should be done with them. The members of the commission were appointed on the 28th June, and immediately commenced

their labours. A great number of witnesses were examined; whose depositions clearly showed the causes of the insurrection to have been the extravagant but seducing doctrines taught by the Socialist leaders, which, by exciting hopes which could never be realised, necessarily led to discontent and a desire to subvert the existing Government. The report of the commission, which was apparently in entire conformity with the evidence adduced, stated that the movement in May had been intended to dissolve the Assembly and establish a committee of public safety; but that the insurrection in June, nominally directed to the establishment of a social and democratic republic, was in reality meant to forward pillage and murder. "There is abundant proof," it adds, "that M. Louis Blanc and M. Caussidière were no strangers to the organisation of the movement of May, with Barbès, Blanqui, and Ledru-Rollin. Though, fortunately, on that occasion conquered, the cause of anarchy was never discouraged. New assistance came to its aid; anarchical speeches were sent free of charge to the departments; the fury of the clubs was fomented; their organisation improved, and power augmented. Nocturnal meetings were held in the hotel of the Minister of the Interior (Ledru-Rollin), at which projects were formed for centralising the clubs and dominating the elections, and afterwards annulling such as were hostile to the Government. The 'Club of Clubs,' under M. Sobrier, had collected 30,000 cartridges and several hundred muskets before the 15th May; the club of the 'Rights of Man,' composed of 14,000 men in Paris and 14,000 in the provinces, had establish-

ed manufactories of arms, and openly prepared for war. All this went on in a still greater ratio before the insurrection in June. It was the excitement of the clubs which occasioned the civil war in that month. The insurgents had their manufactories of powder and arms, their military organisation and chiefs; but the police did nothing to impede their movements. Caussidière, the head of that body, gave no orders; his subordinates knew not what to do without his directions; some saw him behind the barricades, and many more heard him defend the insurrection. M. Proudhon was also seen behind the barricades by more than one member of the Assembly; and the only explanation he could give is, that he remained there 'to admire the sublime horror of the cannonade.' In pursuance of this report, the Assembly, after fully hearing MM. Louis Blanc and Caussidière in their defence, formally authorised the Procureur-Général to prosecute them for their accession to the revolts of May, though not of June following. They withdrew, however, and found refuge in England, the common asylum of refugees of all nations and parties; and with their flight terminated the public career of these able but vain, ambitious, and unscrupulous men.*

3. Upon their removal, M. Proudhon stood forth as the leader of Socialist doctrines. He was more prudent, however, than his predecessors. Taught

by the defeat of the insurrections of May and June, he no longer fomented open revolt. He adopted the tactics of the Liberals in the last years of Louis Philippe's reign; his whole efforts were directed to *discrediting* his opponents. In this attempt he displayed great ability; but he was more successful, as is often the case in similar undertakings, in blackening his adversaries than in whitewashing himself, and accordingly another reaped the fruits of all his exertions. He attacked all the institutions of society in the most violent manner; denounced them as violations of the rights of man, and the prolific fountain of every social suffering. He stigmatised God as "the enemy of society," priests as "paid hypocrites," property as robbery, government as usurpation. He received, in consequence, the warm acknowledgments of those of the one sex who live by crime, of the other by prostitution; and this he has himself recorded as one of his titles to public confidence.* As time went on, he promulgated his ideas more fully in various publications, in his *Journal du Peuple*, under the title of "La Banque d'Echange," and "Son Testament de Vie et de Mort."† The object of all these efforts was to provide a substitute for capital in the maintenance of labour, realised wealth being deemed the greatest enemy and chief curse of society. "The people's bank," said he, "would have rendered you honest and real labourers; will the Revolution ever do as much for you?"

* M. Proudhon, perhaps the most violent of the Socialists, admitted to the Commission d'Enquête that the insurrection of June was the work of the Socialists. His words were:—"Le 23 Juin j'avais crié que c'était une conspiation des prétendants, s'appuyant sur des ouvriers des Ateliers Nationaux. J'étais trompé comme les autres. Le lendemain j'ai été convaincu que l'insurrection était Socialiste. Les Ateliers Nationaux n'en ont été que la cause occasionnelle. La cause première déterminante de l'insurrection c'était la question sociale, la crise sociale—le travail, les idées. Il m'en coûte de le dire, moi qui suis Socialiste."—Commission d'Enquête—Déposition de M. PROUDHON. A happy expression of M. Trélat in the Assembly made a great impression at the time: "La vérité me force de dire que dans ses rapports avec les ouvriers M. Louis Blanc les excitait plutôt qu'il ne les apaisait, et leur inspirait la haute Espagnole plus que la fraternité Française."—*Annuaire Historique*, 1848, p. 265.

* "Les prostitués et les forçats m'ont adressé des félicitations dont l'ironie obscène témoignait des égarements de l'opinion."—PROUDHON, *Confessions d'un Révolutionnaire*, ch. xi. xii.

† He formally brought forward a motion for the establishment of the "rights of labour," declaring, at the same time, that if it was not conceded there would remain only to the people the "sacred right of insurrection." The Assembly, indignant, by a great majority, passed to the order of the day, on the ground "that the proposition of the citizen Proudhon is an odious attack on the principles of public morality, a flagrant violation of the right of property, the base of social order, and a direct incitement and appeal to the worst passions, and disgrace to the Revolution of February, by deducing such corollaries from its success."—*Moniteur*, August 1, 1848.

His wrath exhaled in an especial manner at the Jacobins, whom he considered as having betrayed the cause of the people for their own selfish ends. "The demagogues," said he, "so well known in France during the last sixty years under the name of Jacobins, are nothing but the *juste milieu*, disguised under an affectation of violence and revolutionary zeal. Jacobinism desires offices, not institutions; it is the hypocrisy of progress." The termination of the public career of this dangerous zealot was neither the crown of martyrdom nor the sceptre of power; it was an ignominious end, which discredited him as much as he had his opponents. Brought before the "Cour d'Assises" on the 28th March 1849, he was condemned to pay a fine of 3000 francs (£120), and to be imprisoned three years. He has not been since heard of in French history.

4. Other changes were introduced, less exciting at the moment than these doctrines, but more important in their consequences to the country. The old restrictions upon the periodical press, which had been so much complained of in Louis Philippe's time, especially that which compelled them to find caution to meet fines imposed or damages awarded against them, were restored. A permanent law, nominally regulating, in reality suppressing, the clubs, was passed by an immense majority. The law of 2d March, imposing the restriction of ten hours on labour in Paris and eleven in the country, was repealed, and twelve hours fixed for both; and the *octroi* on butcher-meat in towns was re-established. Imprisonment for debt, which had been abolished by a decree of the Provisional Government on March 9th, was restored, after a long and animated discussion, on the 1st September. An important modification in the law regulating the formation of juries was introduced, after a vehement opposition from the extreme Liberals. By this change, the jury-lists, instead of being made up, as heretofore under the Republican regime, of the whole inhabitants without distinction who had attained the

age of twenty-one years, were to be made up in each canton by a committee composed of the councillor-general of the canton, a *juge de paix*, and two members of the municipal council in the cantons, who were empowered to exclude persons entirely illiterate, or who had been condemned to above a year's imprisonment. At the same time the legal age of jurymen was raised to thirty, and the majority requisite to convict was reduced from nine, to which it had been raised by a decree on 7th March, to eight. The important matter of public education underwent an anxious discussion, and was the subject of several narrow divisions. By the law as finally adopted, primary instruction was declared to be gratuitous, and at the expense of the State. But this was rather in appearance than reality; for those among the peasantry who received tuition for their children were to pay for the schools in their local taxes; those who did not require it were to pay double. Several minute regulations were laid down for securing the appointment of proper teachers, and giving a control over their nomination to the council-general of the department. A proposal, brought forward by M. Crémieux, to re-establish the liberty of divorce, which had been sanctioned by the laws of the Revolution and Consulate, was rejected; and an attempt was made by the Minister of Public Instruction to establish agricultural schools at the public expense in the Departments. Thus, on all sides, legislation was retracing its steps, and seeking to re-establish those restraints on popular licence which the experience of mankind in every age has proved to be indispensable.

5. M. Goudchoux, the Finance Minister, brought forward a plan of taxation, suggested rather by utter desperation at the state of the public treasury than by any possible hopes of success, which deserves attention, as well from the principles on which it was founded as from the statistical facts which it brought to light. His system, based on the immense dispro-

portion between the taxes affecting land or houses, and those attaching to movable property or professional income, proposed to remedy the injustice by imposing a tax on incomes of the latter description, so as to equalise the burdens on heritable and movable property.* By this means he hoped to attract capital to the cultivation of the soil, at present repelled from it by the enormous weight of the direct taxes exclusively affecting real property. The entire movable revenue which would then be brought within the pale of taxation he estimated at 3,000,000,000 francs (£120,000,000), and this property he proposed to tax two per cent. The almost unanimous resistance which this financial project awakened, and which occasioned the fall of the minister who had brought it forward, is a very remarkable circumstance, singularly illustrative of the prostrate condition of French real property and agriculture. Land in France at this time was very heavily taxed; it paid £14,000,000, while the greater part of movable income was entirely exempted; yet this proposal of the Finance Minister, to lay even the moderate burden of two per cent on movable property, was almost unanimously rejected! Considering that at least two-thirds of the deputies were the representatives of rural constituencies, this result is very remarkable, and apparently inexplicable. It strangely contrasts with the overthrow of the Derby Ministry in England in 1852, which resulted from an equally equitable attempt to extend the house-tax to houses rented from £10 to £20 a-year. It seems to have arisen from the ignorance, poverty, and conse-

quent inefficiency of the great majority of the rural electors, which rendered them incapable of any joint movement even in their own defence, and illustrates the remark, forced upon the mind by so many passages of French history in the last half-century, that the effect of the Revolution has been to reduce the rural inhabitants of France to the condition of the ryots of Hindostan.

6. These discussions yielded in magnitude and ultimate importance to those on the FORMATION OF A CONSTITUTION, which now forced itself upon the Assembly. The duty of framing it had been devolved, in the beginning of June, on a committee composed of the most enlightened members. A preliminary question arose whether the state of siege, voted by acclamation during the revolt of June, should be continued; and General Cavaignac earnestly and emphatically declared that it should, as it was not the executive power, but the Assembly itself, which was invested with the dictatorial power, which he only wielded. The Assembly acquiesced in this view, and, by a majority of 529 to 140, determined on its continuance till the discussions on the constitution were terminated. Several journals, among others the *Gazette de France*, were suppressed; the *Constitutionnel* itself made a narrow escape during the general crusade against free discussion. These, however, were mere preliminary or precautionary measures; the real question at issue was the construction of a constitution. The discussion commenced on the 2d July, and was only concluded by the formal adoption of the constitution, as then modified, on 23d October. On the important question whether the legislature should be in one or two chambers, the debate was conducted by two distinguished men, Lamartine and Odillon Barrot, whose speeches on this occasion are well worthy of being studied.

7. "I have witnessed," said Lamartine, "the misfortunes and catastrophes which have befallen a nation governed by one legislature; but I have seen the same under a govern-

* The Minister stated the movable income of France as follows:—

	Francs.
Profits of Farmers (exclusive of rent of land), . . .	1,066,000,000
Trade and Commerce, . . .	1,100,000,000
Government Offices, . . .	300,000,000
Public Offices, . . .	200,000,000
Salaries, . . .	300,000,000
Dividends, Government Annuities, &c., . . .	510,000,000
	3,536,000,000
	or £140,000,000

—*Moniteur*, August 5, 1848.

ment resting on two; and I see no identity between the situation of the countries in which the latter form is established and that of our country. The examples of Great Britain and America are not applicable. In them, two assemblies existed in consequence of the nature, ambiguity, and interests of those two great nations. Has France any aristocracy like England? No! we may say, with Pascal: 'What is true beyond the Pyrenees is not true on this side of those mountains.' The considerations which led to the adoption of a senate in America are widely different from those which have inspired the proposal for a second chamber in this country. The Senate there represents the federal principle, which is the basis of their union, but which is not so of a republic one and indivisible. But the idea, in the present social state of France, of clothing what must be a second democratic chamber with aristocratic forms, is a dream—a chimera. It would be a real danger, a perilous step, to attempt to resuscitate an aristocracy in a democratic society. What are you all? Revolutionary statesmen; and if you would act up to that character you must divest yourselves of all historical recollections, and of all the fictions on which the royal power has recently been rested.

8. "How is a constitution to work in which there is a president invested with the executive powers of two chambers? He has not the power of dissolving either. Then if a difference arises between them, or between either and himself, how is he to reconcile the difference? How are the elections of the senators to be regulated? Are they to be chosen on account of their fortunes or their age? If so elected, would they form an aristocracy in our sense of the word? Would they not rather form the representatives of the bankers and the *Chaussée d'Antin*? They would be, not the *Chevaliers de l'Épée*, but the *Chevaliers de la Bourse*. Would you be justified in laying down a certain age or fortune as an indispensable preliminary to an election for the

upper chamber? Could you say to Franklin, or to Royer-Collard, 'Your years do not admit of your sitting in the junior chamber; go to the chamber of the ancients, to the Luxembourg, and leave this chamber to its youth and inexperience'? Menaced on all sides, society as at present will for long be under the necessity of recurring to the protection of a dictator. In such a case who is to elect him? Is the choice to be confided to the two assemblies, almost certain in that event to be at variance with each other, or is it to be intrusted to the one to the exclusion of the other? If committed to one man to avoid the difficulty, what security have we that the choice would be rightly exercised? It might be between a Monk and a Napoleon."

9. "The project of establishing a single chamber," said M. Odillon Barrot in reply, "is one of the most insane, and fatal to democracy itself, which can enter into a human head. What we are now called upon to organise is a permanent convention. To found a constitution, a constituent assembly is necessary—unity is indispensable to the work of creation. Every power effecting a revolution, demolishing an old edifice, should be single. The Convention, assailed by foreign and domestic foes, did not establish by its side an independent executive power, but a power which it could send to the scaffold if its mandates were disobeyed or proved unsuccessful. If the Assembly now votes one chamber with a dependent executive, it will restore the Convention in all its omnipotence, for the executive power which itself has created must either yield obedience to its mandates or be itself destroyed. The question then is, whether it is either necessary or expedient to resort to so extreme a measure when not impelled to it by any necessity—to do that when at peace with all the world, and distracted by no internal convulsion, which was only justified formerly by the assault of Europe and the dangers of the Venetian war.

10. "What is the cause of the universal uneasiness and perturbation which

prevail, and the general feeling in favour of a dictatorship? It rests upon the opinion so often proved by experience, now generally admitted, that democracy cannot regulate or moderate itself. All democracies have begun by establishing one single legislative power, but experience has everywhere taught them that a balance was indispensable, and that a power responsible to none—the most omnipotent that can be desired—must soon fall from its very weight if uncontrolled. It is true there is now no aristocracy in France, and it is also true that France can never become, like America, a federal union of separate republics. There is but one force in France, the democratic force; but does it follow from that circumstance that that single force is to be altogether uncontrolled? Can democracy not be tempered by democracy, and can we not discover in republican institutions such a controlling power? The Council of State cannot act as such a controlling power; it is a mere consulting council, to whom projects of change are to be submitted before they are brought before the Assembly. During eighteen years I have laboured in vain to consolidate this constitutional system under the monarchy; but all those efforts were rendered nugatory the moment Louis Philippe resolved to liberate himself from control, and to establish on the throne a system abhorred by the country. What I failed in doing to the monarchy I now would wish to render to the republic. *Pretenders are not to be feared*; democracy has no other enemy to fear but itself; and it will be saved only on the day when it is organised and regulated."

11. The Assembly, as might have been anticipated, decided in favour of one chamber by a majority of 530 to 289. The "sovereign power" of legislation accordingly was vested in a single Assembly, and Lamartine, who was not without a secret hope of becoming its ruler, was triumphant. But the all-important question remained, by whom was the president of the Chamber to be appointed, and what were to be his powers as the avowed

chief magistrate of the republic? Opinions were much divided on this point, some adhering to an election by the Assembly, others to a direct appeal to the people. Contrary to expectation, M. de Lamartine supported the nomination by the whole inhabitants of France. M. Leblond was the chief orator on the other side; and as it was fully anticipated that the people of all France, if left to themselves, would choose a conservative president, he was supported by the whole extreme democratic party in the Assembly.

12. "When the people make choice of their representatives," said he, "if they commit an error in their selection, they soon have it in their power to rectify it, either by dismissing him at the next election, or by neutralising his vote by that of others more to their mind. The choice of good men may be thus made to compensate those of bad ones. But who is to correct a mistake in the choice of a President of the Republic? What incalculable consequences may flow from the unhappy selection of such an officer! and how much are the fruits of a false step in this particular aggravated by its requiring to be taken in the first years of the republic! What a combination of qualities is required in such a magistrate at this time! Dignity to sustain the reputation of France abroad; firmness, mingled with moderation, to restrain its passions within; the hand which can at once protect liberty and restrain its excesses; modesty and disinterestedness, alike proof against the seductions and the mortifications of power. Will not his responsibility give him more right in imposing on him more rigorous duties? Will he not be naturally anxious to illustrate his brief tenure of power, and to leave in History some larger record of his reign than a mere date? Under the constitutional regime ambition centres on the minister's portfolios, and their keepers may be changed. But who is to change an immovable president, a king whose reign is to last four years? Can anything be so insane, therefore, as to intrust the choice of such a powerful and lasting magistrate, not to an

assembly whose members have been selected for their eminence, and enlightened by their experience of public affairs, but to a huge body of general electors, the vast majority of whom must necessarily be ignorant alike of the qualities required in a president, and of those which distinguish the different candidates for that office?"

13. Powerful as these considerations were, they did not deter M. de Lamartine from strongly supporting the direct appeal to the people. He could not be convinced of the fatal blow which his popularity had received from his coalition with Ledru-Rollin. He still thought he was lord of the ascendant, and would be the people's choice if the nomination was vested in their hands. "If you desire," said he, "a president of the republic, he must be named by the republic. Appointed by the Chamber, he would never be more than its delegate. Such a system would virtually destroy the executive. Would he not be of necessity pledged to the majority which had elected him—a majority, it may be, of only ten or twenty votes? What a phantom of authority would a president thus elected prove! and what influence could he have either in asserting externally the dignity of France, or in repressing within its internal factions? Even supposing the people, impelled by a general and irresistible impulse, should fix their choice upon some dangerous character, my decision would be the same—*Acta facta est*: the die is cast; let God and the people declare the result. We must leave something to Providence.

14. "Possibly we may perish in the undertaking: and I say this not in the spirit of a menace to myself or my friends, but as a title to glory. I hope better things, however, of France: I hope so firmly and confidently. Should it, however, prove otherwise, and the people be deceived in their choice; if they are determined to disavow us and themselves, and resolved to renounce the immense hopes which may legitimately be formed from popular rule; if they are determined to repudiate their security, their future,

their liberty,—on their heads rests the responsibility, and not on us, whose merit it has been to have restored their liberty, and left them only the task of guarding and protecting it. But I repeat it: if they are resolved to recur to the conditions of the monarchy; if they will throw away the future which lies before them, to pursue some delusive meteor, they are their own masters: they may do so; they are their own sovereign. It is not for us to say, 'Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther;' or here shalt thou go, and not there. If they are determined to ruin themselves, we shall say with the vanquished at Pharsalia,

'Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni.'

And that protest, which will be the eternal accusation of a nation imprudent and abandoned enough thus to abandon its liberty, will be a sufficient vindication of us in the eyes of posterity."

15. When language of this very remarkable kind was used by one who had been the principal mover of the Revolution in February, and for long the idol of its supporters, it was evident that some very marked change, known to and understood by all, had taken place in the ruling power in the Republic. This was really the case: by extending the suffrage to all France, the revolutionists had dug the grave of their own power. The result, accordingly, decisively demonstrated the strength of this feeling even in the first Assembly elected under universal suffrage, and how well founded were the mournful prognostications of Lamartine as to the approaching extinction of liberty by the very completeness of the triumph of its supporters. In the final division on the subject (Oct. 7), it was carried by a majority of 391—the numbers being 602 to 211—that the choice of a President should be referred by the Assembly to the people. This was equivalent to electing Prince Louis Napoleon at once to that high office, as it was perfectly understood that the great majority of the electors would choose him

for President. It appears at first sight strange how, when this was the real object of the large majority in the Assembly, they did not adopt the shorter and straightforward course of themselves electing him. But the motive, when once revealed, is perfectly intelligible: it was terror. They resolved to throw the responsibility of his election on the people at large, for the same reason that the Girondists advocated the appeal to the people, with the design of saving Louis XVI. In both cases the National Assembly sought to do indirectly what they wished, but had not the courage openly to propose.

16. The formation of the constitution having been at length concluded, it was finally adopted, on 4th November, by a majority of 737 to 30 votes. Among the dissentients were MM. Pierre Leroux and Proudhon, extreme communists, and MM. Berryer and de Larochefajaquelein, Royalists. Victor Hugo and M. de Montalembert were also in the minority, though no two men could be found whose opinions on general subjects were more opposite. So decided had the bent of the nation now become to conservative principles, that out of fifteen members elected for the Assembly to fill up vacancies in October, only three were republican; and of these, two—MM. Arago and Laudrin—were decidedly opposed to Communist principles. On the evening of the day on which it was adopted by the Assembly, the intelligence was communicated to the Parisians by 101 guns discharged from the Invalides. The sound at first excited the utmost alarm, as it was feared the civil war was renewed: when it was known that it was *only the announcement of a constitution*, the panic subsided, and the people, careless and indifferent, dispersed to their homes. The formal proclamation took place on the Sunday following, amidst the roar of cannon, and all the pomp of military display. But the people had been too much accustomed to those pageants, and were too well aware, from dear-bought experience, of the fragile nature of such constitutions,

to evince any enthusiasm on the occasion. The weather was dark and gloomy, and by some it was deemed of sinister augury that, before the spectacle was over, a heavy fall of snow chilled the feelings and dispersed the crowds of the spectators.

17. By the constitution thus adopted, the form of government in France was declared to be republican, the electors being chosen by universal suffrage, and the president in the same way. The right of the working classes to employment was negatived, it being declared, however, that the Government, so far as its resources went, was to furnish labour to the unemployed. The punishment of death was abolished in purely political offences. Slavery was to be extinguished in every part of the French dominions. The right of association and public meeting was guaranteed; voting, whether for the representatives or the president, was to be by ballot; the representatives once chosen might be re-elected any number of times. The president required to be a French citizen, of at least thirty years of age, and one who had not lost on any occasion his right of citizenship. He was to be elected for four years, and a simple majority was to determine the election. The return of votes was to be immediately forwarded by the returning officers to the Assembly, who were to scrutinise them. Should no candidate have an absolute majority of the whole votes, the Assembly were to choose the president from among the five standing highest on the list. The president was re-eligible after having served the first four years; he was to reside in the palace of the Assembly, and receive a salary of 600,000 francs a-year. A vice-president, also for four years, was to be appointed by the Assembly on the nomination of the president, within a month after his election, and in case of his absence or illness he was to exercise the power of president; but in the event of death or resignation, a new president was to be chosen by the people at large. The whole ministers of state were to be appointed by the president, who also

was to command the armed force, declare peace and war, conduct negotiations with foreign powers, and generally exercise all the powers of sovereignty, with the exception of appointing the judges of the supreme courts in Paris, who were to be named by the Assembly, and to hold their offices for life. Political offences were to be tried by jury. The *juges de paix*, as well as all subordinate judges and functionaries, were to be appointed by the president. The armed forces were never to deliberate; substitutes for military service were prohibited, all the citizens being called indiscriminately to the duty of defending the country. The Legion of Honour was maintained, but its statutes were to be remodelled in conformity with the democratic principle. The Assembly was to frame the organic laws of the republic, and the president was to be elected immediately after the adoption of the constitution.

18. Disguised under the form of a republic, this constitution was in reality monarchical, for the president was invested with all the substantial power of sovereignty; and as he was capable of being re-elected, his tenure of office might be prolonged for an indefinite period. The extreme republicans distinctly perceived this; and as a sure instinct told them that Prince Louis Napoleon was certain to be elected president, they wished to make the best use of the intervening time to renew the most violent democratic agitation. Taking advantage of the article in the constitution which permitted political associations and meetings, the clubs were all reopened, and the most vigorous efforts were made to recover the democratic power. But though the attempt led to several local disorders and tumults, which had sometimes a threatening aspect, the movement had very little success. The flame of democracy had burnt out, or been extinguished in the blood of the barricades. The chief Socialist leaders were in prison or exile on account of their real or supposed accession to the insurrection in June; and such as remained found it impossible to restore

the passions which had led to such disastrous results. All eyes were now fixed on the election of the president; and though there were several candidates for that high office, yet it was soon apparent that the suffrage would really come to be divided between two—General Cavaignac and Prince Louis Napoleon.

19. The door had already been opened to the latter by an election which took place at Paris on the 17th September, when the young Prince was again elected by a large majority. Four other departments in the country had already elected him. On this occasion he no longer hesitated, but accepted his election for the department of the Seine. He took his seat on the 26th September, and made the following speech on the occasion, which was very favourably received by the Assembly: "Citizen representatives, I can no longer maintain silence after the calumnies of which I have been the object. I require to announce openly, and on this the first occasion on which I have been permitted to take my seat among you, the sentiments which animate, and have always animated me. After three-and-thirty years of proscription and exile, I at length find myself among you, I again regain my country and my rights as one of its citizens. It is to the republic that I owe that happiness; let the republic then receive my oath of gratitude, of devotion; and let my generous fellow-citizens, to whom I am indebted for my seat in this legislature, feel assured that I will strive to justify their suffrages, by labouring with you for the maintenance of tranquillity, the first necessity of the country, and for the development of the democratic institutions which the country is entitled to reclaim. For long I have been able only to consecrate to France the meditations of exile and captivity; now the career on which you have entered is open to me; receive me into your ranks, my dear colleagues, with the same sentiments of affection with which I am inspired towards you. My conduct, ever guided by a sense of duty and respect for the laws, will

prove, in opposition to the passions by which I have been maligned and still blackened, that none is more anxious than I am to devote myself to the defence of order and the consolidation of the republic."

20. Threatened by this formidable entrant into the Assembly, and alarmed at the manifestation of conservative feeling which was every day becoming more conspicuous, the Socialists and extreme Democrats had recourse to the tactics which had proved so successful in the last days of Louis Philippe's reign. They got up a series of banquets both in Paris and the provinces, at which the retrograde policy was violently assailed, and the universal misery which prevailed ascribed, not to the Revolution, but to the Assembly which had receded from its principles. M. Ledru-Rollin attended one of these festivals held in Paris on 22d September, and indignantly asked, "What has been done since the 24th of February? I much fear that we have not advanced much in that time, and that we are already very far from the principles then announced. The men of February are now, under the pressure of the majority, excluded from all the situations which they then held." On the same day a banquet, presided over by the prefect, was held at Toulouse, where, amidst thunders of applause, the most inflammatory language was used: "Mort aux riches," "Mort aux Prêtres," "A bas l'Assemblée Nationale," "Vive Barbès," "Vive la Guillotine," were heard on all sides. A similar demonstration took place on the same day, accompanied by similar excesses, at Bourges; but although these revolutionary orgies excited great uneasiness in Paris, and were the subject of warm debates and bitter reproaches in the Assembly, they were in reality not formidable. The revolutionary action was generally extinct in France; all classes, except a few agitators who hoped to profit by them, sighed for a termination of the convulsions, and a return to the paths of peaceful industry. So evidently was this the national wish, so immense the majority who were actuated by it,

that although the banquets still continued, and anarchical toasts, amidst loud applause, were drunk both in Paris and the departments, the Assembly felt it safe to terminate the state of siege in the capital, which was brought to a conclusion on the 19th October.

21. Meanwhile the contest for the presidency was daily becoming more vehement between General Cavaignac and Louis Napoleon. Had it taken place at an earlier period, before the nation had had practical experience of the effects of revolutionary government, it is probable that the former might have been the successful candidate, for he had many advantages in his favour—a character long established for republican principles, undaunted resolution in the suppression of anarchy, and the actual possession of supreme unlimited power, with all the patronage consequent on its enjoyment. But at this stage of the movement the chances had turned against him. His reign was inseparably connected in the minds, especially of the rural electors, with the prolongation of the revolutionary regime, and with it its *cmeutes*, its bankruptcies, and total cessation of prosperous industry. What they desired was a MONARCH, who might terminate all these evils, and restore the prosperity which, ever since the convulsion of February, had been unknown in France. This monarch they hoped to find in Louis Napoleon. The elder Bourbons were banished; the younger branch discredited; but the Napoleon dynasty remained unstained by faction, undiscredited by folly; and it was under the shelter of its illustrious name that the country could alone hope to regain tranquillity. Beyond all doubt, the great majority of the rural electors thought that, in voting for Louis Napoleon as president, they were closing the republican regime, and in effect enthroning an emperor. Prudent and sagacious, waiting his time, and careful "not to pluck the pear till it was ripe," the future president, while these ideas were spreading in men's minds, was cautious not to alarm the jealousy

of the republicans by any open disclosure of his ultimate views. On the contrary, they were, when imprudently revealed by his partisans, studiously and emphatically denied by himself.*

22. Nevertheless, General Cavaignac, supported by his cabinet and all the official persons by whom he was surrounded, could not be brought to perceive the truth as to the chances of his succeeding in the election. He was not, however, without misgivings as to the result, and was alternately sanguine in his hopes and gloomy in his anticipations. The greatest difficulty with which he had to contend, was to repel the assaults made upon him in reference to his military conduct on occasion of the revolt in June. Civilians, of whom the great majority of the Assembly was composed, could not be brought to understand why the insurrection had been allowed to acquire such a head before it was seriously attacked, and indignantly asked where were the 20,000 regular troops at his disposal when the half of Paris was occupied by the insurgents, and barricades in every direction were erected on the evening of the 23d June. His assailants even went so far as to reproach him with being actuated with ambitious motives on that occasion, and involving the capital in bloodshed and massacre in order to secure the conferring of dictatorial power upon himself. The reply of the General in the Assembly on the 25th November was nervous and eloquent. After recounting the military reasons which rendered it indispensable not to divide his forces in presence of so formidable a mass of insurgents, and the disastrous consequences which might have followed the defection or defeat

of any considerable body of regular troops, he added: "Be explicit in your charges. Say, have you not endeavoured to drag to that bar a General charged with being negligent, inert, incapable? speak out boldly, for he is before you. He takes the nation for his judges. If you wish to denounce him as a mere ambitious villain, a traitor, who has sought to cut a path to the dictatorship for himself across blood and ruins—speak now; let there be no false delicacy, no equivocation. It is not my ability which is at issue, but my honour; it is no longer the statesman who speaks, but the soldier, and him you will not refuse to hear. You think to serve the Republic by your violence; the day will come when it will be seen whether you or I have most effectually served it. I know not whether M. Ledru-Rollin has separated from me or I from him; but this I do know, that a separation exists, and that, so far as I am concerned, it is likely to be eternal." Upon this debate General Cavaignac was supported by a majority of 583 to 170; a result highly gratifying to his feelings, and such as was obviously conformable to the justice of the case.*

23. Previous to going to the poll, General Cavaignac and Prince Louis Napoleon issued addresses to the electors, which are of value as indicating the political parties and principles

* "Des personnes bien informées ayant averti le Représentant Louis Buonaparte que des insensés travaillent dans l'ombre, et préparent une émeute en son nom, dans le but évident de le compromettre aux yeux des hommes d'ordre, et des Républicains sincères, Louis Napoléon a cru devoir faire part de ces bruits à M. Dufaure, Ministre de l'Intérieur. Il a ajouté qu'il repoussait énergiquement toute participation à des menées si complètement contraires à ses sentiments politiques, et à la conduite qu'il a tenue depuis le 24 Février."—*Journal des Débats*, Oct. 24, 1848.

* "The following conversation, recorded by Lord Normanby, between General Cavaignac and the members of the Provisional Government on the evening of the 23d June, will explain better than anything else the General's military reasons for his conduct on that day: "Une dernière tentative fut faite auprès du Général, MM. Arago, Marie, Lamarque, Ledru-Rollin, avec M. Barthélemy St Hilaire le pressant de commencer l'attaque. Le Général fut inflexible, et les instances dont il était l'objet irritant sa colère, 'Croyez vous,' dit-il, 'que je sois ici pour défendre vos Parisiens, votre Garde Nationale? Quelle protége la ville et ses boutiques? Je ne veux pas disséminer mes troupes,—Je me rappelle 1830; je me rappelle Février. Si une seule de mes compagnies est désarmée, si nous subissons encore cet affront, je me brûle la cervelle; je ne survivrai pas au déshonneur.' On eut beau représenter au Général que son suicide ne remédierait à rien, qu'il s'agissait d'enlever les barricades qu'il avait laissé former. Aucun argument ne put le décider à donner l'ordre de l'attaque; le moment dé-

which they respectively represented. Cavaignac said: "The existence of the Republic is essentially linked with the maintenance of political and social order. The Republic without order, order without the Republic, are now alike impossible, and he who would attempt to separate them is a dangerous citizen, whom reason condemns and the country should disavow. Strive to imbibe these ideas, and to diffuse them among the citizens by whom you are surrounded. Founded on the great principle of universal suffrage, as it is now definitively fixed in its application, the constitution of the Republic gives full liberty to discussion, and thereby takes away all excuse for insurrection or revolt; for on what pretext can a faction, which is in a minority by the vote, pretend to be in a majority by rebellion? On the other hand, in presence of the incessant application of universal suffrage, where is the authority which could even dream of attempting to corrupt it? Universal suffrage is in itself the entire Revolution; every other principle is but an emanation and corollary from it. In the very first rank of those consequences you must consider that which places power under the action and immediate control of the majority. In the new condition which the Revolution has imposed on the Republic, to forget these principles would be a grave fault in any one; but a positive crime in one who, invested with any species of authority, should come to forget its source and foundation. The first result, the first danger of such an error, would be the annihilation of the power which had thus denied its origin and belied its principles."

24. Louis Napoleon's address was more specific in the delineation of the policy which, in the event of success, he would pursue as chief magistrate

cisif ne lui parut pas encore venu. On ajoutait que les insurgés gagnaient à tout instant du terrain. "Que m'importe?" répondit le Général: "eh bien, s'ils sont maîtres de Paris, je me retirerai avec mon armée dans les plaines de St Denis, et je leur livrerai bataille."—"Oui," dit M. Arago, "mais ils ne vous y suivront pas."—NORMANBY, ii. 322.

of the Republic. He thus expressed himself: "I am not so ambitious as to dream sometimes of the Empire, sometimes of war, sometimes of the application of subversive theories. Educated in free countries, in the school of misfortune, I shall always remain faithful to the duties which your suffrages may impose upon me. If I become President, I shall recoil from no danger, no sacrifice, to defend society so audaciously attacked: I shall devote myself, body and soul, without *arrière pensée*, to the consolidation of a Republic wise by its laws, honourable by its intentions, great and powerful by its actions. I shall consider my honour pledged at the expiration of four years to leave to my successor power confirmed, liberty intact, real progress accomplished. Whatever may be the result of the election, I shall bow to the will of the people; and my support is pledged beforehand to any government which may re-establish order in men's minds, as in material things; effectually protect religion, family property, the eternal bases of every social state; which may anticipate practical reforms, calm hatreds, reconcile parties, and permit a disquieted country to count upon the morrow. To re-establish order is to restore confidence, to provide by credit for the passing embarrassment of our finances, to restore the revenue, to reanimate commerce. To protect religion and family rights is to secure liberty of worship and education. To protect property is to maintain the inviolability of the produce of labour, to guarantee the independence and security of possession, the indispensable foundations of civil liberty.

25. "As to possible reforms, the following appear to me to be the most indispensable: To admit every economy which, without disorganising the public service, may permit an alleviation of the imposts most burdensome to the people; to encourage enterprise, which, by developing the riches of agriculture, may, in France and Algeria, furnish work to the unemployed; to provide for the relief of old age by encouraging foresight among

labourers, and to introduce into the laws affecting industry modifications which, without ruining the rich for the benefit of the poor, may found the wellbeing of each upon the prosperity of all; to restrain within just limits the number of employments which depend on power, and often convert a free people into a nation of beggars; to avoid that fatal tendency which prompts the State to undertake itself what can be better done by private individuals. The centralisation of interests is the policy of despotism; the nature of a republic excludes the idea of monopoly. In fine, to preserve the Press from its two dangers—arbitrary oppression, and its own licentiousness.

26. "War would bring us no alleviation of our evils. Peace is the dearest object of my desires. France, during the first Revolution, was warlike because Europe compelled her to become so. She answered invasion by conquest. Now that it is not provoked, it is at liberty to consecrate its resources to pacific ameliorations, without renouncing a loyal and resolute policy. A great nation should either remain silent, or never speak in vain. To think of the national dignity is to think of the army, whose noble and disinterested patriotism has so often been misunderstood. It is necessary, while maintaining the fundamental laws which constitute the strength of our military organisation, to lighten and not increase the burden of the conscription. It is time to devise measures for the present and future wellbeing not only of the officers, but of the sub-officers and soldiers, and to procure for men, who have long served their country, a comfortable existence. The Republic should be generous, and have trust in its fortunes. For my own part, having known exile and captivity, I daily invoke for my country the day when it can with safety terminate all proscriptions, and efface the last traces of our civil wars. The task is difficult, the mission immense, but I shall never despair of executing it when calling

to my aid all those, without distinction of party, whom public opinion has recommended, by their enlightened intelligence and approved probity. When you have the honour to be at the head of the French people, there is a sure mode of doing good, which is to wish it."

27. This remarkable letter is well worthy of a place in general history, not only from its containing a complete abstract of the opinions and policy of the very eminent man who has since played so memorable a part on the imperial throne, but because it bears in itself unmistakable traces of his own thought and composition. It contributed greatly to increase the chances in his favour; and they were still further added to by a calamitous series of events, to be detailed in the succeeding chapter, which at the same time involved the Italian revolution in murder, convulsion, and disgrace. Count Rossi, the French representative at the Court of Rome, had been foully assassinated by a band of Roman desperadoes on the steps of the Hall of the National Assembly, and the Pope reduced to such straits by the violence of the revolutionists that he had in the most abject manner solicited assistance from France, not so much to reinstate him in his authority as to save his life, which appeared to be in imminent danger. To this request General Cavaignac had acceded, and an expedition was fitted out to take possession of Rome. To this step he had been moved by the consideration that, if France did not render the aid requested, Austria would, and the influence of a rival power be thereby established in an important point of the Italian peninsula. But the tendering the solicited aid was attended with a difficulty to the executive government of a peculiarly embarrassing character, on the eve of the election for a chief magistrate of the Republic. The succour was to be sent, not to aid the Italian movement, but to check it, and this by a Government of a decidedly revolutionary character, and which only eight months before had

owed its existence to the overthrow of an established sovereign! The obvious inconsistency of this struck the zealous French Liberals with astonishment, and filled them with indignation. However weighty might be the political considerations which induced the French Government to support the Pope in order to exclude the Austrians, they were less exciting than the prospect of extending the cause of Liberalism by openly aiding the insurgents; and General Cavaignac found himself not a little embarrassed by this charge of inconsistency in the contest for the presidency. Another incident, scarcely less damaging to the revolutionary Government, was the discovery that, among the persons to whom national recompenses had been awarded, were to be found the names of nearly all the assassins who had attempted the lives of the late King, or of the royal family.*

28. As the 10th December, the time of the election, approached, the anxiety of General Cavaignac and his friends painfully increased, and the influence of Government was used in the most unsparing and unblushing way to secure his success. But it was all in vain. When the day arrived, although in a few great towns Cavaignac had the majority, the most stunning accounts poured in from all sides of the great adverse majorities in the departments; and at length, when the lists were summed up, there appeared no less than 5,334,226 votes for Louis Napoleon, and only 1,448,107 for Cavaignac! The other numbers were so much below that they were not worth mentioning. Ledru-Rollin had only 370,119 votes; the socialist Raspail, 36,226; Lamartine, 19,900; General Changarnier, 4700! The National Assembly, as a matter of course, declared Louis Napoleon president, and he took, on the 20th December, the prescribed oath, which was in these terms: "In the presence of God, and

of the French people, I swear to remain faithful to the democratic Republic one and indivisible, and to discharge all the duties imposed on me by the constitution." Never had the voice of a nation spoken out more decidedly than that of France did on this occasion. The result completely demonstrated the truth of General Cavaignac's remark to Lord Normanby, "The Revolution was the work of a *tyrant minority*." "It remains only," said M. de Tocqueville, "to be seen whether it is the *Revolution* or the *Revolutionists* whom the country cannot abide."

29. Although Cavaignac did his utmost to bear his defeat with dignity, he could not avoid a little display of ill-humour when the ceremony of inauguration was going on; and when Prince Louis, at its close, went up and held out his hand to him, though he took it, he turned aside his head, and did not rise up. Lamartine's character as a public man was completely lost, as was proved by the miserable minority which voted for him: he had never recovered his unprincipled coalition with Ledru-Rollin to secure a place in the Government chosen by the Assembly, and he had forfeited the only opportunity which presented itself of regaining it, which was by making a bold and manly speech when the insurrection of June was under discussion. He had in private been loud and unmeasured in his abuse of General Cavaignac for his conduct on that occasion, and he was known to be in possession of its secret history; but he never mounted the tribune when it was under discussion. When Garnier Pages descended from it, he said to Lamartine across several other members, "Now, if you do not speak, you are ruined as a public man." He did not do so, and sank to rise no more. Serious apprehensions were entertained of popular violence on occasion of so great a

* La femme de l'épén et ses enfans, une pension de . . . 500 fr. chacun.
 La sœur de l'assassin Leconte, . . . 500 francs.
 Boucheron, assassin des Duc d'Orléans et Nemours, . . . 500 do.
 Coffineau, voleur, condamné à six ans de détention, . . . 300 do.

defeat of the Radical party, and the funds fell rapidly; but the precautions taken by the Government were so complete that the eventful day which terminated the popular reign passed over without any disturbance.

30. The first care of the new President was to appoint a Ministry, the list of which appeared in the *Moniteur* the day after his election. The ministers chosen were probably the best he could have got under the circumstances, but they presented few names of note. M. Odillon Barrot was the President of the Council; M. Drouhyn de Lhuys, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Léon de Maleville, Minister of the Interior; General Rulhières, Minister at War; M. de Tracy, of the Marine; M. de Falloux, of Public Worship and Instruction; M. Bixio, of Agriculture and Commerce; M. Hippolyte Passy, of Finance. The Cabinet was the representative of the opposition which had overturned the Orléans dynasty. It was an ominous circumstance, however, that none of the experienced statesmen of the Orléans time were to be found in the Administration. The new President had declared that he would select his Cabinet from men of acknowledged ability, of whatever party: but neither M. Guizot, nor M. Thiers, nor M. de Lamarzine, nor M. de Montalembert, were there. Mediocrity was its characteristic; pliant ability appeared to be the chief recommendation to admission into it. This is always the case with governments selected under popular influence, save when instant danger compels the people to give themselves masters, not servants, by placing real ability at the helm. Aristocracy is jealous of talent when not entirely subservient, but democracy is much more so.

31. The first care of the new Ministry was to endeavour to provide for the financial necessities of the State. This was a subject which could no longer be delayed; for the exigencies of the country, from the increase of expenditure on the one hand, and the diminution of income on the other, had come to such a point that absolute bankruptcy stared the nation in the

face. The Government being now changed, the veil was rudely drawn from this important subject, and the difficulties in which the Revolution had involved the country were presented in undisguised colours. From the statement of the Finance Minister it appeared that the expenses of the year had been 1,800,000,000 francs, while the receipts were only 1,383,000,000 francs, leaving a deficit of 417,000,000 francs (£6,760,000), to be provided for by loans or extraordinary resources. To meet this deficit, no less than 103,790,000 francs had been borrowed from the sinking fund, 250,000,000 francs from other sources, and a floating debt of 150,000,000 francs from the Bank of France! The estimate for the succeeding year was equally alarming. The demands of Government for that year would exceed those of the present by 32,000,000 francs, and the probable deficit at the end of the year would exceed 400,000,000 francs (£16,000,000)! With truth did the Finance Minister say, that "these figures were more eloquent than any words which he could utter." No less than 270,000,000 francs of this large sum were occasioned by the extra expenses of the Provisional Government and Assembly. The expenditure of France in this year was nearly double of what it had been in the latter years of Charles X., when it had been 940,000,000 francs.

32. The comparative produce of the direct and indirect taxes in France during the years 1846, 1847, and 1848 is still more descriptive of the effect of the social convulsions on the industry and prosperity of the country. Between the years 1847 and 1848, the falling-off in the indirect taxes had been 145,000,000 francs (£5,000,000); and the direct taxes, which were calculated on as producing, with the 45 per cent, 623,456,000 francs, realised only 527,994,000 francs—leaving a deficit of no less than 95,462,000 francs (£3,800,000) on the part of the direct imposts, even with the heavy addition made to this amount, which, on paper, was estimated at 162,524,000 francs! The imports and exports did not present a more flattering aspect.

Taken together, they exhibited in the "general commerce" a falling-off of 599,000,000 francs (£23,960,000), or about 23 per cent on the produce of the preceding year. The "special commerce," as the French call it, which is the imports for national consumption, and the exports of the produce of national industry, exhibited a still more alarming decline: they had sunk, taken together, 26 per cent; and the importations, taken alone, no less than 43 per cent. The shipping had fallen off in a similar proportion; it had declined from 3,146,000 tons in 1847, to 1,965,000 tons in 1848, which showed a sinking of 27 per cent. The falling-off in articles imported required in manufactures showed how grievously they had suffered: those of silk had sunk from 76,000,000 lb. to 38,000,000 lb.; while the decline on the duty on sugar showed how seriously the consumption by the working classes of that necessary article had been affected, for it had decreased in amount and value no less than 48,000,000 francs (£1,920,000).

33. When such had been the result of the Revolution to the material interests of the nation, it was not surprising that all classes were discontented with it, and that the repose was universally sighed for which the convulsion had so violently interrupted. Revolution had worked out its natural fruits in ruining the industry of the whole nation. The continuance of its regime was desired only by the insurrectionary leaders who had been, or hoped to be, elevated to greatness by a continuance of the public disturbances. To them, however, the result of the election of the President had been a matter of the most unbounded astonishment and of extreme mortification. Nothing could bring them to see that the domination of the Parisian clubs was regarded with very different eyes in the solitude of the fields by the people who paid the taxes, from what it was in the streets of the metropolis by those who received them. The result, however, is fraught with a political lesson of extreme importance, and which, though often

enunciated in former days, had been wellnigh lost sight of amidst the mingled enthusiasm and heartburnings consequent on the French Revolution. This is the old truth, that while the strength of democracy is always to be found in the *prolétaires* of great towns or mining and manufacturing districts, that of Conservatism is to be sought in the *country* proprietors; and that that state is most likely to stand the shock best which contains the greatest number of independent *rural* freeholders. Beyond all doubt it was the multitude of these which was the main cause of the triumphant return of Louis Napoleon for the President's chair. The peasant proprietors understood they were voting for an emperor, and the suppression of the clubs of Paris, when they recorded their suffrages for him. Tenacious beyond any other class of their little possessions, and averse to burdens being imposed on them, the determination of these proprietors was taken the moment they heard of the Ateliers Nationaux at Paris, and the addition of forty-five per cent to the direct taxes to maintain them.

34. But it is not to be supposed from this that the same will hold in *all* countries placed in different circumstances, or that because universal suffrage has at last proved the grave of democracy in revolutionised France, therefore it would prove the same in *un-revolutionised* England. It was not so at first. Universal suffrage on the other side of the Channel in 1792 produced not the Assembly of 1848, but the Convention. It placed at the helm, not a Louis Napoleon, but a Robespierre. A nation which has gone through a revolution may be expected to return to conservative principles when intrusted with the powers of self government, because it has felt what is the result of their abandonment; but one which has not done so will most assuredly plunge into the vortex. Nothing is so perilous as to trust to the good sense of a large body of men when their passions are strongly inflamed. Reason and knowledge cannot be supposed to rule

the great majority, although passion and delusion may. Nothing but bitter and dear-bought experience can be relied on to withstand their fascination. Before revolution a "Tory democracy" is a myth; after such an event it may sometimes prove a reality.

35. In addition to this there is one important specialty in the political condition of Great Britain at this time, which renders it peculiarly hazardous to act on the dream of a Tory democracy. There are at this time in Great Britain about an equal number of persons dependent on agriculture and on manufactures; each are about ten and a half millions. Supposing these different bodies of men to be swayed upon the whole by their respective instincts and traditions, the number of their representatives should be about equal, and in that event the balance would be cast by the members for Ireland. As above two-thirds of them sit for counties, this in the ordinary case should secure a majority for the Conservative interests. But in Ireland the case is just the reverse; the most violent members of the movement party are to be found in its county representatives. This is the

consequence of the unhappy religious divisions which have so long distracted that ill-starred country, and of the social position of the great majority of the electors, which, blinding them to their real material interests, renders them the passive instruments of spiritual ambition. As the elevation and advancement of their own church is the exclusive object of the Romish clergy, so everything which tends to embarrass or endanger the Protestant Establishment is sure in time to come, as it has done in time past, to receive their cordial support, whatever effect it may have on their lay constituents. As they know well that nothing is likely to do this so effectually as the overthrow of the English aristocracy, the majority of the Irish county members may be permanently relied on as a direct support to the movement party in Great Britain. This important peculiarity in our present social and political condition, directly the reverse of what might under other circumstances have been expected, should always be kept in view in any changes that may hereafter take place in the representative system of the United Empire.

CHAPTER LXIX.

ITALY, FROM THE BREAKING-OUT OF THE INSURRECTION IN JANUARY 1848, TO THE TAKING OF VICENZA BY RADETSKY IN AUGUST 1848.

* 1. AGITATED at once by the most violent social and political passions, ITALY, in the beginning of 1848, was, as already mentioned, in such a state of excitement that it did not require the shock of the French Revolution to throw the whole peninsula into convulsions. So strongly, indeed, was the Italian mind stirred at this period, that it appeared probable that the outbreak would take place sooner to the south than the north of the Alps. The concessions already made

to the demand for reform had produced such a ferment, that the whole Liberal party in that peninsula, so far from being satisfied with what they had gained, passionately longed for still farther victories, and were everywhere prepared to take up arms to gain them. To the thirst for social amelioration and political power had come to be added the still stronger desire for national unity, by which alone, it was thought, either could be secured: and thus the strongest mun-

dane passions which can agitate the human heart—the love of freedom and the love of independence—were roused together, and caused for a time to draw in the same direction. It is not surprising that one of the most general revolutions and bloody wars of modern times arose from their united influence, and that the sacred cause “della unita et libertade Italiana” warmed every generous heart, and nerved not a few powerful arms, in their beautiful country.

2. The reforms of Pio Nono, the democratic concessions of Charles Albert, the more sweeping innovations of the King of Naples, had so strongly stimulated the revolutionary passions in Italy, that it was only a question of time when the smothered fires were to break forth to involve the peninsula in one general conflagration. Various events, prior to the Revolution of 1848, contributed to accelerate its approach. On the 22d December 1847, on occasion of some disorders which had taken place at Modena and Reggio, some Austrian troops, at the request of the Duke of Modena, entered the duchy to preserve the peace, which was immediately represented as an intervention in the affairs of Tuscany. At Milan the popular party passed a resolution against smoking in the streets, in order to diminish the imperial excise; and the attempt to enforce this resolution against the Austrian officers led to several quarrels, in which the latter made use of their arms. At Venice, a fanatical demagogue, named Tommaso, openly preached revolt; while at Rome, as already mentioned, the carriage of the Pope was surrounded by a tumultuous mob on 1st January, and a tricolor flag was insolently waved over the vehicle when his Holiness was still in it. At Genoa, on 3d January, a crowd assembled with the cries, “A bas les Jésuites!”—“Vive la garde civique!” and the citizens were forced to sign a petition to the King, praying for further reforms, couched in language so violent that even the Liberal ministry refused to receive it. Disorders of a still more serious character broke out

at Leghorn a few days after, attended with consequences of a grave description. An immense mob assembled under the windows of General Sfroni, the governor of the city, with cries of “Morte a Sfroni!”—“Viva Guerrazzi!”—the latter being a briefless advocate, the head of the Radical party. The governor had the weakness to appoint Guerrazzi to the command of a civic guard which a commission was appointed to organise. The consequence was, that he immediately issued a proclamation calling on the people to revolt; and the disorders were only arrested by the arrival of a considerable body of troops despatched by the Grand Duke from Florence. In Naples and Sicily, as already mentioned, the cause of revolution was entirely triumphant, the King having been obliged to proclaim a constitution, framed according to the demands of the Radical party; while in Sicily a provisional government was established, and severance from the continental dominions of the King openly proclaimed. Following the example of his southern neighbour, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, on 11th February, proclaimed a representative government; and in Rome a commission, with M. Rossi, the French ambassador, at its head, was appointed to examine and report upon the question how far such a constitution was consistent with the ecclesiastical government.

3. When such was already the temper of the public mind in Italy, it may be conceived what impression the Revolution of February in Paris made. The effect was instantaneous—it might be said, magical. Both parties immediately prepared to act upon it; the aristocratic, by almost unlimited concession—the democratic, by preparations for instant revolt. The Pope, on the 10th March, dismissed his ministers and formed a new cabinet, composed of ten of the laity, and only three ecclesiastics—a proportion heretofore unheard of. A new constitution was promised, and the general arming of the people, mobilisation of part of the civic guard, and organisation of a

powerful reserve. On the 16th the news reached Venice, and the agitation immediately became such, that the governor, General Palfy, saw no means of resisting it: on the day following, Tommasio and Manin, the leaders of the former disturbance, were liberated by his orders, and the formation of a civic guard decreed, for which crowds immediately inscribed their names. At the same time intelligence arrived of the reception of the news from Paris at Vienna, and the submission of the Imperial Government. No bounds were then set to the general joy. The people rushed out of their houses into the streets, congratulating each other without any previous acquaintance, and the transports found vent in a general illumination. The governor seeing no means, with the limited force at his disposal, of making his authority respected, and uncertain how to act, when the Government at Vienna itself was yielding, resigned his appointment in favour of General Zichy, the commander of the military force. That officer, hearing of insurrections in Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, and the whole Italian Tyrol behind Verona, thought his situation desperate, and deemed himself fortunate in being able to sign a capitulation on the 22d, in virtue of which he was permitted to embark his troops and proceed to Trieste, but on condition of leaving his guns, ammunition, and military treasure, and Italian soldiers, who immediately entered the ranks of the insurgents, bringing with them the advantage of the arms and discipline of soldiers. On the day following, a provisional government, with Tommasio and Manin at its head, was instituted, and the old colours of the Republic, amidst indescribable transports, hoisted on the Place of St Mark, which again resounded with the ancient war-cry, "Viva St Marco!"

4. The Austrian force which at this period occupied Lombardy, and the Imperial provinces in Italy, was about 80,000 strong, under Marshal Radetsky—a considerable force, without doubt, though less by 70,000 than that general had represented as neces-

sary to keep the country in submission amidst the double dangers of foreign invasion and internal revolt. The efficiency of this force was seriously diminished by the circumstance of 25,000 of the whole number being Italian soldiers, who, on the first rupture between Austria and their native country, might be expected to take part with the insurgents.* This arose from the Imperial mode of recruiting, which always leaves the third or depot battalion in its native district to superintend the getting recruits. At least two-thirds of these depot battalions consisted of young men who had acquired enough of military discipline to be formidable in the field, but not so much as to render obedience and attachment to their king and colours paramount to their feelings as citizens. Such as it was, this army was divided into two corps. The first, that commanded by Baron d'Aspre, held Lombardy, and one of its brigades lay along the Ticino on the Piedmontese frontier. Three brigades, mustering ten thousand combatants, were stationed in Milan, the capital of the kingdom of Lombardy; the remainder were scattered over the cities of Brescia, Bergamo, and Cremona, to the north, and of Parma and Placentia to the south of that beautiful region. The second corps, under the orders of Count Wratislaw, was stationed in the Venetian provinces, and its chief brigades formed the garrisons of Venice, Mantua, Padua, and Verona, with detachments or single regiments in the lesser towns, which formed part of the important military line of the Mincio.†

5. But whatever the positions of the Austrians in Italy wanted in strength to resist a severe external and internal shock, was more than compensated by the extraordinary vigour and capacity of the veteran general who was at its head. JOSEPH

* SCHOENHALS, p. 125.

† The account of Radetsky's campaigns in 1848-49 is principally taken from the clear and impartial narrative of a Swiss author translated by the Earl of Ellesmere; the able and graphic memoir of General Schoenhals, Radetsky's Adjutant-General; and the valuable history of the Italian General Ulloa.

RADETSKY, descended of an ancient Bohemian family, was born in 1766, so that at this period he was in his eighty-third year. He entered the Austrian service as a cuirassier in the "Francis" regiment in 1781, at the age of sixteen; and in that corps he rose to the rank of captain. During the fourteen years that he was with it, he was engaged in the wars of the Imperialists against the Turks, and also in the campaigns of 1793 and 1794 in the Low Countries. In 1797 he was promoted to the rank of major, and in 1799 to that of lieutenant-colonel, in which capacity he was, on account of his remarkable abilities, transferred to the staff, and formed part of the *état-major* of Suwaroff in 1799 in Italy and Switzerland, and Milan in 1800, as well as the campaign of Marengo in 1806. In the campaign of 1805 he commanded a cavalry brigade, and in that of 1809 he was lieutenant-general, and bore a part in the battles of Aspern and Wagram. During the memorable years, 1813, 1814, and 1815, he was chief of the staff to Prince Schwartzberg, in which situation his genius for war became so well known that in 1829 he was appointed general of cavalry—a very high grade in the Imperial service. In 1832 he was made commander-in-chief in Italy, then threatened with immediate war; and in 1836 he received the baton of field-marshal. Thus, during his long and eventful career, he had learned the art of war in the best of all schools—under Suwaroff and the Archduke Charles, and opposed to Napoleon.

6. He was gifted by nature not only with the eye and decision of a great general, but with the physical qualities which in the field are almost equally necessary for memorable achievements. A firm-knit frame, and constitution of iron, enabled him to retain at eighty-three the vigour and elasticity of youth. The youngest of his staff could scarcely keep up with the old marshal in his rides. At this time, though his hair was white, his eye had lost nothing of its youthful fire, his mind nothing of its activity and de-

cision. Frank and courteous in his manners to all of whatever grade who approached him, considerate in his regulations, and especially attentive to the health and comforts of his soldiers, he was yet steady in maintaining discipline, and rigorous in enforcing obedience to his orders. He thus became the idol of his men, who looked upon him as their father, by which name he was always called by them, and they came to place in him that unbounded confidence which is so important an element in military success. In reverses he was never depressed; in victory he was not elated. Ever exposing his own person freely, he was also the first, when the victory was gained, to enjoin mercy to the vanquished; and though the victorious leader in civil strife, he never stained his hands in the blood of the unresisting or the defenceless.

7. GENERAL HESS was Radetsky's chief of the staff through the Italian campaigns, and by his consummate military talents contributed much to their astonishing successes. He was consulted on all occasions; and so completely were their ideas in unison, that it is difficult to say to which the chief part of the merit is to be ascribed. No jealousy or petty feelings divided these great men. Equally animated by devotion to their king and country, alike sensible of each other's merits, they mutually, like Marlborough and Eugene, ascribed the chief share in the triumphs to the other. The subsequent appointment of General Hess to the command of the grand Austrian army, destined to the invasion of the Principalities, proves how sensible the Government were of his transcendent merits.

8. Although the feeling of the people in the great towns in the north of Italy was decidedly national, and opposed to the Austrian rule, yet this was by no means equally general in the rural districts; and even in the larger cities the habits of the people in all ranks were essentially unwarlike. None of them had the qualities either of mind or body essential to the maintenance of a prolonged struggle with the

Imperial forces. The nobility, which formed the entire body of the considerable landed proprietors, were for the most part discontented, and cordially detested the Austrian rule. They were so because they had been ousted by the Germans from the government of the country, and the situations of power and emolument in it which appeared to be their birthright, and subjected to very heavy taxes to the Imperial Government. The mechanics and artisans in towns also, with the whole professors of literature, education, and the arts, were still more discontented, and for the most part belonged to the *Carbonari* or other secret societies, the object of which was the entire liberation of the peninsula from foreign, or, as they called it, *tramontane* domination. The latter were actuated by the desire of political consideration and power which naturally grows upon the middle order of society with the acquisition of wealth, and by the jealousy which intellectual strength invariably feels for the rule of mere physical force. This body was numerous, highly intellectual, very democratic, and strongly banded together for the acquisition of political independence and social freedom. But its members wanted individual honesty and rectitude. Deeply imbued with the profligacy which results from a long course of prosperity in great cities, the Italian republicans regarded revolution as a game of hazard, which was worth entering for the stakes; but they had none of the earnestness and determination of purpose which results in honest hearts from strong natural conviction. The rural population, meaning by that the peasantry, with few exceptions, were satisfied with the German rule. The Imperial Government was strong, and upon the whole equitable; the taxes were heavy, but they were levied with equal hand on the rich and the poor. There was little disposition, accordingly, in the country people to exchange the leaden yoke of Austria for the fiery rule of the Milan republicans; and it was mainly owing to this indifference that Italy was preserved to the Austrians.

For if the inhabitants of the country had been as zealous in the cause of democracy as those of the towns were, beyond all doubt the foreigner must have succumbed.

9. The convulsion at Milan, at once the stronghold of Austrian power in Italy, the headquarters of Radetsky, and the chief seat and school of Italian liberalism, was very violent, and attended with a lamentable effusion of human blood. The receipt of the intelligence from Paris in the first week of March, followed quickly by that of the overthrow of the Government at Vienna, produced such a ferment that insurrection could not be averted. It broke out on the 18th of that month, and the combat continued without intermission for the five following days. Never were the difficulty and dangers of street-fighting evinced in more clear colours. Radetsky had at his disposal, in the first instance, 18,000 men; but they were quickly reduced, by the defection of the whole Italian troops in the Imperial service, to 13,000, while the revolted soldiers carried to the side of the insurgents the advantages of military skill and organisation. This rendered the conflict comparatively equal; for the insurgents, rapidly supported by reinforcements from Pavia, Parma, Como, Brescia, and all the neighbouring towns, soon numbered 10,000 regular Italian soldiers, aided by the desultory efforts of double that number of armed tirailleurs and musketeers, who, though incapable of action in the open field, were extremely formidable firing from windows, or from behind loopholed walls. In the first outbreak of the revolt, the insurgents gained the great advantage, by a sudden and unexpected attack, of making themselves masters of the governor's palace, of the government buildings in the Monforte Street, and of the Broletto or Town-house, on which the Italian colours were immediately hoisted. With such rapidity were barricades erected in the streets leading to this latter point, and with such resolution were they defended, that all the efforts of the Austrians were for long unable

to dispossess them of this stronghold ; and it was not until late on the evening of the 18th that it was stormed, after a desperate resistance.

10. On the night of the 19th, Radetsky withdrew his men entirely from the destructive struggle in the interior, but occupied the line of the ramparts and all the gates of the town. The contest continued round the whole city till the 23d ; but although the Austrian troops combated with the greatest resolution, and were most ably directed by Radetsky, the superiority of the insurgents, who fought with uncommon courage, at length became manifest. Such was the enthusiasm with which they were animated, that the women poured boiling oil and vitriol on the assailants, and, to their shame be it said, cruelly massacred the prisoners who fell into their hands. On the fifth day of this terrible conflict, the ammunition and provisions of the Imperialists were found to have failed. Water was wanting under a burning sun, and the troops, worn out by so long-continued a contest, were in no condition to maintain it longer. To add to the difficulties of his situation, Radetsky, who still retained possession of the palace of the military commander, learned that Pavia and Brescia were in open insurrection, and that the Archduke, the son of the Viceroy, had been made prisoner. In these circumstances, wisely judging that the first thing to be attended to was the safety of his troops, and that if he preserved them intact, victory might soon reconduct the Imperial troops to Milan, Marshal Radetsky drew in two brigades detached on the Sardinian and Swiss frontiers, ordered a general retreat, and withdrew in five columns towards Crema.

11. Immense was the enthusiasm which the retreat of the Imperial eagles from Milan occasioned over the whole of the Italian peninsula. Coming as it did immediately after the overthrow of Louis Philippe at Paris, the subversion of the Imperial government at Vienna, the revolution of Venice, and the successful insurrec-

tionary movements in Naples and Sicily, it inspired the belief that the triumph of freedom was at length secured, and that a league, formed of all liberated states, having France and united and independent Italy for its foundations, would ere long form the basis of the liberty of the world. The provisional government of Milan immediately published a proclamation, in which, with just pride, they recounted their great triumph, and foretold yet more glorious victories from the aid of the prince who was advancing from Turin to join in the great work of Italian emancipation.* On his side Marshal Radetsky issued a brief address to his soldiers, in which he said—"The treachery of our allies, the fury of the enraged people, and the scarcity of provisions, oblige me to abandon the city of Milan, for the purpose of taking a position on another line, from which at your head I can return to victory."

12. Radetsky at first hoped that he would be able to maintain the line of the Adda, and accordingly the army was stationed in the outset along its banks, headquarters being established at Lodi.† But it soon became apparent that this was impossible. Not only had the insurrection spread through all Lombardy, but the Italian troops stationed in Bergamo, Cremona, Brescia, Rovigo, and all the towns at

* "We have conquered: we have compelled the enemy to fly, oppressed as much by his own shame as by our valour. But scattered in our fields, wandering like wild beasts, united in bands of plunderers, he prolongs for us all the horrors of war, without affording any of its sublime emotions. The arms we have taken up, that we still hold, can never be laid down as long as one of his band shall be hid under the cover of the Alps. We have sworn it—we swear it again, with the generous prince who flies, with the common impulse, to associate himself with our glory. All Italy swears it, and so it shall be. To arms, then—to arms, to secure the fruits of our glorious Revolution—to fight the last battle of independence and of the unity of Italy."—*Ann. Reg.* 1848, p. 321.

† In his retreat to this point the villagers of Melegnano rose in arms to oppose his march. The vanguard stormed, burned, and plundered it. This severe example stifled all further resistance.

the foot of the Alps, had revolted and joined the insurgents, and the most violent fermentation broke out even in the important fortresses of Verona, Mantua, and Palma-Nuova, though all strongly garrisoned by Imperial troops. The last was surrendered by the Italian garrison which held it, with thirty-eight guns, to the revolutionary bands, and Padua was abandoned, as its garrison was required to reinforce that of Verona, which with difficulty held that important fortress against the inhabitants. By these means the military communication with Austria was placed in danger; and this was soon seriously augmented by the intelligence received that the Italian Tyrol was all in arms, and that the important castle of Rocco d'Anfo, with the whole eastern shore of the Lago di Garda, and the steamers on the lake, had fallen into the hands of the insurgents. It was also now ascertained that the Piedmontese Government had resolved to take part, on a great scale, and with all their forces, with the Italian revolutionists, and that Charles Albert, with the whole disposable troops of that monarchy, full forty-five thousand strong, would ere long be in the very front rank of the battle. Thus Radetsky would soon have on his hands an army of 60,000 regular troops, formidable both from its courage and discipline, composed of the Piedmontese forces and the revolted Italian troops; while his own force, though weakened only by 700 men during the conflicts in Milan, had lost fully a fourth of its amount by that great defection, and by three entire regiments, which, in virtue of the capitulation of Venice, had been conveyed to Trieste and Illyria. Add to this, that Venice had fallen, with all its arsenal, magazines, and treasure, into the hands of the insurgents, who had thus acquired

an important base of operations directly in his rear. In these circumstances it was evidently indispensable to retire from the advanced position on the Adda; and the retreat was accordingly continued to beyond the Mincio, headquarters being established at Verona (March 31), with only an advanced rear-guard occupying Lonato, on the right bank of that river.

13. When Charles Albert resolved to embrace the cause of Italian independence, he had very considerable forces at his command, and his accession to the league, of which he immediately became the head, might well inspire patriots less enthusiastic than those by whom he was surrounded, with the belief of ultimate and decisive success. The regular forces of the Piedmontese monarchy at this period were seventy thousand strong, of whom about 45,000 were disposable for operations in the field.* This army, as was abundantly proved afterwards in the Crimean war, was admirably organised, equipped, and disciplined, and commanded by a body of officers worthy to lead such an array. Charles Albert had no cause of complaint against Austria, and did not pretend to have any in the proclamation which he issued on taking up arms. He appears to have been actuated by the general fervour which at that period had come in so remarkable a manner to pervade the Italian people, which had led many to imagine that they saw the finger of God in the universal enthusiasm; and he could not be insensible to the brilliant prospects which opened to himself and his own country from placing it at the head of the movement.

14. CHARLES ALBERT, though still a young man, had gone through many and various adventures. In early youth, when the democratic movement

Guards—2 Grenadier and 1 Rifle regiment,	6,000
Infantry—9 brigades, 2 regiments each,	55,000
Cavalry—6 regiments,	5,000
Artillery, Sappers, and Engineers,	4,000

70,000, with 96 guns

in 1821 began in Italy, he had, when heir-presumptive to the throne, allowed himself to be placed at the head of the revolutionary party. He soon, however, repented having allowed himself to be so far seduced by the Liberals; and to wipe away the stain which thereby attached to his name, he entered, two years after, as a volunteer into the French service, and acted as a subaltern with great courage in the assault of the Trocadero in 1823, which won for him from Austria the Cross of Maria Theresa. Intimate in former days with the Carbonari, and acquainted with their ulterior designs, he had sense enough to see that, on the throne at least, he had no interest to favour their projects. His system of government was for long the old-fashioned one—to lean on the nobility and the clergy, whom he supported in their privileges, to keep the middle class in check, and to protect the peasant from oppression. Latterly, however, the stream of innovation had become so violent that he was reluctantly obliged to yield to it, and he ere long saw in these concessions the means of elevating his country to a rank which it had never yet attained. His reforms soon made him popular, and he was universally regarded as the head of the league upon which all hopes rested for the assertion of Italian independence. Passionately desirous of military distinction, he now came forward as the chief of the "*Lega d'Italia*," and, sacrificing his horror at revolution to his thirst for glory, drew the sword against Austria, and threw away the scabbard.

15. While a desperate war was thus breaking out in northern Italy, the other extremity of the peninsula was hardly less agitated, and popular licence assumed a still more terrible form. The concessions of the King of Naples, liberal as they had been, were far from satisfying the desires of the Sicilian revolutionists, as indeed it was impossible they could, seeing the object of the latter was not social reform, but external separation and independence. The catastrophe occurred on the 12th January. On that day the King had

promised that his Lieutenant-General, the Duke of Serra-Capriola, should be at Palermo, and inaugurate the necessary reforms; but his arrival having been prevented by contrary winds on the voyage from Naples, he had not yet come in the evening. The people, suspecting they were to be deceived, in crowds flocked to the Club of the Casino, the centre of the Liberals of Palermo, where they received instructions immediately to take up arms. They were not slow in obeying the injunctions. Before nightfall, menacing mobs occupied the principal squares and streets, bands of armed peasants had descended from the neighbouring mountains, and several detachments of the Neapolitan troops had been disarmed and made prisoners. So active were the insurgents during the night, that next morning the whole of the city was in their hands; and the royal troops had all retired into the forts, when preparations were made for a bombardment. Meanwhile the Court of Naples were not idle, for no sooner did they receive intelligence of the insurrection than they despatched nine vessels of war, having 6000 men on board, to aid in the reduction of the revolted city; and with such vigour were the preparations pushed forward, that the expedition set out from the Bay of Naples on the evening of the 14th.

16. The French consul with some difficulty obtained a suspension of the bombardment for twenty-four hours; but at length it began, and was continued, without any decisive result, for the next forty-eight hours. The town took fire in several places, and great destruction of property ensued; but the leaders of the insurgents showed no disposition to yield, and the Count d'Aquila, brother of the King, having arrived at Naples from the seat of war, gave such alarming accounts of the state of affairs that the Government determined on yielding. On the 18th January four decrees were issued by the King, which embodied a concession of the chief demands of the revolutionists. The first and third regulated, on a more liberal basis, the

Council of State, the powers of which were extended, and declared that it was to consult the provincial assemblies on matters connected with their several localities; the second abolished the promiscuous occupation of offices by the Neapolitans and Sicilians, and reserved the principal places in each for their own inhabitants; the fourth appointed the Count d'Aquila Lieutenant-General of Sicily, and nominated a minister and council, all of known liberal opinions, to assist him in his deliberations.

17. These concessions were in themselves great, and they are worthy of note, as indicating what were the chief grievances of which the Sicilians in the outset complained. But instead of being appeased by them, the Provisional Government and insurgents of Palermo were only the more determined in their demands for a separate parliament, and the constitution of 1812. With these demands began to be mingled others of a still more ominous character, and already the cries of "Viva l'Indepenza Siciliana" were heard in the streets. The royal commanders, however, showed no disposition to yield, and they occupied the following positions, which effectually commanded the city: The King's palace was strongly garrisoned, and inhabited by the Count d'Aquila; and in addition to this, the fort of Castellamare, the barracks of La Mole, the Finance Palace, and the barracks near the royal palace, with the prison between the Mole and the city, were in the hands of the royalists. Meanwhile the forces of the insurgents were hourly on the increase; one unanimous feeling in favour of national independence appeared to have seized upon all classes; and so universal was the fervour, that when the four decrees arrived from Naples, thirty thousand men, for the most part armed, were in possession of those parts of Palermo not actually garrisoned by the royal troops. But events succeeded each other with such rapidity at Naples that they outstripped even the swift march of Sicilian revolution.

18. When the news of the revolt at

Palermo first reached the King of Naples, he seemed disposed to act with the utmost vigour in crushing it, and the rapid fitting out of the expedition for Palermo proved how well he was seconded by his ministers. But in a few days he became sensible that resistance was no longer in his power. No sooner did the intelligence arrive of the determination of the Sicilians to hold out for the constitution of 1812, than the ferment became so violent, that Del Caretto, the chief anti-revolutionary minister, was obliged to take refuge on board a steamer to save his life. An entire change of ministry took place, and at the head of the new cabinet was the Duke de Serra-Capriola, who had formerly been ambassador of Naples at Paris. The Prince di Torilla, Prince Dentici, and several other ministers, all of liberal opinions, including M. Bozzili, who had been Councillor of State under Murat, formed the ministry. They declared they could not retain office an hour unless a constitution were granted, and on the 28th January a decree appeared, promising to concede. The decree was placarded next morning over all Naples, and speedily converted the revolutionary fervour into transports of joy. These were increased on the following day, when it was known that orders had been sent to Palermo to withdraw the troops, and the publication of a general amnesty on 1st February. The basis of the proposed new constitution was soon after published by the King, to the effect that the Roman Catholic religion should be the religion of the State, and *no other tolerated*; that the person of the King should be sacred, and his ministers responsible; that there should be two chambers; that the land and sea forces should be commanded by the King, but a National Guard be organised over the whole country; and that the press should be free, subject only to a repressive law against such offences as might offend religion, the King, or public morality and order.

19. But these concessions, great as they were, proved inadequate to re-

strain the revolution in Sicily, which was now directed to the attainment of entire separation from Naples. The news that the movement was taking this direction speedily spread it over the whole country. On the 28th January an insurrection broke out at Messina, and the city was immediately bombarded, as well from the citadel and forts as from an armed steamer in the harbour. Captain Codrington, who commanded an English frigate off the harbour, did his utmost to mediate between the contending parties, but in vain. The peremptory demand of the insurgents that none but native troops should be employed in the island, rendered all attempts at an accommodation fruitless. On the 21st February the insurgents carried the fort of Real Basso, at Messina, by storm, and the royal troops were confined to the citadel and fort of Salvador. Great preparations were now made on both sides for the renewal of the fire, and it began with uncommon vigour on the 7th March, and continued with little interruption till 2d May, when, from the effects of mutual exhaustion, an armistice was agreed on. At Palermo a furious combat took place between the insurgents and the royal castle; but the King having decided on submission, sent an order to the garrison to capitulate, which terminated hostilities in this quarter on the 5th February.

20. Meanwhile matters were nearly in as disturbed a state in Naples itself, where the King with great difficulty maintained his ground against the Liberal Chamber and a disaffected army. On the 14th May the Chamber met, and the preliminary matter which occupied their attention was the nature of the oath which the members were to take. The King insisted for a simple oath of fidelity to the Constitution as it stood; but the Liberals in the Chamber contended for an oath to the Constitution with such changes as the Chamber might introduce into it. The dispute soon became so warm that it was evident it could be adjusted only by an appeal to force. On the day following the erection of barricades

began; and the King, seeing no means remaining of resistance, agreed to yield, and desired the National Guard to remove the barricades. The insurgents, however, declared they would resist this till the decree for which they contended was actually issued; and during the parleying which went on, the musket of a National Guard having accidentally gone off, his comrades thought the Swiss Guards were attacking them, and fired a volley, which was immediately returned by the Swiss, and a most sanguinary conflict ensued, which lasted eight hours. But never was the superiority of regular troops of steady fidelity more decisively proved than on this occasion.* The National Guard and revolutionists were totally defeated, with the loss, it was said, of eight thousand men; and as the *lazzaroni* all joined the royal forces, the scenes of horror which ensued equalled any in a city taken by assault. At length the French admiral, Baudin, succeeded in putting a stop to the effusion of blood by the threat of landing his marines and forcibly interposing between the contending parties. But before this was done the victory of the King and his faithful Swiss Guard was complete; martial law was proclaimed, the National Guard disbanded, and the Chamber of Deputies dissolved.

21. Matters, however, took a very different turn at first in Sicily, where the victory of the revolutionists was as complete as their discomfiture at Naples had been. On the 13th April the Sicilian Chamber met, and the leading Liberals immediately demanded that the Royal Family of Naples should be dethroned, a new sovereign elected, and Sicily joined to the League for promoting the independence of Italy. Both Chambers passed resolu-

* "The crisis of the battle took place in the Santa Brigitta Street. There the regiment of Berne, after being twice repulsed, when in close column, from the principal barricade, at last carried it by advancing in file close under the houses on each side with two guns in the middle of the street to shake the barricade, and the musketry of the infantry to keep down the fire from the windows opposite."—ELLESMEKE, pp. 114, 117.

tions to that effect; and the choice of a sovereign next came under consideration. Much difficulty was experienced on this subject, but at length the choice fell on the Duke of Genoa, second son of Charles Albert, King of Piedmont. He was accordingly formally installed by the title of Albert Amedée I., King of Sicily. But foreseeing an endless war between Naples and Piedmont from such an accession to the partition of the former, he had the prudence to decline the proffered crown; and meanwhile the King of Naples drew up and published a formal protest against the threatened partition, and fitted out a large expedition to restore the island to obedience.

22. The expedition, which consisted of 14,000 soldiers, with a powerful train of artillery, set out from Naples on the 29th August, and arrived off Messina on the 2d September, under the command of General Filangieri. The first care of this experienced commander was to revictual the fort, still held by the royal troops, who, owing to their long blockade by the revolutionists, were reduced to great straits, both in provisions and ammunition. The city was then summoned to surrender, but the proposal was indignantly rejected. The bombardment began at daybreak on the 3d, was kept up with the greatest vigour the whole day, was resumed at daylight the following morning, and continued with the utmost violence on both sides till night. The *Bulldog*, British vessel, and *Hercule*, French, then arrived; but although they made the utmost efforts to interpose between the combatants, and stop so terrible an effusion of blood, they were unable to bring the parties to an accommodation. Gradually, however, the superiority on the part of the Neapolitan forces became very apparent. Though the citizens fought with the greatest desperation, their efforts were sensibly becoming weaker: great part of the city was laid in ruins, ammunition was becoming scarce, and the insurgents were scarcely able to stand to their guns. On the other

hand, the situation of the royal troops was hourly improving. Two thousand fresh soldiers, with ample supplies of ammunition, were landed in safety on the evening of the 4th, followed on the morning of the 6th by six thousand more brought in a fleet, consisting of two frigates, thirteen steamers, and nineteen gunboats. On the day following, the steamers which had returned from Reggio landed additional forces; and the bombardment being renewed with the utmost vigour, the city was soon on fire in every quarter, while, the ammunition of the insurgents being exhausted, they were not able to return a single shot. It was no longer a battle, but a massacre; the whole remaining inhabitants fled from the scene of desolation. No less than ten thousand were humanely taken on board the French and English vessels, and the Neapolitan colours were hoisted on the heights behind Messina.

23. The capture of Messina was an immense advantage to the royal cause in Sicily, as it gave them a secure base of operations, and safe mode of communicating with Naples. Although, therefore, vigorous preparations for defence were made in Palermo, and movable columns were ordered to be stationed in camp at Milazzo, Taormina, Syracuse, Girgenti, Catania, Palermo, and Trapani, yet it was not expected they would be able to make any protracted resistance. Meanwhile occurrences at Rome and in Tuscany precipitated the march of events, and involved the whole of central Italy in the conflagration. Yielding to the demand for innovations which he himself originally had so large a share in promoting, the Pope had in the beginning of January issued a plan for a new organisation of the Executive Department of the Government. But when all thoughts were occupied at Rome with this all-engrossing topic, the Revolution at Paris suddenly excited such a ferment that immediate political change became indispensable. On the 14th March, accordingly, a proclamation was issued, in which the Supreme Pontiff declared his intention of

granting a new constitution, on a liberal basis, to his subjects. In this state paper he stated: "As our neighbours have decided that the people are ripe for representative institutions, not merely *consultive* but *deliberative*, we are unwilling to think less worthily of our own subjects, or to repose less faith in their gratitude, not only towards our own humble person, for which we desire none, but towards the church and the apostolic see, the inviolable and supreme rights of which have been committed to our custody by Almighty God." At the same time, he gave the most decisive proof of his sincerity by forming a new cabinet, composed, as already mentioned, of *ten* of the laity, and *three* ecclesiastics. Nor did the acts of the new ministry belie their origin; for they immediately set about the formation of a constitution, the extension of the National Guard, and the organisation of part for active service in the field.

24. Still, however, his Holiness was inclined to peace, and especially averse to a war with Austria, which he was well aware might soon be required to come to his aid as the last refuge of the Papal Government. Such, however, was the enthusiasm which the war in Lombardy and the revolutions at Milan and Venice produced, that it became ere long impossible to avoid being drawn into hostilities. A body of Roman volunteers, without any authority from the Papal Government, organised themselves in the ecclesiastical dominions, and joined the army of Charles Albert on the Mincio. This, if not an overt and avowed, was at least a real act of hostility; and a device was soon adopted by the Liberals which increased still more the ferment in Rome. An artist of some note, Signor Caffi, had joined the Liberal expedition. His body was found hanging on a tree near Verona, with the inscription appended to the corpse: "This is the way in which the crusaders of Pius IX. are treated." The obvious remark, that if this act had been the work of the Austrians they would never have affixed this inscription, never occurred for a moment to the Romans; the thing

was implicitly believed in the capital; and the populace, with loud cries, demanded an instant declaration of war. On the other hand, the Pope held out, and on the 29th April addressed the cardinals in conclave, declaring that the expedition had been formed without his orders, and that it had crossed the frontier contrary to his commands. Upon this a mob arose, and, surrounding the post-office next day, got possession of the letters, some of which proved that the cardinals were preparing for the worst, and making arrangements to leave the city. The public excitement upon this increased to the very highest pitch; tumults and riots took place in several parts of the town; the fidelity of many of the troops of the line and the whole National Guard was more than doubtful; and the Pope was forced, against his will, to declare war against Austria. This was immediately followed by the formation of a new cabinet, composed entirely of men of the most liberal opinions, at the head of which were Cardinal Ciacchi and Count Marchetti; and they soon after published a proclamation, in which they declared "the present ministry will hold especially dear the sacred cause of Italy and the triumph of right, to which all their attention will be applied, convinced that the first efforts of ardour must not be repressed, but, on the contrary, stimulated and increased." Such, however, was the unwarlike character of the inhabitants of the Ecclesiastical States, that the addition of their native forces to those of the Italian League brought scarcely any accession of strength to the legions on the banks of the Mincio; and it is a melancholy and instructive fact, illustrating the influence of sacerdotal government and long-continued oppression on national character, that the addition of the power of Rome scarcely affected the balance in the quarrel of two of the most inconsiderable provinces of its ancient empire.

25. Following the examples of Rome and Naples, the Grand-Duke of Tuscany, on February 11, issued a proclamation establishing representative

institutions in his dominions, though he did not at once join the League of Italy. But it was not by the accession of raw recruits from central Italy that the contest was to be determined. Austria and Piedmont were the principals in the fight; it was with their brave and disciplined battalions that the contest for victory lay. A pause of about a week ensued after the retreat of the Austrians to the Adige, for both parties had time to await the coming up of reinforcements expected from the rear. The army of Charles Albert had crossed the Ticino, and entered the Austrian territories on the 25th March, accompanied by his two sons, the Dukes of Savoy and Genoa; and his troops had followed the Austrian line of retreat in two columns, the one by Brescia, and the other by Cremona.* But although the disposable forces of Piedmont were 45,000 strong, not more than 25,000 were collected round their standards when they reached the Mincio, the remainder being on march from the depots of their respective regiments. These troops, however, were in the very highest state of discipline and equipment, brave, warlike, and experienced, with the true military spirit in their bosoms, and an ancient military reputation to sustain. Some of them, in particular the light infantry called Berzaglieri, were among the finest troops in Europe; and by the delay of a few weeks, 30,000 men might be expected to be concentrated at the decisive points on the Mincio and the Adige.

26. It is true these troops might, would probably be, ere long much augmented by accessions from different parts of Italy; for not only were Lombardy and the Venetian States on fire, but, even before their governments had joined the League, corps of zealous volunteers were formed, who flock-

ed of their own accord to the theatre of war. With these also were united some old corps, which might be expected to render good service in the contest which was approaching. From Parma a fine battalion of infantry, 1000 strong, and a battery of artillery, were got; from Tuscany 4000 men, including a strong regiment of old grenadiers; from Modena, 1500 old troops and 4000 ill-disciplined militia. The Papal troops were much more formidable, for they embraced four battalions of Swiss infantry, 4400 strong, and a battery of eight pieces; his Italian troops consisted of 7000 infantry, two batteries, and a regiment of horse admirably mounted. The Neapolitan forces were still more numerous; but the Sicilian revolt absorbed them so completely, that no reliance could, in the first instance, be placed on their rendering any aid in the contest on the Adige, though by the end of April 15,000 of them were moving towards the Po. In addition to these, however, three regiments, composed in part of Italian soldiers in the Austrian regiments which had revolted, were formed in Lombardy, and as many in the Venetian States; but their organisation was not as yet so complete as to enable them to join in the earlier operations of the campaign. Twenty thousand additional troops were ordered to be levied in the Piedmontese dominions, which, however, could not be ready to take the field for some months. Thus, on the whole, Charles Albert, without reckoning on the volunteers and new levies, might be expected to have, before many weeks were over, 50,000 regular troops at his disposal; and some of them, in particular the Swiss of the Pope and the Piedmontese light infantry, were equal to the best in Europe in equipment, discipline, and courage.†

27. The forces at the disposal of

* The composition of the army of Charles Albert in the field was as follows:—

1st corps, General Bava,	4 brigades,	18,395 men, with 32 guns.
2d " " " " " "	Sonnaz,	4 " " 16,747 " " 32 "
Reserve corps, Duke of Savoy,	2 " " and cavalry division,	9,711 " " 24 "
		44,853 " " 88 "

—ULLOA, vol. i. pp. 95, 98.

† EILESMEKE, pp. 47, 50.

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Radetsky were less considerable; and such was the distracted state of the Austrian monarchy that no considerable reinforcements for a long time could be expected to join his standards. Weakened as they had been by the defection of the entire Italian regiments, and by the loss for the time of the whole garrison of Venice, which had been sent under capitulation to Trieste, he could not, in the first instance, collect more than 30,000 men under his orders, and they had to garrison the whole fortresses on the Mincio and the Adige, besides keeping open the communication with Vienna through the Italian Tyrol, which was all in insurrection. Thus, for operations on any one point in front and in the field he could not reckon on above 20,000 men. This force, it is true, was supported by the lines of the Mincio and the Adige, which for a considerable distance run parallel to each other, and form the true military frontier both of Germany and Italy in the north-east. The first of these, issuing from the lake of Garda, descends from thence in a deep channel to the Po. The line on its banks thus leans with its right on the lake and the Alps, and its left on that great river; and being supported by Peschiera and the fortress of Mantua, it presents a very strong position. The line of the Adige in its rear, however, is still stronger; for that river, after flowing down through the precipices of the Alps, overhung by the Montebaldo and the plateau of Rivoli, issues into the Italian plains beneath the walls of Verona, and thence continues its course in a deep bed with a rapid course parallel to the Mincio, as far as the fortress of Legnago, when it suddenly turns to the eastward, and flows to the Adriatic in a line not far distant from the Po. Thus these two lines of defence were both formed of rivers issuing from the Alps and stretching to the Po, resting at either extremity on strong fortresses; circumstances which explain the vast importance which they have lately assumed in all the wars between Italy and Germany.

28. The importance and strength

of these defensive lines, however, were much lessened at this time by the spread of the insurrection over the whole Venetian States and province of Friuli in their rear, which placed the direct line of communication with Austria in the hands of the enemy. Add to this, that as the Venetian States adjoined the Roman, and the whole fortresses of both were in the hands of the insurgents, an easy entrance was afforded by Ferrara and the Lower Po to the Papal troops, into the direct rear of the Austrian position. Thus it was indispensable for Radetsky, should he be driven from the line of the Mincio, which was more than probable, to maintain himself at all hazards at Verona and on that of the Adige; for it was alone by holding them that he could preserve his communication with Germany and the northern Tyrol, from whose inhabitants the most important succour was expected. Should he be driven from the line of the Adige, his only line of retreat would not be perpendicular to his front, but parallel to his right flank—a most dangerous movement in presence of an able and enterprising enemy, who could fall upon it in any weak point, and cut the retiring columns and convoys in two.

29. Even this last and vital line of communication to the Austrian troops was on the point of being lost; for not only had the insurrection spread up the whole western side of the Lago di Garda, but its eastern shores were in a very disturbed state; while on the great road by Trent and Roveredo, in the Italian Tyrol, convoys were frequently surrounded and cut off, especially in the neighbourhood of the Montebaldo, and between that and Trent. The latter important town was in a state little short of open insurrection. The whole disposable forces of the Austrians in the Tyrol itself consisted of two weak brigades, which were entirely absorbed in guarding the posts of Bolzano and Botzen, with the Brenner Pass, and the newly constructed fortress of Franzens, situated to the north of Brescia, and commanding the junction of the roads

northwards to Innspruck, and eastwards to Carinthia. In these circumstances, Radetsky intrusted to Colonel Baron Zobil and a weak brigade the important task of securing Trent, and getting the command of the adjacent country. He executed his mission with such vigour and ability, that though he had in the first instance only eight hundred men and three guns at his disposal, yet he contrived to make his way through the hostile streets into the castle, from whence, by the threat of a bombardment, and giving the town up to pillage, he succeeded in overawing it. The principal leaders of the revolt, all Italians, were arrested, the citizens disarmed, the wearing of party badges forbidden, and the magistracy secured in the German interest. Meanwhile the Government, sensible of the vital importance of the Tyrol to the maintenance of their Italian possessions, and relying on the well-known and oft-tried fidelity of its inhabitants, issued a proclamation calling upon them to take up arms in defence of their king and country. The call was nobly responded to by all of the German blood; and even in those valleys which lie on the Italian side of the Brenner and the crest of the mountains, it met with more success than could have been expected. The German race, as every traveller who has visited that interesting country knows, had spread over the Alpine ridge down the valleys, and with them had been diffused the fidelity, loyalty, and honesty of the German character. Before many weeks were over, sixty companies of riflemen were in arms and fully organised. Rusty swords were furbished up and sharpened; rifles, which had hung unused since 1809, were unslung and cleaned; ball-practice was established in every parish; and not only did the peasantry everywhere take up arms, but the students from the Tyrol, who were at the university of Vienna, separated from their comrades who were in open revolt, and rejoined the standard of their fathers on their native mountains. They were accompanied by

Haspinger, the famous companion of Hofer in 1809. The well-known red beard, which had then been such a terror to the enemy, was now a silver grey; but the gait of the hero had undergone no change, his eye lost none of its ancient fire. He had the satisfaction to meet in Bolzano with Captain Gasser, a comrade of ancient days, who, like him, had come forth to resist the encroachment of Italian liberalism as they had done the invasion of French democracy.

30. This burst of loyalty in all the inhabitants of German descent in the Tyrol was much promoted by an imprudent proclamation issued by the Provisional Government at Milan, in which, regarding rather geographical divisions than political or moral distinction, they had assigned the Brenner and the crest of the mountains separating Italy from Germany as the frontier line between the Austrian territories and those of the Italian Republic. This line would have detached a great number of districts strongly attached to the House of Hapsburg from the Imperial rule; among the rest the valley of Passer, the birth-place and residence of Hofer himself. The German inhabitants of these districts entertained a bitter recollection of the French rule when they formed part of the Regno d'Italia, under the viceroyalty of Prince Eugene; and they were resolute to resist a repetition of the evils then endured. It is worthy of remark, that, while the revolutionary government of Lombardy was thus busied with detaching ancient and attached provinces from the Austrian empire, it itself was threatened with a similar process of dissolution in fear from the revolutionary government of France. The democrats of Savoy, taking advantage of the detaching of the chief Sardinian garrisons from their territory, resolved to set up for themselves, and invited the patriots of Lyons to co-operate in the movement. They were not slow in answering the appeal. On the 3d April, a corps of eighteen hundred free volunteers from thence crossed the frontier, and advanced without

opposition to Chambray, which they occupied, and established a provisional government. But being unsupported by the government forces, this inroad soon came to a disgraceful termination. Next day the peasants from the adjoining mountains, who were attached to their ancient sovereigns, descended from their hills, armed with rusty fowling-pieces and scythes, and chased the intruders ignominiously back into their own territory.

31. These, however, were mere episodes in the war; the real contest lay on the Mincio, and there it commenced in good earnest in the beginning of April. The great inferiority of Radetsky's force rendered it impossible to hold that line permanently; but he resolved to maintain it as long as possible, in order to gain time for the provisioning and arming of Peschiera and Mantua, which, by the unaccountable negligence of the Austrian Government, had not yet been done. It was now set about, however, in good earnest, and the aged governor of the latter fortress, Count Gorjakowski, exhibited in this important duty an energy which rivalled that of Radetsky himself. By his efforts during the week that Charles Albert was doomed to inactivity awaiting his reinforcements, four months' provisions were swept into both places; and Mantua, which during the long peace had lost much of its warlike aspect, was again rendered a fortress of the first order. Hardly was this done, when Charles Albert, having at length got his army well in hand, directed it (April 8), in several columns, on the Mincio. General Bava, with four thousand Piedmontese and sixteen guns, made the first attack, by assailing the village of Goito on the extreme Austrian left, which, after an obstinate defence, was carried by the gallantry of the Piedmontese riflemen, with the loss of two hundred men and four guns to the vanquished, and the bridge taken, the Austrians retiring to Mantua. Among the Austrians killed were two nephews of Hofer, who, with the whole Tyrolese regiment to which they belonged, had fought with the utmost courage. Radetsky wrote to the Ty-

rolese, announcing their loss: "The regiment, your children, whom you have sent me, is worthy of your country." The Piedmontese loss was equal to that of the Austrians; but the latter were undoubtedly worsted, as the town was taken, and the passage of the Mincio forced; and this was a matter of no small importance in the outset of the campaign.

32. Upon receiving intelligence of this disaster on his left, Radetsky immediately concentrated his whole disposable forces, amounting to 19,000 men, at Villafranca, between Goito and Verona, and at first seemed disposed to give battle instead of abandoning the line of the Mincio. But he was soon induced to alter his views. His force was so inferior to that of the enemy, that he could hardly hope to deliver a general battle with any prospect of success, and the distracted state of the Austrian monarchy not only precluded the hope of any considerable reinforcements to compensate losses, but rendered the little army under his command in a manner the last hope of the monarchy. Charles Albert, meanwhile, was not the man to halt midway in the career of success. On the day following the capture of Goito, two other corps approached the Mincio at Valeggio and Mozambano, and the passage at the former point was effected in spite of a heavy fire from the Austrian batteries. The Piedmontese forces were thus solidly established on the left of the river. Seeing this, and having accomplished the provisioning of Peschiera and Mantua, Radetsky resolved to retreat; and on the 10th the whole army retired behind the Adige, leaving only a detachment on the right bank of that river to keep up the communication between the headquarters at Verona and the fortress of Peschiera, which it was anticipated would be the first object of attack.

33. So far brilliant success had attended the Piedmontese arms, which were obviously wielded with courage, as well as directed with skill. Such early advantage, of importance in all wars, is doubly so in those of a revolu-

tionary character, in which so much depends upon the excitement consequent on triumphs; and against a less experienced commander than Radetsky, it might possibly have led to decisive results. But the character of that great general was precisely the one fitted to erect a barrier against which the waves of revolutionary fervour would beat in vain. The importance and vast strength of the line of the Adige was now apparent, as well as the value of the time gained by Radetsky for provisioning the fortresses covering its flanks. It was impossible to force the line of that river between Peschiera and Mantua while both of these places were in the hands of the enemy; and yet, to reduce either, with an able and enterprising enemy, ready to fall on the besieging army, was evidently an undertaking exposed to great hazard. Charles Albert, therefore, wisely resolved to await the arrival of reinforcements before he hazarded the bulk of his forces beyond the Mincio; and he merely, in the mean time, sent advanced guards over the river to observe the country between it and the Adige, holding in strength all the bridges, so as to give him the means at pleasure of commencing more important operations, which he designed, in the first instance, to direct against Peschiera.

34. The generals and colonels of the free revolutionary corps, which had been raised in Lombardy, now earnestly pressed the King to allow them to take advantage of this delay to make a grand incursion into the Italian Tyrol. They were encouraged to hope for great results from this operation, from the friendly disposition of the whole inhabitants of Italian descent in the southern Tyrol, the most of whom were already in arms for the cause of Italian independence. Charles Albert at once perceived the great advantages which this enterprise, if successful, would produce, by endangering, if not entirely cutting off, the Austrian communications by the valley of Trent with Vienna, and he readily gave his consent to the undertaking. He had so little confidence, however, in the steadiness of these allies, that he re-

fused to allow two battalions of light troops with two guns, which were earnestly pressed for, to accompany them. The expedition accordingly set out from Brescia, under the command of General Allemandi, consisting of four thousand men, all Italian volunteers. They marched on the 9th of April, in columns of five or six hundred men each, and moved up the valleys leading to the Alps, which soon fell, without opposition, into their hands. Their progress was so rapid, that by the 17th April they were in possession of the wide tract of country stretching from Cles to the Lago di Garda, and all the roads leading to Trent had fallen into their hands. It was their intention to have made a concentrated attack on that important town, which, if taken, would have entirely cut off the communications of the Austrians with their own dominions.

35. Great was the enthusiasm in the Italian free corps at this auspicious commencement of their operations. The poetry of the war was represented by Signora Bettroni, a heroine who commanded a detachment of one hundred men. But never was more clearly evinced than was soon done the utter inadequacy of raw troops to resist the onset of regular forces, even though greatly inferior in number. General Welden, who commanded the Austrian forces in Trent, drew two battalions of infantry from the Vorarlberg, where the declared neutrality of the Swiss rendered their presence no longer necessary, and with these, and as much as was disposable of his little garrison, resolved to advance and anticipate the attack of the enemy. He divided his force into two small columns, one of which moved from Trent over the mountains into the valley of the Sarca against Allemandi's right, the other on Cles, in the Val di Sole, so as to menace his left; while at the same time the little garrison of Riva, on the Lago di Garda, sallied forth, and totally defeated (April 18) another of the columns, six hundred strong, which was menacing its position. The first of Welden's columns encountered (April 19) a body of free volun-

teers at Silemo, in the valley of the Sarca, and speedily put them to the rout; the second in a few minutes dispersed Allemandi's principal force near Cles. The effect of these victories was, that the free bands fled headlong out of the Tyrol, and regained the plains of Lombardy in the utmost consternation and total disorganisation. So complete was the rout that, after a great deal of mutual abuse and recrimination, the whole of these free bands were dissolved; and such of them as remained, incorporated with the regular army of Piedmont.

36. Shortly after this check, Charles Albert, having received considerable reinforcements, which raised his army to 37,000 infantry, 4000 cavalry, and 80 guns, deemed himself in sufficient strength to undertake the operation he had long meditated, which was to occupy in force the Venetian States in the rear of Radetsky, and at the same time throw forward his own left along the eastern shore of the Lago di Garda, and seize upon Rivoli. By these means he hoped to turn both flanks of the Austrian position, and cut Radetsky off at once from the reinforcements which were hastening to him through the Tyrol, and the army of reserve which was beginning slowly to collect on the banks of the Isonzo. With this view he sent General La Marmora, one of the best officers in his army, destined for future distinction, to Venice, to hasten the formation of the levies there; while the Papal troops, some of which, as already noticed, were foreigners of excellent quality, under General Durando, supported by the Tuscan and other levies from the south of Po that were ready for the field, received orders to cross the Lower Po and occupy the Venetian territory, including Friuli. At the same time the Piedmontese army on the Mincio, now fully in hand and strongly reinforced by the arrival of troops from the rear, was to commence operations on their own left by the blockade of Peschiera. On their side, meanwhile, the Austrians were not idle. The Archduke John hastened to the Tyrol, pressed the armaments

in that warlike and faithful province, and moved southward into the Italian valleys; while General Nugent, who commanded the Austrian army of reserve on the Isonzo, passed that river, and was slowly advancing towards Udine, the capital of Friuli, so that he might soon be expected to come in contact with General Durando, who commanded the Papal troops, which were to converge towards the same point from the Roman frontier.

37. It is evident that this design was well conceived, and made the most of the forces at the disposal of the Piedmontese sovereign. It was open, however, to the usual danger of such flank attacks—viz., that of one of the columns of attack being suddenly assailed and crushed before the others had time to hasten to its relief. This accordingly happened in the present instance. On the 23d April a grand reconnaissance was made by Charles Albert in person, at the head of twelve battalions and a brigade of horse, across the Mincio from Valeggio, in the direction of Villafranca; while a similar movement with a like force took place two days afterwards, on the extreme right under the Duke of Savoy, who crossed the Mincio at Guidizzolo, and advanced to the neighbourhood of Mantua. The result was that it was ascertained that the enemy remained shut up in Verona, and behind the batteries of Mantua. The King in consequence in person superintended the construction of a strong bridge at Goito; and from the number of troops which were moved (April 26) at all points across the Mincio,* it became evident that he intended to concentrate the bulk of his forces between that river and the Adige, and that his first attack would be directed[†] after blockading Peschiera, against the Aus-

* The Piedmontese army which crossed the Mincio was 41,000 strong; 10,000 men were left on the left bank of that river (including a fine Tuscan division, 5200 strong, which had just joined) to observe Peschiera and Mantua; and 5000 more were employed watching the Tyrolean frontier on the side of Brescia. Durando had 7000 Papal troops in the Venetian provinces. In all, Charles Albert had 68,000.—ULLOA, i. 144, 145.

trian positions covering the defile which leads by the banks of the latter river to Trent and Germany.

38. PASTRENGO, situated three leagues above Verona, on the road to Trent, has always been found to be a strategical point of the greatest importance in the wars on the Mincio, as it is placed at the point where the great road from Mantua to the Tyrol reaches the Adige and enters the mountains. The possession of it therefore covers Rivoli, the plateau of which is the key of the southern Tyrol, and gives the command of the whole defile leading to Germany. No sooner did Radetsky perceive that the attack was to be made in this quarter, than he sent orders to General Welden to strengthen himself as much as possible on the plateau; and to gain time for doing so, he placed a brigade in Pastrengo under General Wohlgenuth, and another at Bussolengo, so as to threaten the right flank of an enemy moving on it. On the 29th April the King advanced in person against Pastrengo with the division of General Broglia, and a warm action ensued for the heights of Romaldola, the dominant ridge of the hills lying at the foot of the Alps in that quarter. It finally remained in the hands of the Piedmontese, who, with valour and skill equal to their opponents, had the advantage of superior numbers. The Austrians retired to Pastrengo. There the combat was renewed next day with larger forces and equal resolution on both sides. General Wocher commanded the Imperialists, now consisting of two brigades, who defended the position with the utmost resolution. The Piedmontese attack was made by an entire division under General Federici, supported by the whole left wing and reserve of their army, numbering not less than twenty thousand combatants. At the first cannon-shot, Radetsky, with his staff, approached the spot from Verona; but after viewing the enemy's position and forces, he did not deem himself in sufficient strength to hazard a general battle in defence of the post. Orders were therefore sent to Wocher to retire behind the

Adige, which was done in good order, but with considerable loss. In this action the Imperialists lost nine hundred men, including three hundred prisoners; the King not more than half the number. After the battle, the village of Bussolengo was also abandoned, and the Austrian army retired entirely behind the Adige.

39. While these engagements were going on, the garrison of Peschiera made a vigorous sally, which, however, was repulsed. By the occupation of Pastrengo and Bussolengo, and the retreat of the Austrians across the Adige, Charles Albert was enabled to complete the investment of that fortress, and thereby render his left comparatively secure; while with his right, into which he threw his principal force, he was preparing to effect the blockade of Mantua, which had not yet been completed, owing to the immense extent of the works of the place, and of the inundations by which they were surrounded. Afraid of the pestilential exhalations from these marshes, Charles Albert employed the Tuscan division, 5200 strong, to form a considerable part of the blockading force, and sent a portion of them across the Mincio by Governolo to cut off the communication with Legnago, which hitherto had remained open. No sooner did the governor of the fortress learn that the Italian troops were across the river, than he made a sally and routed them, with such loss that they were driven from their ground back to Governolo, which was even attempted to be carried, though without success. In consequence of this disaster, the Italian division made no further attempt to extend the blockade to the left bank of the river, and left the communication with Legnago entirely open. About the same time, the last remnants of the Italian free bands were attacked at Storo by a detachment sent out by General Welden, which totally defeated them, and sent them headlong out of the Austrian territory.

40. Charles Albert shortly after made an attempt to gain the heights of Rivoli, but it was done in a very feeble manner, and the inadequacy of the force

employed was perhaps the greatest fault committed by him during the whole campaign. On the 4th May the remains of the free corps were transported across the Lago di Garda from Salo to L'Assize, where they were joined by a strong Piedmontese regiment and a half-battery of artillery. Next day the united force, about five thousand strong, scaled the heights which lie between the lake and the valley of the Adige, passed the Fussio rivulet, and began the ascent of the rugged flanks of the Montebaldo. The Austrian outposts fell back to the main body, which, securely posted amidst rocks and thickets, kept up so heavy a fire that the assailants were quickly obliged to retire. Convinced by this repulse that no impression was to be made on the extreme Austrian right resting on the rocks of Rivoli, the King directed his whole attention to their centre, which lay in front of Verona, though not under the cannon of that place. The position of Radetsky there was, however, strong, standing on the edge of a spacious plateau covered in front by the villages of Crocebianca, San Massimo, and Santa Lucia, and sloping gently down in rear to the glacis of Verona. There the veteran field-marshal resolved to give battle with the whole force he could collect, being little over 16,000 men, with 54 guns; for he could not retire further without exposing Verona to bombardment, and endangering his communications by Trent with Germany.

41. At six in the morning of the 6th May, the whole Piedmontese army, 40,000 strong, with 70 guns, stood to their arms, and shortly after advanced to the attack. On the left General Broglia led his division against Crocebianca; in the centre D'Arvillars directed his against San Massimo; on the right General Bava was to mass two brigades and the reserve against Santa Lucia. The different divisions moved swiftly across the plain which separated the two armies, preceded by their guns, with their flanks covered by a cloud of skirmishers. The fire by nine was ex-

tremely warm on both sides, and the Piedmontese troops were advancing with great steadiness and loud shouts to the attack, when their progress on the left was checked by the fire, on their flank, of an Austrian battery. The weight of the attack was upon this directed by the King against the village of Santa Lucia, on the Austrian left, which was strongly occupied, and obstinately defended by a brigade of the Imperialists under Strassoldo. The attack, however, by the Piedmontese was not less determined; house after house, street after street, were successively carried; the church and churchyard, after a sanguinary struggle, were stormed by the assailants, and at length the whole village was conquered. But the Imperialists in sullen dejection stood firm, still ready to give battle in its rear. Elated by their success, the Piedmontese were rushing out of the village to renew the attack on the other side, when their flank was torn by a discharge from an Austrian-Italian battalion, who immediately after charged with the bayonet and drove them back. In vain they repeatedly endeavoured to debouch and renew the attack; they were as often checked by the fire of grape and musketry which issued from the Austrian lines. Seeing this, and regarding Santa Lucia as the decisive point, the King hurried forward the brigade of guards to support the attack, and posted himself at their head. But the Austrians meanwhile brought up reinforcements not less powerful; Count Clam arrived with three battalions, and with them a general attempt to retake the village was made. The King, on his side, upon this drew in the whole division of General D'Arvillars from his centre; and the combatants on either part, broken into small bodies by the intervening gardens and enclosures, fought hand to hand with equal valour and resolution. But they did so without the Imperialists being able to retake the village. Meanwhile the battle raged with a like fury along the whole front, especially when General Broglia, with the Piedmontese left, attacked the villages of Croce-

bianca and San Massimo on the Austrian right and centre. But no decisive advantage was gained in that quarter; and at four o'clock the King, finding that nothing beyond the bare possession of the village had been gained by his attack on Santa Lucia, gave orders for a general retreat. It was conducted in good order, under cover of the brigade Coni, headed by the Duke of Savoy; but not without some disorder among the Italian troops, several hundred of whom were made prisoners. The Piedmontese loss was 98 killed and 659 wounded; that of the Austrians nearly as considerable.*

42. Although the result of this battle was nowise decisive, it had a material effect upon the issue of the campaign, and modified in an important way the measures both of the Imperialists and the Piedmontese. On the one hand, Charles Albert became convinced that he could not, with his present forces, assail with success the Austrian position on the Adige, or force the important plateau of Rivoli, the bulwark of their communication with Germany: on the other, the Imperial general felt that the campaign to him had hitherto been a losing game, and that it taxed his utmost strength to maintain himself in the last defensive position in Italy, formed by Verona, Legnago, and the line of the Adige. Thus both parties were in a manner compelled to pause in their operations; and this was the more advisable, as each expected considerable reinforcements shortly. The King hoped for the speedy arrival of the Papal troops, including the Swiss regiments, on his adversaries' communications, and something might be expected, at least for guarding convoys and keeping up communications, from the numerous Tuscan and Lombard volunteer corps forming in his rear. Radetsky had still more material succour to expect from the army of reserve under General Nugent, which the Imperial Government, notwithstanding

the straits to which it had been reduced, had contrived to form on the Isonzo, and which was now beginning to threaten Friuli, and make its weight felt in the most important way in the rear of his position.

43. Count Laval Nugent, Master of the Ordnance, and General-in-Chief in Lower Austria, one of the most distinguished veterans of the Imperial army, had in the commencement of the war offered his services to collect and conduct the army of reserve which the Cabinet of Vienna had ordered to be formed on the Isonzo. Forty years' service in the Imperial army, and presence in above a hundred battles, had matured, by the lessons of experience, a mind formed by nature to discharge the most important duties of a general. His offer was accepted; and on the 4th April he reached Gortz, and established his headquarters there, to superintend the formation of the army of reserve. It already consisted, at least on paper, of 20,000 men, of whom 1700 were cavalry, with 64 guns and two rocket batteries. No less than 8000 of the infantry, however, were several marches in the rear, and great part of the artillery was without horses, and therefore incapable of immediate service. The troops were composed of two classes—the reserves forwarded from the depots in the interior to the Austrian regiments in Italy; the Croat borderers, forwarded by COUNT JELLACHICH, BAN OF CROATIA, who, although all but dethroned by the rebellious Magyars in his own dominions, had in the noblest manner despatched every disposable man to the support of his veteran comrade. So slowly, however, did the troops arrive, and such was the state of destitution to which the artillery was reduced, that it was not till the 15th April that he was able to move forward, and then it was only with 13,000 men and 46 guns.

44. General Zucchi commanded the Italian forces in Friuli; but they consisted only of 3000 regular troops, forming part of the regiments in the Imperial service which had revolted, and 8000 volunteers and national

* For the account of this battle compare SCHÖNFELDS, pp. 160, 166, with ULLOA, i. pp. 155, 161, and ELLENBERG, pp. 103, 107.

guards, on whom no reliance could be placed. Fearful of a collision in the open field with the German forces, Zucchi shut himself up in the fortress of Palma-Nova with 8000 men, leaving the remainder to aid the garrison of Udine. Both towns were soon invested by Nugent; and as Udine was surrounded by an old wall, and the streets were strongly barricaded, a desperate resistance was anticipated. It all ended, however, in smoke. On the 21st, the Austrians commenced a bombardment, which, after lasting two hours, struck such terror into the inhabitants that they proposed a capitulation, which was concluded on favourable terms to the citizens on the 23d. The troops in it retired to Osopo. The capitulation was to be open to Palma-Nova, and all the towns in the province; but they refused to take advantage of it, and Nugent, leaving these merely observed by incon siderable blockading forces, advanced leisurely, after crossing the Tagliamento, with the main body of his troops to Pordenone, which he reached on the 30th, his advanced-guard being posted at Sacile.

45. Nugent, who, though a brave and experienced officer, belonged to the old school in war, advanced so slowly that before he reached the Piave the Italian forces had gained time to break down the bridges and collect on the opposite bank. They were under the command of General Durando, were organised in three divisions, and amounted in all to 15,000 men, of whom 4000, with 8 guns and 700 horse, were Papal Swiss, the best troops in all Italy. To cross a broad and deep river, in presence of such a force, with one of little greater amount, was an undertaking of no little difficulty. The Swiss contingent, which was so formidable, was posted, under Durando in person, near Monte-Belluno, with its front towards Feltre. This body was worth more than the whole of the rest of the army put together, for the remainder consisted of undisciplined Italian volunteers, who were likely to disband on the first serious danger. The Austrians continued

to advance, and when they arrived at the Piave, finding the bridges destroyed, and their own pontoon-train too short to effect the passage, turned to their right, and marched up the left bank to Belluno, where there was a stone bridge which had been carried by a detached Austrian brigade, under Culoz, on the 5th May. There Nugent crossed on the 7th. Upon this Durando, who found the whole Austrian army directed against his single division, retired, but not on the two other Italian divisions, who were posted in front of Treviso, but on Bassano, at the entrance of the Val Sugana—an eccentric movement, which entirely separated him from the rest of the army, and exposed both to the most serious dangers. The Austrian general immediately availed himself of his advantage. Rapidly countermarching, he again approached Treviso, concentrated his troops at Visnadello, and, after two sharp skirmishes on the 9th and 11th, obliged the Italian troops to retire, leaving Treviso, garrisoned only by 3500 of the free bands, to its fate. Ferrari, who commanded the Italians, withdrew to Mestre, intending to unite with the garrison of Venice; while Durando moved down the stream of the Brenta in the same direction, hoping to regain his comrades there. Nugent was now obliged to resign the command from ill health, and it was assumed by Count Thurn, who on the 18th concentrated his whole force, 19,000 strong, at Visnadello. The Italian generals had no force at their command capable of withstanding such a mass; and it advanced against Vicenza, in obedience to pressing orders received from Radetsky to hasten, with every disposable sabre and bayonet, to the decisive point on the Adige. c

46. So pressing had affairs now become on that river, that though Vicenza lay on the direct road to Verona, and a vigorous attack upon it with the force at the disposal of the Austrian general could hardly fail of success, yet Thurn, to avoid delay and the risk of an action with Durando, who, having united with Ferrari's troops, was now hastening up to its support, re-

solved not to attempt its reduction, but to make a circuit round it and continue his march to Verona. This he did accordingly. On the 20th his advanced guards fell in with Radetsky's posts in the rear, and on the 21st the much-wished-for junction took place, and the force on the Adige was increased by nearly twenty thousand good troops. Radetsky, however, was anxious not to leave so important a town as Vicenza in the hands of the enemy, and he ordered Thurn to retrace his steps and attack it. He did so accordingly, and an assault was (May 23) delivered. But the barricades were strong, the resistance stout, the guns of heavy metal, and a Swiss battalion, which Durando had meanwhile thrown into the place, displayed the most undaunted valour. The result was, that the attack failed; and, after a useless carnage, Thurn drew off his men, and rejoined the commander-in-chief on the 25th at Verona, leaving Vicenza still in the hands of the enemy.

47. During these events, the important counter-revolution took place at Naples, on the 15th May, which completely restored the royal authority, and occasioned an immediate change in the foreign policy and disposal of the military force of the State. Previous to that event the Neapolitan troops, 20,000 strong, had arrived upon the Lower Po; and the government being completely in the hands of the democratic party, this large force was intended to have co-operated with the Papal troops. But when the King had triumphed over the democratic party in the streets of Naples, a change of ministry and measures immediately took place, and orders were issued to the army on the Lower Po to return. When these counter-orders reached the army, which was under the command of General Pepe, a strenuous Liberal, a struggle ensued in the army as to which party they should obey. Matters came to a crisis on the 28th May, when Pepe, disobeying the orders of his government, instead of returning towards Naples, gave orders to a division to cross the Po, and ad-

vance into the Venetian territories. Several regiments resisted, and, headed by their officers, began to march homewards. In vain the populace of Bologna gave the most strenuous support to the Liberal party in the army. Pepe persuaded two battalions of volunteers and a battery, all Italians, to cross the river; but when the remaining troops of the line approached its banks, General Klein issued a counter-order, and all the regiments flocked to his standard, and formed a camp at Cento ready to obey their sovereign. Pepe soon found that all he could do was to retain the Italian volunteers on his side. At Venice also, the Neapolitan troops, which had been embarked in the fleet, were recalled, and none but the Italian volunteers remained. These events were by far the most important which had yet occurred in the course of the war; for at the very time when the junction of the army of reserve added 20,000 men to the forces of Radetsky, the change at Naples withdrew as large a force from the league of Italian independence!

48. Their importance became the more conspicuous from what was occurring at the same time in the main armies on the Adige. The Austrians had, during the three weeks' inaction which succeeded the battle of Santa Lucia, greatly strengthened their position, and, in fact, converted it into a large intrenched camp in front of Verona. Charles Albert did the same, and exerted himself to the utmost to get up troops from the rear to cover the siege of Peschiera. But though he received considerable reinforcements from his own dominions, the Milanese levies went on so slowly that only five or six thousand of the line were as yet in the front, and as many volunteers. The enthusiasm of the Lombards all evaporated in civil meetings, illuminations, and operatic applause—measures little calculated to resist the onset of the Transalpine legions. Nor were internal divisions of a still more serious character wanting to paralyse the energy by which alone the independence of Italy could be secured. The leading democrats in the several

towns were so divided, and so jealous of superior authority, that Charles Albert, in despair, resolved to have nothing to do with them, and declined the proffered crown of Northern Italy.

49. The King, however, was not remiss in those warlike measures by which alone the independence of the Peninsula could be secured. His whole attention was, in the first instance, directed to the siege of Peschiera, the operations against which were becoming serious when the army of reserve was approaching the Adige. This fortress, situated at the point where the Mincio issues from the Lago di Garda, though not of the first order, was of considerable strength, and the garrison, which was sixteen hundred strong, had orders to defend itself to the last extremity. The King fixed his headquarters with the covering force at Monzambano, about a league from the place; the Duke of Genoa was intrusted with the direction of the artillery and besieging force, which consisted of two Piedmontese brigades and a battalion of marines. The batteries were armed early on the 18th May, and at 1 P.M. on that day the fire began at the distance of six hundred yards. Though no practicable breach in the body of the place had been made, the garrison were, chiefly from the effect of the vertical fire and the silencing of two outworks, soon reduced to great straits, and no provisions remained but dry maize. Summoned to surrender on the 26th May, however, the governor refused, trusting to the measures which the commander-in-chief was meditating for his relief.

50. The position of Charles Albert covering the siege was so strong that Radetsky despaired of success from a front attack. He resolved, therefore, to effect the object of raising the siege, by threatening another part of the enemy's position; and this he did by a bold but most able operation. Leaving Count Thurn with the greater part of the army of reserve, sixteen thousand strong, consisting for the most part of young soldiers, to defend the intrenched camp in front of Verona, he himself set out late in the evening

of the 27th May, with thirty thousand infantry, five thousand horse, and one hundred and fifty guns, divided into three corps, and took the direction of Mantua. The operation was a delicate and hazardous one; for the army, in making this cross-march, showed a long flank to the King, who might have assailed it with advantage at any point—"a species of attack," says Napoleon, "which never fails." But the risk of being so assailed was much lessened by the possession of the fortified towns of Verona and Mantua at its two extremities, which, in any event, secured the two extreme points of the line of march, and prevented the army being turned or cut off from both. The troops of Charles Albert lay concentrated in massive columns on the summit of Somma Campagna and the heights above Villafranca, overhanging the long flank of the Austrian army. It was a glorious night of spring. The rolling of numerous guns and caissons filled the air with a grumbling sound as of distant thunder. On the high grounds to the north, the Piedmontese bivouac-fires burned calm and clear, and the darkness was only illuminated at intervals by the flash of dropping musket-shots from their outposts in the plain towards Villafranca, along the front of which, at the distance of about a cannon-shot, the Austrian host was moving. With wonderful skill did the old Marshal conduct his march, and well was he seconded by the discipline and steadiness of his troops. He moved in three parallel columns, each so well closed up and arranged for instant action, with horsemen in the front and rear, that the whole mass was ready on any point, at a few minutes' notice, to wheel into line and give battle with the artillery and cavalry in their proper places. On the evening of the 28th the whole army bivouacked, without having fired a shot, on the glacis under the cannon of Mantua. Charles Albert remained entirely ignorant of the movement, and thought that some light troops only had pushed across his front.*

* SCHOENHAUS, pp. 192, 195.

51. On the following morning the Austrian marshal resumed his march at daybreak from Mantua, and now his design was apparent; he took the road to Cremona. The Austrian advanced-guard, pursuing their line along the right bank of the Mincio, and on the southern shore of the lake in which Mantua stands, came in contact, at the Canal Ossone, which issues from it, with the Tuscan division, six thousand strong, with eight guns, which was prepared to dispute the passage. The village of Curtatone, through which the road passed, was strongly barricaded and loopholed, and every preparation had been made for a vigorous defence. Some delay occurred in reaching this post, from the deep ditches which flanked the chaussée on either side requiring to be filled up before the columns could pass along. At length, however, the leading division, under Prince Felix Schwarzenberg, reached the post, and the stormers, under General Benedek, were formed for the attack. Twice that gallant officer led his troops to the barricades, and twice they were repulsed by the steady fire of the Tuscans. At length, however, on the third rush the defences were carried, and the guns taken. Half a league to the south, at the bridge of Montanora, Count Clam, with the leading brigade of Prince Frederick Schwarzenberg's division, was engaged in a desperate combat. Twice his men tried to storm, twice they were driven back in disorder. At length the Tuscans, turned by a brigade which had crossed the Ossone still further south, and menaced in flank by Benedek's men from Curtatone, were enveloped and gave way. In these severe combats the Tuscan division lost five guns, four hundred and eighty men killed and wounded, and two thousand men made prisoners. This advantage, great as it was, had been dearly purchased by the Imperialists: they lost ninety-five killed, and five hundred and fifteen wounded. The proportion of officers struck to the men proved how bravely they had stood to the front to lead on their troops; the

number of officers in action compared with the men was one in thirty, the number hit was one in sixteen.*

52. Upon receiving intelligence of this disaster, Charles Albert moved from his position on Somma Campagna, and marched to Goito, moving a part of his troops to the right bank of the Mincio, in order to cover his communications with Lombardy, which he imagined the field-marshal intended to threaten. It was full time he should do so; for on the evening of the 29th, the Austrian army began its march in two columns—the one following the highroad to Milan by Cremona, on the left bank of the Po, the other by moving by a parallel road to its right. On the morning of the 30th, Radetsky, wheeling to the right, directed his army in two columns northwards into the space lying between the Mincio and the Oglio. The right column, consisting of Wratislaw's, followed by Wocher's corps, moved on Goito where the right of the Piedmontese army lay; the left, composed of Aspre's corps, marched on Ceresara to threaten Brescia and their sole remaining route to Milan. The field-marshal had no intention of giving battle: his object was to force the enemy to abandon the line of the Mincio, and raise the siege of Peschiera, in order to preserve his communications with Milan. It fell out otherwise, however, and the Imperialists sustained a severe check in consequence of the division of their forces into two columns, which exposed the one to attack while the other was not at hand to support it. General Bava, who commanded the Piedmontese right wing, to stop this advance hastily drew together eighteen thousand men and forty-four guns at Goito, which he disposed in the most skilful manner to defend that important town, with its passage over the Mincio. The Austrian advanced-guard under Benedek, composed of the leading brigade of Wratislaw's corps, was,

* In the battles of the Alma and Inkerman, the English officers killed or wounded were 1 in 15; the French, 1 in 25; the Russian, 1 in 35.

at a turn of the road, at the foot of the high ground above the town, suddenly saluted by a fire from a heavy battery, to which they had nothing to oppose. So eager were the Imperialists to engage that the field-marshal was in a manner compelled to bring up brigade after brigade to the attack, after the first had been repulsed. It was all in vain, however: the Piedmontese stood to their guns manfully, and had the advantage of fighting under cover, while the Austrians were exposed. The Duke of Genoa directed the artillery with coolness and judgment: the King, who hastened to the front when the firing began, received a slight contusion on the ear; and after four hours' fighting, the Austrians, after sustaining a loss of 397 killed and wounded, drew off.

53. While his right was thus seriously menaced, the King, with equal courage and judgment, stood firm before Peschiera—not a gun or a man was withdrawn from the siege; and the Piedmontese and Austrian troops, alike fearful of each other, stood within their lines awaiting the issue of the conflict going on.* But meanwhile the garrison of that fortress were reduced to the last extremities. Forty thousand bombs and cannon-shot had been discharged into the place, and with such effect that two-thirds of the guns on the ramparts were dismounted; and for such as remained on their carriages, only two gunners a-piece remained fit for duty. The vertical fire of the Piedmontese had reduced the garrison to a third of their numbers; the mills had long since been destroyed: and the resource of horse-flesh and roughly-pounded maize had begun to fail. A last armistice of twenty-four hours expired on the evening of the 30th, and on that evening the governor received a final summons to surrender, accompanied by an account of the affair at Goito, which was magnified into a decisive

victory. Upon this all further hesitation was at an end; a capitulation was agreed to on condition of a free march to Ancona. On the 31st, at mid-day, the Piedmontese troops entered the fortress, and on the day following the King visited the place and heard mass in the church. The artillery taken in the fortress amounted to one hundred and eighteen pieces, nearly all damaged by the fire to which it had been exposed, and part of very old construction.

54. These repeated disasters rendered the position of Radetsky very critical. Notwithstanding his success at the Canal Ossone, the object of the expedition to that place had failed. Peschiera had fallen, while the repulse at Goito had both restored the hopes of the Italians and somewhat damped the spirit of his own troops. To add to his embarrassment, advices were received two days afterwards of the events of the 26th May at Vienna, which had led to a total revolution in the government of that capital. On the other hand, everything seemed to smile on the Piedmontese sovereign. By the capture of Peschiera he had secured his left flank, and acquired a solid base of operations both against Rivoli and Verona; while by his victory at Goito he had caused his right to be respected, and in a great measure compensated the injurious effect on public opinion of his defeat at Ossone, and the withdrawal of the Neapolitan troops from the theatre of war. Above all, the revolution at Vienna had entirely paralysed the forces of his adversary, and rendered it more than doubtful whether Radetsky's army might not ere long receive orders from a provisional government to unite their forces to those of the leader of liberated Italy. Impressed with these ideas, the field-marshal resolved on a retrograde movement, and concentration of his forces in the intrenched camp under the cannon of Verona. But an ordinary retreat would be too hazardous under the circumstances; and he therefore determined, before doing so, to take advantage of the concentration of his forces on his left to strike a backhand-

* An attempt to effect a diversion from the side of Rivoli was made on the 28th, but failed from the small number of troops disposable for the movement.

ed blow which should at once clear his rear and compel the enemy to keep at a respectful distance. With this view he resolved to march with his whole disposable force on Vicenza.

55. The advantages of this movement, in a strategical point of view, promised to be very great. It would reopen a new and secure communication with the Tyrol and Vienna, entirely *within* the Austrian territory, which could not be said of that by Trent, now that Peschiera was taken and Rivoli threatened; restore the direct road with Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria, by Trieste, and render available the whole country in his rear between the Alps and the Po for the supply of his army. To insure success it was necessary to throw the whole centre and left on Vicenza, leave the right shut up within the intrenched camp in front of Verona, and abandon Rivoli, the object of such fierce contention in former wars; for the garrison of Vicenza was fifteen thousand strong, amply provided with artillery, and embracing the Swiss regiments of the Pope. But if Vicenza was gained, and the interior line of communication by the Arsa valley in consequence opened, the loss of Rivoli was of no importance; nay, it would rather prove an advantage by distracting the troops and attention of the enemy from the real point of attack.

56. On 2d June, the army, which had advanced into the neighbourhood of Goito, was drawn back in an ostentatious manner to Mantua, and reports were circulated that a general retreat had been resolved on. General Zobel, who was left with a single brigade in Rivoli, had orders to withdraw from that post as soon as it was seriously threatened. On the 5th the field-marshal left Mantua with his whole disposable force, amounting to 24,000 infantry, 5000 horse, and 150 guns, and took the road to Vicenza. On the 6th he passed the Adige at Legnago, with the corps of Asprè and Wratislaw, while Woehler's weak reserve corps, wheeling to the left, moved up its right bank to Verona so as to cover the movement from the sight of Charles

Albert. On the evening of the 9th he was in sight of Vicenza. Passing round the group of beautiful hills called the Monte Berici, he approached the town on the eastern side, thereby cutting off all communication with Venice. Here he was joined next morning by 5000 men under General Caloz, called up from Verona, who by great skill had succeeded in making their way through many natural and artificial obstacles. This raised the Austrian force to 35,000 men. The enemy under Durando, however, had in the interim not been idle. The Papal division, 5000 strong, had been mingled with the Italian volunteers, 10,000 more, the artillery, consisting of 38 pieces, stationed on the most commanding eminences near the town, and strong intrenchments and barricades thrown up to prevent an entrance being effected at any point.

57. Having got all his forces well in hand, on the evening of the 9th the field-marshal made his dispositions for a general attack on the morning of the 10th. The key of the enemy's position evidently was the Monte Berici, and its occupation would secure the fall of the city. Culoz, on the left, was to assail the lofty summit of the Madonna del Monte from the side of Arcugnano; Wratislaw, in the centre, ascending the right bank of the Bacchiglione, was to advance up the southern slopes of the Monte Berici; Asprè, on the right, beyond that river, was to move along the Padua road against the eastern suburb of Vicenza. The action commenced at seven in the morning by an attack by Culoz on the heights of Santa-Margherita, which were soon carried, as was the villa of Casa-Ramboldo, situated on the spur of the hills, which had been converted into an ammunition store, and was blown up by a discharge of rockets, and the Bella Vista peak beyond. At 2 P.M. the general attack on the Monte Berici by both Culoz and Wratislaw commenced. The assault was made by the Austrians with the utmost gallantry, nobly led on by their officers, who sustained in consequence a very heavy loss. The resistance, however, of the Papal Swiss was not less determined; and for long

these dauntless antagonists of the Teutonic race held the issue in suspense. At length, however, the great superiority of the Austrian artillery determined the conflict, and the Villa Rotonda and all the lower ridges was carried at the point of the bayonet. Meanwhile, beyond the Bacchiglione, under cover of a tremendous vertical fire of mortars, Prince Frederick of Lichtenstein with Aspre's leading brigade, carried the suburb of Padua, while that of Santa Lucia was also in part forced; but a deep ditch beyond arrested his further progress. Still the Swiss on the Madonna del Monte held out, and nobly in that trying hour did they sustain the ancient fame of their fathers. But the native Pontifical troops having fled, they were obliged to retire into the town, which they did, surrounded but unconquered, and firing all the way. They endeavoured to make a last stand in the noble colonnade, supported by one thousand columns, which leads from the summit of the hills to the town, but they were at length forced to give way. The white flag was immediately displayed at some points, the red flag at others; but all uncertainty was soon at an end by the arrival at midnight of a flag of truce to treat for a capitulation. It was at once agreed to by Radetsky, and the convention signed at six on the following morning. By it the Papal troops were to begin their march at noon for the right bank of the Po, with their artillery and baggage, by Este and Rovigo, but not to serve against Austria for three months. The free bands for the most part dispersed upon learning of this capitulation. This great success was not gained by the Austrians without heavy loss; it amounted, on their side, to Major-General Prince William Taxis and 17 other officers killed, and 285 men; 2 colonels, 28 officers, and 650 men wounded and missing. On the other side, the Swiss alone, who went into action 3000 strong, lost 600 men in the fight. Their wounded were treated like brothers by the Austrians, the field-marshal himself visiting them in the hospitals.

58. No sooner was this great victory gained, which at once restored the Austrian communications with Roveredo and the Tyrol, than Radetsky set out to return by forced marches to Verona, where he was well aware the garrison of the intrenched camp would be reduced to the last extremity during his absence. With such expedition did he move, that General Culoz, who had headed the stormers at Vicenza on the 10th, reached Verona on the evening of the 12th, a distance of thirty-six miles, and the bulk of the army followed on the 13th. Hardly had the wearied soldiers reached their old lines when they were again hurried to the front to combat the King in person, who, with 20,000 men, was descending from Villafranca to menace the intrenched camp, and force the passage of the Adige below the town at Ronco, during the absence of the greater part of the army at Vicenza. The determined air of the outposts, however, and the dense battalions which appeared behind them, soon convinced him that he was too late. He drew off his forces, accordingly, after a sharp reconnaissance, and contented himself with the capture of the plateau of Rivoli, which, in obedience to the orders of Radetsky, had been abandoned (June 10th) by General Zobel when pressed by the forces of the King the very day of the attack on Vicenza. The intelligence of the conquest of Rivoli by the Italians excited the most unbounded transports at Paris and Milan, where it was thought to be, as it had proved in the wars of Napoleon, decisive of the campaign; ignorant as they were of the new line, cut since 1796 through the mountains from Vicenza by the Val d'Arsa to Roveredo, which deprived it of its great strategical importance. The Austrians brought back in triumph to Verona from Vicenza 44 guns, 18 powder-waggons, and 681 muskets. Their loss from 7th May, when the counter-march to Mantua began, to 12th June, when they returned to Verona, was 2232, of whom 304 were killed.*

* ELLESMERE, pp. 152, 153.

59. The capture of Vicenza made a prodigious sensation in Europe, and at once restored the lustre of the Austrian arms. It proved a withering blow to the Italians, and seriously damaged the reputation of Charles Albert, who, with his whole army well in hand, had accomplished nothing more during the absence of the field-marshal than the occupation of Rivoli, which had ceased to be of any value. Its immediate fruits at the theatre of war were not less important to the Imperial arms, for it opened the resources of the mainland of Venice to them, and facilitated the operations of a second army of reserve, under Welden, which the Government of Vienna had begun to collect for operations against Venice. The extreme difficulty, however, of collecting the recruits from the depots in the rear, and the undisguised hostility of all the inhabitants of the country to the Germans, which is perhaps stronger there than in any other part of Italy, rendered the formation of this second army of reserve a very tedious affair; and it was not till the end of May that Welden was able to collect such a force as enabled him to commence the offensive; and even then, though he had sixteen battalions, four squadrons, and eight batteries under his orders, he could only unite on one point 2500 men, and *one mortar*! About the same time, an Austrian movable column from Welden's little force entered the mountain districts which had revolted, and occupied Cadore, thereby re-establishing the communications with Austria by the great

road of Belluno. Shortly after, Welden, whose detachments from the rear were rapidly coming up, invested Treviso, and advanced his right wing to Bassano at the entrance of the defiles of the Val Sugana. The Italians, taking advantage of a strong position in the defiles of the Brenta, by rolling down stones, and a heavy plunging fire of musketry, for two days repelled the enemy; but in the night of the second, four companies of Tyrolese militia climbed the heights in their rear, and compelled the insurgents to retire. By this means the direct communication between Bassano and Roveredo, by the Val Sugana, was restored, and the value of the position of Rivoli to Charles Albert entirely lost. This was followed by the forcing of the passage of the Val d'Arsa on the 12th June, by an Austrian brigade, detached by Asprè from Vicenza, which arrived on the 15th at Roveredo, thereby opening the direct passage from Vicenza, and restoring, by two lines, the communications between the Venetian provinces and the German Tyrol. Such was the consternation excited by these events, that, on the 13th, Treviso capitulated, with its garrison of 4185 men, to Welden on the same terms as those which had been accorded to Vicenza. Padua, on the same day, followed the example, surrendering to General Asprè, who had only a single brigade before it; and the whole Venetian mainland being now abandoned, the insurgents shut themselves up in Venice, and the entire shores of the Lagoon were occupied by the Austrian troops.

CHAPTER LXX.

ITALY, FROM THE CAPTURE OF VICENZA BY THE AUSTRIANS TO THE
TERMINATION OF THE ITALIAN WAR.

1. A PAUSE now ensued of a month's duration in military operations. The interval was spent by both parties in getting up reinforcements to compensate their losses; in repairing the equipment of the troops; collecting supplies of ammunition, guns, and provisions from the rear, and strengthening their positions in the front. So equally balanced were the two hosts, that neither made any attempt to interrupt his opponent; and the positions of each, in consequence, grew into the most portentous strength. That of Radetsky, in front of Verona, was protected by works which rivalled the far-famed lines of Torres Vedras. He at the same time greatly strengthened the fort of Riva, at the upper end of the Lago di Garda, and established a flotilla on it, which gave him the entire command of the lake. The whole *Civica* or National Guard in the Venetian territories were at the same time disarmed, and strong garrisons established in Vicenza, Padua, Bassano, Treviso, Palma-Nuova, and the other recovered towns in the continental provinces of Venice, as well as on the shores of the Lagoon themselves. But though by these means the Austrian position was rendered much more secure, and extensive supplies were obtained for their troops, the disposable force which they could bring to the front was proportionally weakened. The reinforcements which they got up from the rear were not adequate to repair the losses and tear and wear of the campaign, and at the same time occupy in sufficient strength the numerous towns in their rear; and Radetsky was mortified to find, that, after all his efforts and victories, he could not collect above forty-four

thousand effective men on any one point for offensive operations in the field.

2. The efforts of the Piedmontese King had been equally vigorous to restore and reinforce his army during the pause in active operations. The filling up of the Piedmontese battalions with Lombard recruits, so long recommended, had now begun to be carried into effect, and added considerably to the strength of the battalions, though by no means in an equal degree to their efficiency in the field. A camp of reserve battalions was formed in the rear, which furnished seven thousand young but good soldiers. The material of the army was also improved by large importations of artillery and arms from abroad. But these acquisitions by no means equalled the reinforcements which, in the end of July, began to pour into the Austrian army. A new levy of twenty thousand men had indeed been decreed at Turin, and the battalions were beginning to be formed, but some months must elapse before they could by possibility take the field. An energetic proclamation had been issued (June 20) by the Provisional Government at Milan, calling on the Lombards to take arms; but it was responded to so slowly that the Italian army, instead of increasing, was diminishing every day, and it was evident that the cause of Italian independence would receive no effective support from the inhabitants of the plains between the Alps and the Apennines. On the other hand, the strength of the Austrian forces was materially increased in the end of July by the addition of twelve thousand men from Welden's army, who were formed into

a corps under General Culoz, and posted at Legnago, and the arrival of numerous recruits from the Austrian provinces. By these means the troops at the disposal of the field-marshal were raised to 126 battalions and 60 squadrons, with 240 guns. The total combatants, if they had been all up and effective, would have been 132,000; but 12,000 were sick or wounded, an equal number on march, and at least 40,000 were required to garrison the towns in the rear and keep up the communications; so that not more than 60,000 could be relied on for operations in the field, of whom 45,000 only could be collected for one battle by the field-marshal. This force was divided into five corps, of which three (those of Wratislaw, Aspre, and Woher) were concentrated at Verona in the centre; one, under Count Thurn, was in the Tyrol on the right; and one, under General Culoz, was at Legnago on the left. The Piedmontese active army was not less numerous, because, though the sum total of the forces at the disposal of Charles Albert was not, including the garrison of Venice, above 90,000, yet, as the country in his rear was all friendly, he was not in an equal degree weakened by detachments and garrisons to keep up the communications, and could concentrate about 60,000 men with 104 guns on the line of the Mincio. But the efficiency of this army had been much impaired by the large intermixture of recruits which had taken place to fill up the chasms among the old soldiers—a circumstance which had seriously lessened their steadiness and their power to move under fire.

3. But whatever advantage the Austrian field-marshal might have over Charles Albert in the forces immediately under his command in the field, was compensated, and more than compensated, by the distracted condition of the Austrian monarchy, which was in such a state that its immediate dissolution, without external stroke, seemed imminent. Bohemia, in open insurrection, had only recently received its first check, by the bombard-

ment of Prague by Windischgratz. It was this success which had enabled Count Latour, the minister-at-war, to forward the large reinforcements which he had lately despatched to the Adige. But Hungary was distracted by a frightful schism, which threatened to deprive the empire of its best soldiers and most powerful support. The Tyrol was firm and loyal, and Croatia sent forth gallant bands to encounter the Magyars on the Hungarian plains; but Vienna was in a state of smouldering insurrection; and it was impossible to say how soon the Imperial rule might pass entirely into revolutionary hands. In these circumstances, it was impossible to overrate the importance of the defensive position held by Radetsky on the Adige, or the calamitous results which would ensue if his gallant host were to experience any serious reverse. Caution and prudence were thus imposed, as a matter of necessity, on the Austrian commander, for defeat, in any considerable degree, might prove the forerunner, not merely of the loss of an army, but of the dissolution of an empire.

4. The forces on the opposite sides being so equally balanced, Charles Albert resolved to take the initiative in offensive operations by the investment of Mantua. He was too good a soldier not to be aware of the dangers with which such an undertaking would be attended in the presence of such a general as Radetsky, himself holding an impregnable position on the flank of the blockading army; but, in truth, he was no longer the master of his own movements. The revolutionary press in rear had opened upon him such a torrent of abuse for his so-called inactivity after the capture of Rivoli and victory of Goito, that he was compelled, against his better judgment, to undertake an enterprise which was the immediate cause of his and their own ruin. Compelled by the same ignorant and senseless external pressure to give up none of his acquisitions, he resolved to hold the plateau of Rivoli on his left, and the works in front of Verona in his centre,

while he accumulated the mass of his forces against Mantua on his right. This weakening of his centre and left, directly in front of the fortified position of Radetsky, whose forces were concentrated under its guns, was a grave fault in a military point of view, savouring rather of revolutionary enthusiasm than experienced wisdom, and would be a lasting reproach to the military conduct of Charles Albert, were it not that it is well known that he was not, in so doing, his own master. He was overruled by a council of heated revolutionists at Turin and Milan, whose ignorance of military affairs was equalled only by their presumption in assuming their direction.

5. The siege of Mantua having been resolved on, the movements of the Piedmontese to commence the investment began on the 13th July, on which day the headquarters of the King were moved to Roverbella in the vicinity of that place. On the same day an Austrian brigade, five thousand strong, was detached by the field-marshal, under Prince Lichtenstein, from Culoz's corps at Legnago, for the relief of the citadel of Ferrara, which had remained in the hands of the Imperialists ever since the beginning of the war, but was now beginning to be hard pressed for provisions by the Piedmontese force which held the town. The passage of the Po having been very skilfully effected by means of boats on the 13th July, the Austrian column appeared before the place at mid-day on the day following, and the Piedmontese blockading force, being much inferior in number, immediately agreed to a convention, in virtue of which the citadel was to be regularly supplied with provisions every two months. Having secured this object, Lichtenstein immediately recrossed the Po. After this success, the Austrian commander, agreeably to his instructions, moved upon Governolo, a fortified town of some importance, situated at the junction of the Mincio and the Po, and which was held by a small Austrian detachment. The object of this was to cross the Mincio at that place, and threaten the rear of

the force blockading Mantua, which was at the same time to be disturbed by a sally from the place. No sooner, however, did Charles Albert hear of this movement than he detached General Bava, with six battalions and fifteen guns, who carried the place before Lichtenstein could reach it. Finding himself thus anticipated, the Prince took up a position at Sanguinetto, on the road between Legnago and Mantua, where he was in a situation to cover Legnago and prevent any movement against General Welden's corps, which maintained the blockade of Venice and the line of the Lower Po.

6. But more important events were now on the wing, and those great strategetical operations were about to commence which were destined to decide the contest in Italy. Radetsky's plan was to direct his real attack on his own left against the Piedmontese force grouped around Mantua under the King in person, but to disguise this design under a subordinate attack on Rivoli on his right, which might induce the King to make considerable detachments in that direction. The better to conceal that object, he published a bulletin, in which he announced a further prolongation of the defensive system; and while every one was reading this, and expressing surprise at his inactivity, now that his army had been so largely reinforced, he was silently preparing for both expeditions. On the evening of the 21st, Count Thurn, collecting twenty-three companies of his corps in the Tyrol, set out for the rendezvous appointed for them at a post on the Monte Baldo near Aquanegra. There they assembled at five in the morning of the 22d, and immediately proceeded in two columns to the attack of the Piedmontese positions defending the approaches to the plateau of Rivoli. The left column, under Count Lichnowsky, moved down the valley of the Adige with great intrepidity to the attack; but they were met by 3000 Piedmontese, with four guns, at the village of La Zuanne, where the ascent of the slope, of which the plateau is the summit, commences; and after sustaining severe loss, they

were compelled to retire. Count Thurn, who, with the main column, descended from the heights of the Monte Baldo, met with no better success; his troops were so exhausted by their mountain march before they reached the enemy, that they were unable to make any impression on the Piedmontese, who stood to their guns with the utmost resolution, and drove him back to San Martino, where he passed the night. Although, however, the Piedmontese had thus been successful at both points of attack, yet the numbers of the Austrians were so superior, and their position was such, that they could not fail of obtaining success on the following day when their columns came into united action. The Piedmontese commander, therefore, abandoned the position of Rivoli in the night, and withdrew to Peschiera, leaving the plateau to be occupied by the Austrians. In these untoward affairs the Austrians sustained a loss of eight officers and two hundred men.

7. Having by these means fixed the attention of the enemy on his own right, Radetsky prosecuted with the utmost vigour his projected attack on the enemy's centre before Verona. On the evening of the same day, July 22d, on which the Piedmontese had evacuated Rivoli, the field-marshal collected his forces in the intrenched camp before Verona, and prepared for the great and decisive trial of strength with the enemy. The intrenched camp, strongly guarded, was left under the orders of an able officer, Field-Marshal Haynau, and the field-force was divided into three columns. The right, consisting of seven brigades, was composed of Asprè's corps; the left, also of seven brigades, was formed by that of Wratislaw; while the reserve, which was moving up midway between the two a little in the rear, was under the orders of General Wocher. The Austrian forces were not less than 45,000 strong. The Piedmontese force, under General Sonnaz, was very strongly posted, but greatly inferior in number, the brigade of Savona having been drafted off to defend the plateau of Rivoli, and that of Piedmont to the

extreme right for the blockade of Mantua. For the defence of the intrenched position threatened with attack, only two brigades and some cavalry could be relied on, mustering not more than 12,000 combatants.

8. The Austrian troops, during the night march, encountered a heavy storm of rain, and the darkness was such that the troops could not find their way in the thickly-enclosed country through which the march lay; and the advance, which had been ordered for one o'clock in the morning, was necessarily suspended till daybreak, when it was resumed. The Piedmontese position, which was about two leagues in length, extended along the eastern edge of that range of heights which stretches from Somma Campagna by Custoza to the Mincio, and covers, against an enemy advancing from the north, the whole plain which extends in the rear towards Mantua. It was here that the Piedmontese force was placed; occupying Santa Guistina with its left, Sona with its centre, and Somma Campagna with its right; and it was this range of heights which it was Radetsky's object to force; striking thus, after the manner of Napoleon, a decisive blow at the enemy's centre when imprudently weakened and exposed to attack. A heavy storm of rain for some time arrested the Austrian advance, but at seven in the morning the battle begun by the storming of the heights of Sona by three brigades of Asprè's corps, which, after a brave struggle, were carried by the Hungarian regiment of the Archduke Ernest. On this occasion the assault and resistance were both so desperate that in some cases the Hungarians seized with their hands the enemy's muskets, which were protruded through the embrasures, tore off the bayonets, and fired through the loopholes in return. This success was followed by the storming of the height of Madonna del Monte, to the Austrian left of Sona, by the brigade of Prince Lichtenstein; and shortly after the cavalry brigade of Schaffgotsche's, supported by Schwarzenberg's infantry, converting what was designed for a false attack into a real

one, carried the heights of Santa Giustina on the Piedmontese left. Lichtenstein's brigade pursued the enemy's centre into San Giorgio in Salice, from whence they were driven to their last tenable position of Castel-Nuovo, from which they were expelled by assault. While this great success was gained by Baron d'Aspiè on the centre and right, General Wohlgenuth, on the Austrian left, was assailing, with three brigades of Wratislaw's corps, the Piedmontese right, which was defended by three thousand men, with four guns, strongly posted on the summit of the Somma Campagna. After a stout resistance, it too was carried by the impetuous attack of the brigade Strassoldo, led on by Wohlgenuth in person. The enemy, finding his defences now broken in and pierced at all points, retreated rapidly towards the Mincio, which their centre left wing crossed; the Austrians followed, and before evening the heights of Custoza were fully occupied by their left advanced column, and the reserve established in San Giorgio in Salice, where headquarters were placed. By the operations of this day, Radetsky had entirely succeeded in his object; the whole intrenchments of the Piedmontese centre had been carried, their centre and left wing driven across the Mincio, and the Imperialists established on the entire heights which covered to the north the Mantuan plains as far as that river.

9. So far the most brilliant success had attended the Austrian operations; but Radetsky's position after his victory was by no means free from danger; for while the bulk of his troops were pressing forward over the heights to the Mincio, Charles Albert had concentrated a large force at Villafranca, in the plain behind the field-marshal's left, which was slightly fortified, but had been merely observed and passed by the corps moving on to the heights. The possession of this important point gave him the means either, by raising the siege of Mantua, of giving battle with his entire force, before theirs was concentrated, in the plain in front of that fortress, or, by throwing the

bulk of his forces behind their left, of menacing their communications. In truth, the two armies were in a very peculiar situation, for they had mutually passed each other, and each threatened his opponent's communications. But there was this difference between them, that Charles Albert had his forces better in hand, and was in a more favourable situation, notwithstanding his recent discomfiture, to engage in a general and decisive battle. Both generals were aware of the circumstance, and both exerted themselves accordingly,—the King to make a sudden assault on the enemy while still, in a manner, on a line of march—the field-marshal to close up his column, force the line of the Mincio, and seize the road to Milan. The former concentrated nine brigades and a division of cavalry, nearly 24,000 strong, in Villafranca, and with these he determined to commence the offensive. Accordingly he moved forward, on the evening of the 24th, directly against the Austrian left and communications. The Duke of Savoy led the left against Custoza, the Duke of Genoa the right against Somma Campagna; the centre was under General Bava, and moved on the Val Staffalo, the cavalry covering the plain on the side towards Verona.

10. A great advantage in the first instance attended this daring yet wise movement of the Sardinian king. The advance of his concentrated columns perpendicularly against the Austrian line of march soon brought them into contact with the enemy, when leisurely pursuing the cross-march to close up in their front. The brigade Simbschen was the first to be attacked, when stretching in loose array along the summit of the heights from Somma Campagna to Custoza: it had been detached by Radetsky from Culoz's corps at Legnago, and brought across the plain to reinforce his left. In an instant it was pierced through; the regiment Haynau, which was the leading one, suffered severely; the regiment Prince Emile, cut off from the others, was surrounded and made prisoners. The entire brigade, originally

6000 strong, was obliged to retire to Verona, with the loss of 1317 men, of whom 1100 were prisoners. Here, again, the immense advantage gained by the party which can attack in column an enemy in flank, disposed over a line of march, was very apparent; and if Charles Albert erred by extending himself over a line thirty miles in length, from Rivoli to Mantua, in the first instance, he nobly redeemed his error by his attack on Custoza and the Somma Campagna in concentrated columns, while still bleeding under his defeat.

11. This brilliant stroke wellnigh re-established the King's affairs. He had now regained possession of the range of hills east of the Tione from Custoza to the Somma Campagna, which nearly neutralised the advantages gained by the enemy from the victory on the preceding day. No sooner, therefore, did the field-marshal receive intelligence of this defeat than he resolved to make a great effort to regain the ground he had lost. For this purpose his troops, during the night of the 24th, were faced to the right about, and disposed for a general attack on the enemy on the ridge from Custoza to Sonima Campagna. Wratislaw, on the right, was ordered to hold fast with his corps Valeggio and the heights between the Tione and the Mincio. Asprè, whose corps was on the opposite, or eastern, bank of the Tione at Castel-Nuovo, was to assume the offensive with vigour, and, advancing southwards over the heights by Sona, to drive the enemy from Somma Campagna and Custoza down into the plain. Wöcher, at Oliosi, was to support Asprè, and Thurn to watch Peschiera. On his part the Sardinian king, encouraged by his brilliant success, was not less anxious to renew the conflict, and had made all his arrangements for a general attack on the Imperialists from the Somma Campagna by the Duke of Genoa on Oliosi, and from Custoza by the Duke of Savoy on Salionze, while General Bava, in the plain, was to attack Valeggio. The fate of Italy would in all probability depend on the issue of the

battle to be delivered on the following day.

12. The morning arose clear and bright, and the sun shone forth with unclouded brilliancy, with all the heat of the dog-days in Italy. About eight, General Bava marched against Valeggio, on the Austrian right; but he was received with so terrible a fire of grape and musketry in front, aided by charges of cavalry on his flank, that he soon became convinced that no impression could be made there till the heights behind, on which Clam's brigade was posted, were won. Towards noon the Austrian brigade Ginlay, of Asprè's corps, which had got the start of the Piedmontese in the occupation of Sona and Madonna del Monte, on the Imperial left, made an attack on the heights of Somma Campagna, and after sustaining several repulses, at length, with the assistance of a flank attack from the brigade Perin, most opportunely detached to its support by Haynau from Verona, succeeded in carrying them, chiefly through the gallantry of the Vienna volunteers. More to the centre, Lichtenstein's brigade (also of Asprè's corps) was engaged in the attack of the Casa Berattara, and the adjacent heights as far as the Monte Bosconi. This affair was deemed of so much importance that the old field-marshal rode with the advanced posts, encouraging the soldiers by his voice and example. They were at length carried by a desperate storm of the Hungarian infantry. Such was the heat in the afternoon that great numbers on both sides perished by sun-stroke on the field of battle. The Monte Godio, in front of Custoza, in the centre, was now assailed by Kerpen's brigade, supported by that of Schwartzberg. Here the issue was for long doubtful. At length, however, the Imperialists were successful, after a desperate struggle at all points: the Piedmontese fell back on Custoza, and thence on Villafrauca; while the Monte Mamar, a height flanking Valeggio, which Bava had won, was carried by Clam's brigade, and the enemy finally driven down into the plain. In the night the

Piedmontese army collected around Villafranca, and at midnight commenced their retreat in two columns towards the Mincio, thus finally abandoning to the Austrians the long-contested ridge of eminences between that river and the Adige, and as a necessary consequence raising the siege of Mantua.

13. In the two battles of Custoza the Austrians lost, besides what had been sustained on the 24th by the brigade Simbschen, 18 officers and 237 men killed, 51 officers and 1039 men wounded, 1 officer and 628 men made prisoners—in all, 1974; which, with the 1317 lost on the 23d, amounted to above 3300 men. The Piedmontese loss was probably not less considerable, but it has never been published on official authority. The retreat was directed on Goito, as the best point for crossing the river, and conducted with the utmost precision and regularity. There Charles Albert rejoined his left wing under Sonnaz, who, during the whole of these important operations, had lain inactive on the heights of Volta. The field-marshal, on his side, without a moment's delay, prepared everything for a vigorous pursuit. By daybreak on the following morning he was on horseback, and his corps were advancing on the traces of the enemy at all points. Wratislaw's corps crossed the Mincio at Mouzambano, while that of Aspre, after collecting on the heath of Prebiana, moved upon Valeggio. At Salionze a portion of Wocher's corps crossed the river, in order to invest Peschiera, already blockaded on the left bank. After passing the river at Valeggio, the brigade of Prince Frederic Lichtenstein came in contact, in moving on Volta, with the Piedmontese brigade of Savoy, which was approaching the same point from Goito. A fierce conflict ensued in that village, both on the evening of the 26th and on the following morning, in which the Piedmontese were successful, and the Austrians sustained a loss of 347 men, including 160 prisoners. Both parties now hurried up reinforcements. The King's troops, however,

were at length compelled to retire, by the arrival of fresh forces on the enemy's side; and the retreat was continued towards the Oglio, abandoning the line of the Mincio at every point. The field-marshal, upon this, moved on to Goito, and from thence, in three columns, towards the Oglio: the investment of Peschiera was completed, and intrusted to Count Haynau; while the garrison of Mantua, now entirely relieved, made incursions into the adjoining country, and drove back far towards the Oglio the last remains of the blockading force.

14. After this success the progress of the Austrian arms was a continued triumph. On the 30th they crossed the Oglio at Canneto and Isola Dovarese without opposition, as it was known that river afforded a bad line of defence against an enemy advancing from the eastward, and on the 31st the Piedmontese continued their retreat across the Adda, closely followed by the Austrians. Serious resistance was nowhere attempted, for sixty thousand men, flushed with victory, thundered in close pursuit, and the retiring force already was beginning to melt away under the discouragement which, especially with young troops, always attends a long-continued retrograde movement. Large bodies of the Italian new levies and volunteers threw away their arms and returned to their homes; and even the Piedmontese regulars were far from exhibiting on all occasions the steadiness which can alone avert disaster in the course of a long retreat. The King, dreading the entire dissolution, at least of the volunteers of his army, if the retreat continued, proposed (July 28th) an armistice to Radetsky, with the Oglio as the line of demarcation between the two armies. These terms the field-marshal at once rejected, demanding on his side that the Piedmontese should retire behind the Adda, and surrender the fortresses of Peschiera, Pizzighetone, and Rocca d'Anfo, with the withdrawal of their troops from Venice, Parma, and Modena, and the release of the whole Austrian officers who had been de-

tained at Milan since the commencement of the war. The King was not so far reduced as to submit to such terms, and hostilities continued.

15. During this retreat, which continued without intermission towards Milan by Cremona and Lodi and the right bank of the Adda, decisive evidence was obtained that, unlike the inhabitants of the towns, the rural population were attached to the Austrian in preference to the Italian rule. This appeared not merely in the acclamations, which in every country attend the advance of a victorious army, but in substantial acts of kindness, which, when fortune was adverse, the peasants had evinced to the sick and wounded of the Austrian force. In the village of Le Grazie, near Mantua, the Imperialists found upon their advance a hundred of their sick and wounded, abandoned during the former retreat, whom they had concealed, unknown to the Piedmontese, in a church, and carefully tended, till relieved by the second advance of their countrymen. Near Mantua, every peasant was suspected by the Piedmontese as an Austrian spy. Meanwhile, the utmost agitation prevailed in Milan; and the Provisional Government issued a decree (Aug. 1) ordering every man capable of bearing arms to take them up, and repair forthwith to the Adda. This decree, without adding one man to the military force of the country, only increased the general consternation by universally diffusing the belief that the cause must have been hopeless before resort was had to so desperate a measure. A resolution was passed, at the same time, hastily uniting Lombardy and Piedmont into one kingdom; but already a divergence of interests as well as passions had appeared between them; and the retiring Piedmontese columns, which had fought so nobly for Italian independence, were exposed to insult while traversing the streets of Milan. The Austrian field-marshal, without a moment's delay, continued his advance in pursuit of the enemy; the main body by Turano to Lodi; Thurn's corps,

on the left, on Pavia; & a detachment under Colonel Wyss, on the right, to Vigliano—where three thousand Piedmontese endeavoured to make a stand. The King continued his retrograde movement on Milan; and, on the morning of the 4th August, the Austrian bugles joyfully sounded for the the last advance on the Lombard capital.

16. Moving through Melagnano, the Imperialists found the Piedmontese army in position at Gambaloita, half a league in front of Milan. There a sharp combat took place, in which the retreating army, though finally worsted, exhibited the courage in disaster which is the most honourable attribute of soldiers. But all was unavailing; the decree of Providence had been pronounced, and Italy was again, for a time, to pass under foreign dominion. Already the Austrian left had occupied Pavia, and pushed its advanced-guard to the Gravello, an arm of the Ticino, thus threatening the communication of the King with his own dominions. The centre was grouped in appalling strength within a league of Milan; while a detachment from their right, advancing between that city and the Alps, had occupied Monza, and cut off from the capital the band of Garibaldi, formed of six thousand Italian volunteers. The King, seeing the abandonment of Milan inevitable, had, during his retreat, sent his reserve park across the Po to Piacenza, and ammunition was awaiting for any protracted defence of the city. A capitulation was proposed and discussed on the 5th; but no sooner did the people hear what was going forward, than they assembled in tumultuous masses, surrounded the King's quarters in the Greppi palace, calling out, "Death to the Piedmontese!" and loudly demanded the construction of barricades, and "Guerra a morte!" with the Austrians. Shots were actually fired in at the windows from the crowd outside; and so irritated were the Piedmontese at this ungrateful conduct on the part of their recent allies, that it required the utmost efforts of their

officers to prevent them from sallying forth and avenging the insult to their sovereign. In the night the King was extricated from his perilous situation by a detachment of his guards; and at the earnest request of the civic authorities, who, with reason, dreaded indiscriminate plunder on the retreat of the Piedmontese rearguard, which took place during the night, the barricades were removed, and the Austrians entered the city in triumph at ten on the following morning. They came in by the Porta Romana, headed by D'Aspie's corps, which had taken so memorable a part in the war. They swept by in superb order, to the triumphant strains of military music, amidst the deathlike silence of all who witnessed it. The dreams of the enthusiasts had passed away—the vision of Italian independence had melted into air—the iron had entered the souls of the Milanese. Many recollected the words which the veteran field-marshal had addressed to them before a shot had been fired, and which had proved prophetic,—“The sword I have borne for fifty-six years with honour in the field, yet remains firm in my grasp. May I not be compelled to unfurl the standard of the double-headed eagle: its strength of wing will be found unimpaired!”

17. On the day following the entrance of the Imperial troops into Milan, the King proposed an armistice, which was accepted by the field-marshal only on the condition of an entire exchange of prisoners; and, meanwhile, a large body of Austrians was advanced to Placentia, with a view to an immediate passage of the Po in the event of hostilities being resumed. This, however, was not the case. On the 9th, General Salasco made his appearance at the Imperial headquarters, with proposals for a six weeks' armistice, with a view to negotiations for peace. It was concluded on condition of the Piedmontese troops retiring within their own territories, the frontier of which was to form the line of demarcation between the two parties. The fortresses of Peschiera, Rocca d'Anfo, and Osopo, were to be

surrendered to the Austrians; the duchies of Parma and Modena to be evacuated by the Piedmontese, and the city of Placentia to the extent of the town, and a circle of three thousand paces round it. This armistice, which was warmly supported by the English minister at the court of Turin, was afterwards prolonged and continued through the whole year. On the day following their entry, the field-marshal published an order of the day to his brave soldiers, in which he said, with deserved pride: “The Imperial flag is again waving from the walls of Milan; there is no longer an enemy on Lombard ground.” On their side, the Revolutionists, headed by MAZZINI, exclaimed: “The war of kings has terminated; that of the people is about to commence.” He set out professedly to enrol himself in the corps of a partisan named GARIBOLDI, destined to celebrity in future times, who was at the head of a large band of volunteers on the banks of the Lago Maggiore. But on the approach of an Austrian column he fled to Lugano, from whence he sought refuge in Switzerland, leaving, as a legacy to his countrymen, a pamphlet, in which he stigmatised the “moderate traitors” who had combated on the Adige, while the real patriots were making speeches at Milan.

18. The war of the people accordingly began; but its issue was even more calamitous to the cause of Italian independence than that of sovereigns had been. The Austrian occupation of Milan, in the first instance, so far from tranquillising the peninsula, only increased the general agitation, and seriously augmented the difficulties with which the governments had to contend. The armistice between Piedmont and Austria was indeed prolonged; and the British and French Governments, sincerely and in good faith, laboured to bring about a lasting accommodation between them. The former, in particular, which had from the outset disapproved of the treacherous advantage taken by the Piedmontese Government of the revolution at Mi-

lan, and earnestly dissuaded from the war, was now earnest in its endeavours to mediate between the contending parties. But this was every day becoming more difficult, for the violence of the revolutionists was augmented in proportion as the danger increased; and the direction of affairs, under the pressure of general excitement, passed out of the hands of experience and wisdom into those of ignorant zeal and presumptuous enthusiasm. A division of the Austrian army of reserve, under General Welden, on the 3d August passed the Po, in pursuance of the general plan of advance consequent on the battle of Custoza, and moved forward to Ferrara and Bologna. The intelligence of this invasion of the Pontifical territory, and of the disasters on the Mincio and the Oglio, excited the greater sensation at Rome, that it was received immediately after a report had been spread of a pretended victory by the Piedmontese troops, and in the midst of fêtes given by the Liberals to the volunteers who had capitulated at Vicenza. As the Roman troops had taken part in the crusade against the Germans, of course they had no right to complain of this incursion. It produced, however, a violent explosion of revolutionary fury at Rome, which terminated in the fall of M. Mamiani the prime minister, and the installation of a more radical administration. The ministers of England and France betrayed the secret leaning of their governments by protesting against this violation of the ecclesiastical territory, although they had made no complaint of the Papal troops having entered the Austrian territories and combated the Imperial forces. The Austrians, who were on the point of occupying Bologna, withdrew in consequence of these remonstrances, lest the war should become general. But the duchy of Modena was occupied by Prince Frederick Lichtenstein on behalf of its lawful sovereign; and on the 14th, Count Thurn, amidst general acclamations, again hoisted its sovereign's colours on the walls of Parma. Peace was thus restored for the rest of the year to Northern Italy,

only broken by a feeble incursion of Garibaldi into the Lombard territory with a few thousand Liberal refugees from the neutral territory of Switzerland, who, after some partial successes, was forced by General d'Aspre again to seek refuge in the recesses of the Alps.

19. At Florence, the agitation consequent on the defeat of the Piedmontese and the advance of the Austrian armies was not less violent than at Rome; but the Tuscan territory was protected from invasion by the powerful shield thrown over it by the ministers of France and England, which the victorious Austrians had orders to respect. They could not prevent, however, an explosion of revolutionary violence at Leghorn, which, as a great seaport and commercial city, had become the common resort of the discomfited Liberals from all quarters. French and Polish refugees, mingled with Italian enthusiasts and banditti, encumbered its streets, and presented ready-made all the elements of a democratic convulsion. It broke out, accordingly, under the guidance of Gnerrazzi, at whose instigation mobs speedily arose, and traversed the streets exclaiming, "Vive la Republique!" A deputation to confer with the Grand-Duke at Florence was despatched, and preferred claims to an independent sovereignty, which the extreme party had meantime assumed. Their demands were not formally acceded to, but they were not absolutely rejected; the Government at Florence had no armed force at its command; and the Grand-Duke, as a reward for his liberal concessions, was compelled to wink at the assumption of independence by a considerable part of his dominions.

20. The revolutionary passions were still more violent at Rome, where they had first been fostered by the innovating philanthropy of Pius IX.; and before the end of the year, they led to a frightful tragedy in the Eternal City. During the whole autumn it presented little more than a scene of anarchy in the people, and impotence in the Government. The cardinals were so grossly insulted that they could no longer

venture to appear in public; the word "Republic" was often heard in the streets; and the weakness of the executive became so painfully evident, that the Count Rossi, formerly ambassador of France, was intrusted with the formation of a new cabinet. He himself took the arduous post of Minister of the Interior and of Finance, and Cardinal Segio was President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs. In the difficult circumstances in which Italy was now placed, Rossi perceived the absolute necessity of pursuing a pacific and temporising policy. The proud adage, "*Italia para da se*,"* had been tried, and found wanting. Charles Albert himself, in the proclamation which followed the evacuation of Milan, had made the mournful confession that Italy, standing alone, could not resist Austria.† Rossi, conscious of this, and thinking it probable the war between Piedmont and Austria would be renewed, was anxious to effect a confederation of all the states for mutual defence, and actually drew up the scheme of a convention for that purpose; but it came to nothing, as Piedmont, actuated by its own ambitious views, kept aloof. Meanwhile his administration proceeded vigorously in correcting real abuses and effecting reforms; and with such success were these labours attended, that confidence was in a great measure restored, and even Bologna chose him for its deputy. But this did not by any means answer

the views of the extreme democrats, who did not wish the correction of abuses, but that they might get into power and profit by them. Seeing, accordingly, that the revolution was taking quite a different direction from what they either expected or desired, they spared no pains to discredit the administration in general, and Rossi in particular, with the people; and at last the revolutionary party were worked up to such a pitch of frenzy against him as led to the commission of a hideous crime, which has affixed a lasting stain on their cause.

21. The 15th November was the day appointed for the opening of the Chambers. Considerable excitement prevailed, and the Ministry were the objects of severe animadversion for not proceeding more rapidly in the career of Revolution; but no disorder was apprehended, far less the commission of any serious outrage. The seditious, however, were busy; the secret societies had determined that the principal minister was to be assassinated; they had decided by lot who was to strike the blow, and the assassin had practised on a block where to strike, which was on the great artery in the neck. The minister received several anonymous letters, warning him of his danger, and a priest even violated the confessional to put him on his guard: but in vain; he was too brave either to fear death or take precautions against it. He said it was his duty to go to the Chamber, and go he would; if any one desired his blood, there were plenty of opportunities for shedding it. At noon he went to the Chamber in the Cancellaria in his carriage. A number of persons, armed with daggers, and decorated with the Vicenza medal, lined each side of the court as he entered, and a howl of execration arose when the carriage drove in. Righetti, the deputy-minister of finance, was on his left hand; but when they alighted, he was separated from him in the crowd, in which cries arose and daggers were gleaming. Some one addressed him, and when Rossi turned to answer, he was suddenly stabbed in the neck, and dropped dead. The Vicenza heroes, decorated with

* Italy will take care of itself.

† On August 10th, Charles Albert issued a proclamation, in which he said: "The enemy increased. My army was almost alone in the struggle. The want of provisions obliged us to abandon the position we had conquered. With my army I retired to Milan; but, harassed by long fatigues, it could not encounter a new battle-field, for even the strength of the brave soldier has its limits. The interior defence of the town could not be maintained; money, provisions, and ammunition were wanting. The courage of the citizens might, perhaps, have resisted for some days, but only to bury us under the ruins, not to conquer the enemy. A convention was begun by me. The Milanese adopted and signed it. The throbs of my heart were ever for Italian independence; but Italy has not yet shown to the world that she can conquer alone."—*Ann Reg.* 1848, p. 326.

their medals, clustered round the fallen minister, and under cover of this the assassin quietly walked off. Not an attempt was made to seize him, though all had seen the thing done. It was only in May 1854 that the murderer was discovered and convicted; he proved to be a sculptor of the name of Constantadini. Upon the dreadful event being known in the Chamber, a cry of horror arose, and the deputies disappeared. The Pope's remaining ministers vanished; with Rossi the whole Government fell to the ground. Nothing was done to provide the means of defence against further violence, or guide the vessel of the State amidst the breakers by which it was surrounded. The revolutionists were not equally supine. The clubs met in the evening, and preparations were made for taking advantage of the consternation to force an entirely revolutionary government on the Pontiff.

22. In pursuance of this design, a crowd, composed of a few hundred braves and desperadoes from the secret societies, met early in the morning, and, followed by an immense concourse of spectators, proceeded to the palace of the Quirinal, bearing aloft a flag, on which were inscribed the names of the popular ministers who were to be demanded from and forced upon the Pope. The Swiss Guards, though only a hundred in number, seeing the formidable aspect of the procession, closed the gates, and prepared to defend their sovereign. A few shots fired over their heads soon made the mob recoil, and the victory seemed gained for the Government, when suddenly an unexpected apparition came on the scene, and turned the tide the other way. As the crowd were retiring, they were met by the Civic Guard, several thousand strong, in uniform, with a military band at their head, who joined the retreating insurgents, and opened a sustained fire upon the gates and windows of the palace. The Swiss, however, fought well, and kept up so vigorous a discharge upon the assailants that they were obliged to bring up cannon, which blew open the gates, upon which the Pope ordered the firing on his side to

cease. A prelate had been shot dead in the Pontiff's ante-chamber, upon which he turned to the diplomatic body who surrounded him, and said he was no longer a free agent, and must yield to necessity. The whole *corps diplomatique* showed the greatest courage on the occasion, and hastened on the first alarm to surround the Pontiff. A list of ministers, composed of the most decided Revolutionists, with Mamiani and Galletti, two favourite leaders, at their head, was now presented to him to sign; but he refused, saying, "I cannot sign that; it is against my conscience." Upon this being known outside, the tumult redoubled, and the cries, "Sign! sign!" were heard on all sides, till at length he was obliged to subscribe the list. Loud cheers immediately broke from the crowd which traversed the streets, great part of which were illuminated, shouting, "The Sovereign has given us a republic!" Thereafter the Pope remained a virtual prisoner in his own palace. He took no part in public affairs, though the government of the Revolutionists was carried on in his name; and on the 25th, finding his situation insupportable, he mounted, in the disguise of a priest, the box of the Bavarian minister's carriage, on which he was fortunate enough to pass the gates undetected, and arrived in safety at Gaeta in the Neapolitan territory, leaving the government of the Pontifical States entirely in the hands of the Revolutionary ministry.

23. The war on the Po having been for the time suspended, and the Papal authority overturned at Rome, the revolutionary party throughout Italy began to disclose their plan of operations. They had no intention at this time, whatever they may have had afterwards, of establishing, like the Jacobins of Paris, a republic one and indivisible; the ambition of the numerous democratic leaders in the many great towns of Italy forbade any such projects. As this brought into the field a multitude of clashing interests, a confederacy of republics seemed to be the only alternative, and this accordingly was the project which Count

Rossi had laboured so assiduously to promote. But the only return which he received was the stroke of an assassin; and after his death the revolutionists seemed set only on forwarding their own separate plans of aggrandisement. Knowing that the shield of France and England was thrown over Tuscany and the Roman States, and that the Austrian troops would not venture to cross their frontier, the extreme democrats looked upon these states of Central Italy as their own peculiar domain, where every revolutionary project might be carried into effect with impunity. The revolutionary party in Rome, after the flight of the Pope, and some ineffectual negotiating to induce him to return to his dominions, agreed to appoint a provisional government of three persons, chosen by the Chambers, who were to exercise all the functions of government. A decree to this effect was passed by the Chambers, and the choice fell on Prince Corsini, a helpless old noble; M. Zucchini, leader at Bologna; and M. Camerata, the mayor of Ancona; Zucchini declined, and was replaced by Galletti. But these names inspired no confidence; and within a week of their nomination the clubs at Rome demanded the convocation of a constituent assembly, with a view to the organisation of a republic. So violent did the clamour become that the ministry of Mamiani was obliged to retire, and was succeeded by another of a still more democratic character. A ministerial crisis also ensued in Turin, and a new ministry, with Gioberti at its head, was (Dec. 16) appointed, the condition of whose existence was the renewal of the war with Austria. In the Pontifical and Tuscan states, under the protection of the English and French flags, the anarchy became so complete that it could not be said at the end of the year that government any longer existed. Meanwhile the Pope, having in vain launched the thunders of the Vatican at his insurgent subjects, which only met with derision, addressed a formal appeal for protection and aid to the European powers, in which, after narrating his early and voluntary acts on behalf of his people, he de-

clared that in all his later measures, in particular the war against Austria, and recent revolution, he had acted under direct compulsion. And to complete the strange picture presented by Italy at this time, the last elections in Naples, carried through under the influence of indignation at the Sicilian revolt, were so decidedly reactionary that, when the Chambers met on the 30th November, the chief difficulty of the King was to restrain within the bounds of moderation the ardent desire of his subjects to seek refuge in the tranquillity of absolute despotism.

24. In the distracted condition of the Papal States, it was no easy matter for the Swiss infantry, who formed so important a portion of the ecclesiastical troops, to know how to act, or to which side to incline. Their commander, Count Latour, who was stationed with the brigade in Bologna and Forlì, had hitherto served with honour, but his moral resolution was not equal to his personal courage; and when an order arrived from the Pope, directing him to move his forces to the Neapolitan frontier for the protection of their sovereign, he at first temporised, and at length (Jan. 27) refused to obey. Instead of marching, he remained at Bologna fraternising with the civic authorities there, from whom he was constantly receiving the most fulsome flattery. Many of his officers, and the greater part of the common soldiers, considered this conduct treasonable, and a breach of the proverbial good faith of the Swiss, and not a few left their colours and returned home in consequence. Had they obeyed the orders of their sovereign, it is probable that the revolution at Rome would have been stopped, and the whole calamities which afterwards befell that city prevented. As it was, this defection of Latour and a part of his troops brought matters to a crisis in the Papal dominions. Part of the Swiss infantry took service with the revolutionists; the artillery did so in a body; and Garibaldi collected a band of volunteers and refugees, with whom he made his way across Lombardy and Tuscany, and established himself, with three

thousand followers, in Rome in the end of January. The consequence of this accession of strength was, that the revolutionary party acquired the complete ascendancy in Rome, and the Constituent Assembly, which had now assembled, on the 9th February dethroned the Pope, and proclaimed a republic. Florence and Leghorn, a few days after (18th and 19th February), declared also for a republic, with Rome as its centre. The Grand-Duke, after a vain attempt to raise the peasants for his support, finding that the regular troops had deserted him, and that a body of auxiliaries promised by Charles Albert could not be furnished, saw his case was hopeless, and embarked for Gaeta. The democratic revolution was now complete in Central Italy; republics were everywhere proclaimed; a large part of the regular troops had fraternised with the people; the sovereigns were all dethroned and in exile; and "war to the knife" was universally proclaimed against the Austrians. "The war of the people," of which Mazzini had boasted, had now in good earnest commenced; and if decrees on paper could fight battles, it would furnish no inconsiderable accession of strength to Charles Albert, for the provisional governments of Florence and Rome ordered the immediate preparation of an army of twelve thousand Tuscans and fifteen thousand Romans to march without delay towards the Po.

25. It was not, however, by decrees of revolutionary governments that the Austrian arms on the Ticino were to be withstood. Notwithstanding the incessant efforts of the British and French ministers at the Court of Turin to bring about an accommodation, the mutual irritation of Piedmont and Austria, so far from diminishing, was rapidly increasing, and in the beginning of 1849 had reached such a point that a renewal of the war was imminent. Each had abundant causes of discontent, some well founded, some imaginary, against the other. The Austrians complained that the Piedmontese fleet had wintered in the Adriatic, where it had repeatedly fur-

nished supplies to the revolutionary garrison of Venice; that considerable funds had been forwarded to them by the Piedmontese Government; and that Piedmontese agents were in the Austrian ranks, encouraging the Hungarians and Italians to desert. On the other hand, the Piedmontese maintained that negotiations should be entered into for a cession of territory to indemnify Piedmont for the expenses of the war; declared that an artillery park left by them in Peschiera had been fraudulently detained; and complained of an infraction of the treaty by a passing entry of the Austrian troops into Ferrara on 7th February, to obtain satisfaction for the assassination of three of their soldiers returning from the hospital to the citadel, which had been in point of fact given, and the troops retired the day after. It is of little moment to inquire further into the mutual complaints of the Austrian and Piedmontese diplomatists, because they were neither the real causes of the rupture of the armistice which followed, nor the matters on which the attention of the opposite parties was chiefly fixed. It was to Hungary that all eyes were turned; it was to the exploits of the Magyars that young Italy looked for deliverance. A Hungarian emissary, Baron Spleny, had for some time resided in Turin, and spread the most exaggerated reports of the success of the Hungarian insurrection. Turin swarmed with Lombard refugees, who gave equally flattering accounts of the warlike disposition of their countrymen, and the numerous armed bands who would join the ranks of independence the moment the Piedmontese standards were again unfurled on the banks of the Ticino. The Austrian monarchy seemed to be falling to pieces on all sides, even without external stroke; the only question was, whether or not Italy was to take advantage of a crisis more favourable than could possibly have been hoped for, or than might ever occur again, to establish its independence. It was universally believed that Pesth had yielded to the arms of the Magyar

insurgents, an event which really did occur, but not for ten weeks after. The democratic party in the Chamber loudly demanded a renewal of the war; a courageous deputy, Lanza, who had the courage to say that the Austrians by treaty had a right to enter Tuscany, was hooted down, and obliged to retire from the Chamber. Gioberti resigned, and was succeeded in the ministry by the General of Engineers, Chiudio. On 5th March the Chamber of Deputies presented an address to the King in favour of war; the Italian Council on the same day did the same. In vain the English and French ministers represented the extreme hazard with which the renewal of hostilities would be attended; the King was well aware of this, but he was no longer a free agent. "I must declare war," said he, "or abdicate the crown, and see a republic established." On the 10th March the ministers obtained from the Chambers the necessary credit to carry on the war; and on the 12th the armistice was formally denounced.

26. War having in this manner been forced upon him by his own subjects, Charles Albert made every disposition which the circumstances would admit to carry it on with promptitude and vigour. The suddenness of the event, however, was such that he was far from being at the moment prepared for it. His troops, though formidable on paper, were by no means equally so in reality; their nominal strength was 120,000, but the muster-roll, on the opening of the campaign, showed only 99,973 effective men, including 6000 cavalry, with 156 guns. This, after making the usual deductions for sick and detached, would leave about 85,000 disposable for field operations. The old soldiers, inured to war, and familiar with its dangers, had no confidence in the result; the young ones alone, heated by the declamations of the clubs, were zealous in the cause and hopeful of success. The bad result of the former campaigns was not ascribed to its real cause—viz., the pressure of the democratic leaders on Charles Albert, which

had forced the King, against his better judgment, to undertake the siege of Mantua while still occupying the line from Rivoli to the Po—but to the incapacity of the generals or the lukewarmness of the native aristocratic officers. "Give us," it was said in the clubs, "a foreign general, a Lamoricière or a Cavaignac, and the army will soon recover its spirit. Remove the aristocratic *fainéants*, and all will be well." These clamours prevailed against the opinion of the King. General Bava, without regard to his great services, was removed from the command, which was bestowed on a Polish general, Chrzanowski, who had received the scientific education of an engineer at the military academy at Warsaw, and had afterwards joined in the revolt, and served with distinction in the war of independence in 1831. The Italians had good cause to regret the consequences of the change.

27. The Austrian army had received considerable reinforcements since the termination of the last campaign. Several new battalions and corps of cavalry had joined the army during the interval of hostilities. Among the rest were the field-marshal's escort of Sereschaners, from the military colonies on the Croat frontier, a present of the faithful Ban of that province, whose picturesque attire, and weapons of Oriental fashion, recalled the pandours of the last century. The entire force of the army in the beginning of March was somewhat above 130,000 men, but of these 12,000 were in hospital, and 48,000 in observation of Venice, or in Central Italy: so that, at the very utmost, not more than 70,000 could be reckoned on for operations in the field. But these troops, though hardly superior in number to the Piedmontese, were decidedly so in discipline, equipment, and spirit. The loyalty and steadiness of the German character had now come to tell decidedly on the fortunes of the war, as much as the vacillation and instability of the Italian had weakened the other side. All the elements of imbecility had been sifted out of the Teutonic

army during the last campaign, and even the recruits, by constant outpost duty, had been hardened into the consistency of old soldiers. The harmony among the generals, and brotherly union among the officers, as well as the spirit of the entire army, were such as to inspire the most sanguine hopes of the result. The fidelity of the Magyar soldiers had resisted all the efforts to seduce them (and they had been many and alluring) by the revolutionary party in Lombardy: even such of them as had reserve battalions or depots in Hungary which had joined in the insurrection, were content with mourning in silence the delusions under which their brethren laboured, without attempting to follow their example. At the end of the first day's march, these regiments, sensible that they must, in some degree, labour under suspicion, sent a deputation to the field-marshal, requesting to be allowed the post of honour to prove their fidelity, which was at once conceded. Such is the spirit by which the Austrian army was then animated, and by which, in the last extremity, the Austrian empire was saved. It was not new in the annals of its military fame; the same spirit, two hundred years ago, had animated the cuirassiers of Dampier and Piccolomini, on occasion of Wallenstein's revolt, immortalised in the pages of Schiller. It had appeared eighty years before in the heroic garrison of Schweidnitz. It is the unseen bond which holds together the empire, and has enabled it so often to rise superior to all the storms of fortune.

28. The armistice ceased, under the notice given, at mid-day on the 20th March. Its close was received in a very different spirit in the two armies. In the Piedmontese it produced silent uneasiness: the confidence felt by the democratic leaders who had provoked, was far from being shared by the soldiers who were to face, the dangers of the conflict. In the Imperial ranks, on the other hand, the intelligence was universally hailed with joy; and the soldiers immediately all appeared

with green boughs in their caps, the well-known and prescriptive badge of military exultation in the Austrian army. The addresses issued by the two commanders evinced the same difference: Charles Albert spoke of the conflict as unavoidable from the ambition of Austria. Radetsky's address was different: "Forward, with Turin for your watchword."*

29. The theatre of war on which the battle which was to decide the question of Italian independence was to be fought, was the great plain watered by the Po, which lies between Turin and Milan, and cut at right angles by the Ticino, which descends from the Alps to that great river, and crosses the highroad leading from the one capital to the

* "The attitude of Austria has shown that no honourable peace can be hoped for unless won by arms. By waiting longer we should have wasted our strength without any result: our finances would be exhausted, and our army, now so efficient and patriotic, would have felt its spirit broken if it had been compelled to remain longer inactive. You understood it, gentlemen, when a few days ago you manifested the wishes of the nation—you raised the war-cry: the Government has heard it. It is well aware of the perils attending the struggle about to recommence, and of the evils which will be its sad and unavoidable consequence. But between these perils and the shame of an ignominious peace, which would not insure Italian independence, the King's Government could not, and ought not, to hesitate. On the 12th, at noon, the cessation of the armistice was announced to Marshal Radetsky."—*Speech of M. RATAZZI, Minister of the Interior, March 14, 1849; Ann. Rep. 1849, p. 281.*

"Soldiers! your most ardent wishes are fulfilled. The enemy have announced the termination of the armistice! Well, we are ready to meet them, and shall dictate in their capital the peace we so generously offered them. The contest cannot be long. You are to combat the same enemy you overpowered at Santa Lucia, Somma Campagna, Custoza, Volta, and under the walls of Milan. God is with us, for our cause is just. To arms, soldiers! Follow once more your old General to war and victory. I will witness your last exploits. It will be the last joyful act of my long military career if, in the capital of a perfidious enemy, I can decorate the breasts of my brave comrades with the emblem of valour, conquered with blood and glory. Let our watchword be, Forward! Forward to Turin! where alone we can find the peace for which we are fighting.—RADETSKY."—*Moniteur, 18th March 1849.*

other. The strongest ground on which the advance of an enemy from the eastward towards Turin can be resisted, is on the right or southern bank of the Po, with a flanking corps on the left, as there are several defensible positions there capable of arresting an invader. On this side, also, the defending force has the advantage of resting on the important fortresses of Alessandria, Valence, and Casale, in the angle formed by the junction of the Tanaro and the Po, and Genoa, more valuable as a base of operations than Turin itself. The experienced General Bava accordingly had fixed on the right bank as the line of the main army's concentration. But his successor, being overruled by the democratic clubs at Turin, was compelled to alter this judicious plan of operation, and, abandoning altogether the right bank of the river, and the idea of a defensive war, to concentrate his force for offensive operations at NOVARA, on the direct road to Milan. The object of this was to favour an insurrection in that capital and the whole Lombardo-Venetian provinces, which had been formally enjoined by proclamation from Prince Eugene of Savoy Carignan, in order to celebrate the anniversary of the Austrian retreat from Milan, on the 23d of the preceding year, by a triumphant entry into that capital. They fully expected that Radetsky would abandon it without striking a blow. To confirm them in this belief, the veteran field-marshal spread abroad the report that he was about to retire from Milan, and take his stand as before on the Adda or the Adige. The better to encourage this belief, preparations were ostentatiously made for removing the heavy carriages of the army behind the former river, and transporting the crown jewels to Mantua.

30. Deceived by these artifices, and impelled by the democratic leaders at Turin, who never doubted they were advancing to certain victory, Charles Albert, with the advanced-guard of his army, crossed the Ticino at the bridge of Buffalora, on the direct road from Novara to Milan, and advanced to Magenta. The Austrians made no

attempt to dispute the passage, but, hastily withdrew towards that capital. The bulk of the Piedmontese army, 60,000 strong, distributed in five divisions, was massed about Novara. To its left, at Oleggio, on the Upper Ticino, was Solaroli's brigade, 5000 strong. To its right Ramorino alone, with 8000 Lombards, stood at Casteggio, on the right bank of the Po. His orders were to cross the river to La Cava, and show a front to the enemy, should the latter advance from Pavia. On the right bank of the Po, the true battle-field for Turin, there would then only remain 4000 men under Colonel Belvidere at the pass of Stradella. Away at Sarzana, on the Tuscan frontier, with orders to advance on Parma and raise the popular party there, was La Marmora with his division, 8000 strong. The Austrian general was not slow in taking advantage of these arrangements. The plan of operations suggested by General Hess, his chief of the staff, to the field-marshal, was "to concentrate the army at Lodi, cross the Po at Pavia, cut off the enemy's detachments on the right bank of the Po from the main body, and deliver battle *probably at Novara*." Little doubt was entertained of the issue of the battle; and having gained it, the Austrian army was to wheel to the left, cross the Po at Casale, fall upon the right wing of the enemy, and having dispersed it, march direct upon Turin. It was no small recommendation of this plan, that by thus countermarching up the course of the Ticino the bulk of the army was brought so near to Milan that, in the event of a revolt breaking out in that city, an overwhelming force might be at its gates in a few hours. With such celerity were the orders in pursuance of this plan given and executed, that twenty-four hours had not elapsed from the declaration of hostilities when the most distant detachments were already in motion for the Adda, while those at Milan and its neighbourhood were moving to the rear towards Lodi, and those on the Ticino direct on Pavia. The effect of these movements was to bring the bulk of the army to

Pavia and the left, from whence the Ticino could be passed on two bridges in front of that town.

31. The field-marshal, after issuing a solemn admonition to the inhabitants of Milan as to their conduct during his absence, broke up from that capital on the evening of the 18th, and marched, not on Pavia, but to St Angelo, on the road from Lodi to it. The object of this seemingly strange movement was to deceive the enemy as to his real intentions, and to spread abroad the belief that he was about to take up a defensive position between Lodi and Cremona, or even to retire behind the Adda. So completely were the designs of the veteran general kept secret, that even officers of high rank at Pavia were astonished when they heard, on the morning of the 20th, that the field-marshal had slept at Torre-Bianca, only two leagues in the rear of that town, and that the army, in great strength, was concentrated at its gates. With such precision were the orders for uniting at Pavia executed, that at the same hour on the morning of the 20th the converging columns approached its walls. "By all the streets," says an eyewitness, "which led from east to north through Pavia, advanced the columns of the Imperial army. It took about three hours to arrange the different corps in the order in which they were to enter the enemy's territory. The eye of the spectator was fascinated by the spectacle of the variety of uniforms and equipment discernible in the living masses; the ear was saluted by an equal variety of sounds by which the different nations interchanged their exultation—German, Bohemian, Italian, Magyar, Polish, and Croat. When at last the signal for march was given, and the dense masses were put in motion, the bands struck up enlivening airs, and all, in the finest order and the highest spirits, moved, with a proud step, from north to south through the town. As the field-marshal was recognised in a balcony, the vivats and hurrahs were deafening. The acclamations were renewed as the columns reached the opposite bank of the Ticino, and set foot

on the hostile territory." The fate of Italy seemed sealed, for sixty battalions, forty squadrons, and one hundred and eighty-six guns, with carriages and equipment complete, distributed into five corps, and mustering sixty-five thousand combatants, had invaded at one point the Piedmontese dominions.

32. Entirely deceived as to the real point of attack, General Ramorino, who commanded the Piedmontese right wing, 8000 strong, opposite Pavia, detached only four weak battalions to La Cava on the left bank of the Po, and hurried with the greater part of his force down the right bank towards Stradella, where he expected to find the enemy. His orders were to defend the course of the Lower Ticino and the passage of Pavia, and, if forced back, to retire by San Nazzaro on Mortara, still on the left bank of the Po. When, therefore, instead of doing so, he remained on the right bank of that river, and left the direct road from Pavia to Turin open, he violated his instructions, and incurred the displeasure of his commander, by whom he was deprived of the command, and sent to a court-martial.* Aspre's corps led the advance of the Austrian host, and speedily overthrew the small body of Piedmontese at La Cava, driving them over the Po by the bridge of Mezzana Corte, which they destroyed. It then advanced, followed by the rest of the army, to Gropello. Radetsky's great object at this time was to gain possession of Mortara. This is a small town six leagues dis-

* Ramorino, who was said to be a natural son of Marshal Lannes, was impressed with the idea that Radetsky would advance by the right bank of the Po, as Napoleon had done before the battle of Marengo, and that the point to guard was the defile of Stradella, where Marshal Lannes had sustained so rude a shock in advancing to that memorable field.—See *History of Europe*, c. xxxix §§ 79, 80. But he had to deal with a general who adopted the spirit of Napoleon's generalship, not copied his footsteps; and Ramorino was severely blamed for this deviation from orders. It does not appear, however, that, had his instructions been implicitly carried out, the result would have been materially different, or that the Austrians would have been delayed more than half a day longer than they actually were.

tant from Vercelli, which latter lies on the great road from Turin to Novara, and about the same distance from Novara. The Austrians, therefore, once established in Mortara, the Piedmontese were cut off both from Turin and Alessandria. It was eight o'clock in the evening when the news of these events reached Chrzanowski near Novara. Abandoning his offensive movement on Milan, he immediately ordered Bes to hasten down the right bank of the Ticino to Vigevano with his division, and Durando to march on Mortara, the rest of the army to follow early the next morning (21st); Perrone and the Duke of Genoa to Vigevano, the Duke of Savoy to Mortara. His plan was therefore distinct. While with two divisions 26,000 strong, with 48 guns, he intended to head the enemy at Mortara, and stop their march on the capital, with three divisions, numbering 38,000 men and 68 guns, he was to throw himself on their flank by Vigevano and Gambolo. On the morning of the 21st the Austrian army set out for Mortara. Asprè, followed by Appel and supported by Woher, advanced along the main road from Pavia in the centre; Thurn with his corps, following a circuitous route towards the Po, flanked the left; Wratislaw, marching through Gambolo on the right, covered the flank of the army on the side of Vigevano.

33. It was five o'clock in the evening when Asprè approached Mortara. He there found Durando's division posted in front of the town behind a low ridge of sand, with that of the Duke of Savoy to his right rear leaning its left upon the town. Throwing his leading division under the Archduke Albert into columns of attack, hurrying 30 guns to the front, and bringing up Schaffgotche's division in support, Asprè threw the whole in one mass upon Durando. After a severe contest of four hours the Archduke broke Durando's men, carried Mortara, and utterly repulsed the Duke of Savoy. He took 1700 prisoners and five guns, and sustained a loss only of 60 killed and 240 wounded. Such was the consternation produced by this de-

feat, that several battalions of newly-raised Italian troops fled in disorder to Vercelli and Casal, where they disbanded, spreading the report that all was lost. While this took place at Mortara, a detached Austrian column under Colonel Scharitz, supported by Strassoldo's brigade of Wratislaw's corps, and ultimately by part of Wohegmuth's brigade, sustained to the right, near Gambolo, a very severe action with the Piedmontese division of General Bes advancing from Vigevano, ultimately reinforced by half of Perrone's division. The hardest fighting occurred at La Sforzesca, where all the efforts of the Austrians were shattered against the superior number of the Piedmontese, and night alone saved them from a disastrous defeat. The general result of these actions was that a great advantage was gained by the Imperialists, for the centre, consisting of two brigades, was driven back in disorder towards Turin, while Ramorino, with 8000 men on the right bank of the Po, was entirely cut off from the remainder of the centre and left, which fell back to Novara. Sensible of these advantages gained by his opponent, Chrzanowski, on hearing of the loss of Mortara, fell back from Vigevano, collected his troops with the utmost expedition in the plain around Novara during the 22d, and made preparations for battle on the following day. By great exertions his forces were all collected, except Ramorino's division and the other troops beyond the Po, and they amounted to fifty-four thousand; but they were sadly deficient in the spirit and enthusiasm by which their antagonists were animated. The issue of the combat at Mortara had spread universal discouragement, while the Austrians were proportionally elated by their early and brilliant success. Add to this, that, by his march against the Piedmontese rear, Radetsky had cut them off from their base of operations at Turin and Alessandria, and left them no retreat, in the event of disaster, but the Lago Maggiore and the Alpine valley of the Ticino. It was the exact counterpart of the advantage gained

by Napoleon's march across the St Bernard in 1800, which compelled the Austrians to fight at Marengo with their faces towards Vienna and their backs to the Maritime Alps.

34. NOVARA, where the decisive battle for Italian independence was to be fought, is an old town, containing fifteen thousand inhabitants, half a league from the left bank of the Agogna stream. To the south of the town, where the attack was to be expected, the ground was eminently favourable for defence, being intersected by water-courses, lines of trees, garden-walls and villas, which afforded at every step the means of checking an assailant. A great rise of the ground to the north from the south also presented an advantageous position for the action of the artillery of the defending party. A broad and deep canal, which runs from the right along the front of the position about a cannon-shot from the Cittadella Villa, and bends to the east, also impeded the access to the position in front. Charles Albert drew up his army on this ground on the morning of the 23d, with as much skill and in as advantageous a manner as the circumstances would admit. His line extended from the road of Mortara to that of Vercelli, its left resting on a strong eminence on which the village of Bicocca was built, and over which the main road from Mortara passed, his right on a level plateau and the canal, and his centre covered for the most part by the canal, and occupying in strength the Cittadella Villa. Perrone's division held the Bicocca hill on the left, with its advanced posts in Olengo; that of Bes was in the centre; that of Durando on the right and in garrison in the Cittadella Villa; those of the Dukes of Genoa and Savoy were in reserve in the second line. Here were collected, on the morning of the 23d, 54,000 men of all arms, including 3000 horse, with 110 guns. On the Austrian side it was imagined, not without reason, that the principal effort of the enemy would be directed to his right, to regain the communication with Turin and Alessandria, which the field-mar-

shal had cut off, and accordingly on the night of the 22d the corps of Thurn and Wratislaw were directed towards Vercelli. This misconception had wellnigh lost them the battle; for it brought a comparatively small part of the Imperialists in contact with the whole of the enemy's army, concentrated in a position eminently advantageous for defence.

35. Baron d'Aspre, with his corps, first encountered the enemy at Olengo about eleven o'clock on the 23d. General Appel followed him in support, and behind him came the reserve corps of Wocher. The Archduke Albert's division headed the attack. The village of Olengo was speedily carried, and then the assault on the Bicocca hill began. After a long and severe struggle two villas in its front were forced, and the attacking columns crowned the summit. The Piedmontese Bersaglieri, great part of whom were now under fire for the first time, were driven back in disorder, and many of them dispersed; but the advance of the pursuers was checked by the veteran 2d Regiment of Savoy, which came up singing the Marseillaise and shouting vivats. So impetuous was their onset that the Hungarians, whom the Archduke led, were driven back, and lost all the ground they had won, while their flank was torn by a cross fire of artillery from the Piedmontese batteries. Upon this the Archduke brought up four more Hungarian battalions, the very flower of the army, supported by the 2d Vienna Volunteers and the 1st Kinsky of Schaffgotche's division; but so violent was the cross fire from the Piedmontese batteries, that they also were repulsed with heavy loss. On the right of the road, however, Count Kollwrat, with three battalions, had won, after a hard struggle, several villas; and Aspre, bringing up his last reserves, again threw himself on the Bicocca hill and again won it. But the Duke of Genoa, advancing the brigade Piedmont of his reserve, recovered the lost ground, turned the Austrian right flank, and forced them back to Olengo, which was stormed,

with great slaughter, by the Duke with the brigade Pignerol. Between three and four P.M. the whole corps of Baron d'Aspré had been brought into action, and were warmly engaged, and lost great numbers of its bravest soldiers, besides several hundred prisoners, without having won any ground. They were overmatched, for an Austrian corps had been engaged with the greater part of the Piedmontese army. The moment was critical in the extreme: if the Imperialists could hold out another half-hour, their remaining divisions would come up, and the battle was gained: if they were driven back, the advantageous ground, the key of the position, was lost, and the utmost they could hope for would be to renew the action on the following day, before which the Piedmontese might retire behind the Sesia, and recover their lost communication with Turin.*

36. In these momentous circumstances the conduct of the leaders on both sides was worthy of their high descent, and the important duties with which they were intrusted. Emulating the example of his great father, the Archduke Charles, at the battle of Aspern, forty years before, the Archduke Albert put himself at the head of the Hungarian Grenadiers, reanimated their sinking spirits, and, under circumstances which seemed all but desperate, prolonged the defence. The Duke of Genoa did the same: his valour and conduct were worthy of the heroic house of Savoy. Again and again he led his troops to the attack, and exhibited alike the skill of an experienced general and the courage of an indomitable leader. At four o'clock the German corps of General Appel came up, and its leading division, consisting of seven fresh battalions, was immediately led into action; but such was the weight of the Piedmontese fire from two-and-thirty heavy field-guns, massed on the summit of the Bicocca hill, that even this formidable

reinforcement failed in turning the scale in favour of the Austrians. The Duke of Genoa in person brought up the reserve, and by their aid succeeded in repelling the fierce onset of the Imperialists. At this moment General Chrzanowski ordered General Bes, whose division had as yet suffered little, to wheel to the left and attack the Austrian centre, supported by General Durando. But this able movement, which at an earlier period of the battle might have been decisive, came too late. Wocher's reserve corps came up, and the field-marshal, on the other side, appeared on the field followed by six choice battalions, preceded by twenty-four guns, which opened a tremendous fire on the Piedmontese centre. The cannon smoke hung like a colossal canopy over the town of Novara. Against the dark grey sky every volley rose white and clear. Masses of black vapour, cast forth by the flames of some burning houses, deepened this shroud of battle with yet dusker tints. Through the lurid glare the dense columns of Appel and of Aspré converged with swift steps upon the blood-stained hill. Their shock was irresistible, and decided the day. Perone's division broke up, the whole Piedmontese left yielded, and many regiments disbanded and fled to Novara. The reserve, under the Duke of Genoa, performed prodigies of valour, and did all that men could do to arrest the disorder and cover the retreat of the army; but in vain. As the head of Thurn's corps, attracted by the firing from the side of Verelli, had now come into action on the Imperial left, four Austrian corps were on the field, and the combat had become as unequal against the Piedmontese as it formerly was against the Imperialists. The day was lost, and a general retreat had become unavoidable. Twelve guns were taken by the Austrians in the pursuit, but only a few prisoners. The Piedmontese old soldiers retired, firing at intervals, and in admirable order: the Genoese and Lombard volunteers and new levies fled in utter confusion, and for the most part disbanded, and were no more heard of.

* Chrzanowski committed a fatal mistake in arresting the victorious advance of the Duke of Genoa, and even ordering him to fall back from Olengo. This threw away his only chance of success.—See ULLOA, i. 394.

37. Such was the battle of Novara, which decided the war, and has determined, probably for long, the cause of Italian independence; for it has proved the inability of united Italy, *single-handed*, to withstand the transmontane forces. For victory she requires the aid of France or Austria, and that can only be purchased by the sacrifice of her independence. The loss on either side was considerable, but by no means so great as might have been expected in a shock between such hosts, attended with such important results. The Austrians lost 14 officers and 396 men killed; 42 officers and 1992 men wounded; and 1 officer and 1070 men missing, either prisoners or dispersed—in all 57 officers and 3456 soldiers. Five-sevenths of this loss fell on Aspre's corps, which, with heroic constancy, had maintained the conflict against two-thirds of the whole Piedmontese army. The Piedmontese had 31 officers and 374 men killed, 70 officers and 2026 men wounded, and 3000 made prisoners. In the town of Novara, into which their army poured during the night, the most dreadful confusion prevailed. Plundering immediately began; the cavalry charged the fugitive crowds through the streets, and they were soon seen streaming in wild confusion over the roads to Duomo d'Ossola and Arona, the only ones left open to them. All retreat to Turin or Piedmont was cut off: they had nowhere to retire to but the inhospitable barrier of the Alps, where no supplies could be obtained for the army, and the passage of the artillery and waggons through the narrow valleys would soon have become impossible. It was this which rendered the defeat so decisive: the army was severed from its base,* and driven up against an impassable barrier of mountains. The next day would have seen 30,000 prisoners and 150 guns brought into the Austrian headquarters. Nothing could save the army but an armistice concluded before the pursuit of the morrow commenced.

38. Charles Albert, who throughout the day had discharged all the duties both of a skilful general and a gallant

soldier, understood the state of affairs in this light. About seven in the evening, when the battle was evidently and irrecoverably lost, he suffered himself to be led away by General Durando, but still lingered under the walls of Novara, under a storm of bullets, saying, "General, this is my last day; let me die." About nine o'clock, having been at length prevailed on to withdraw, he called his generals and principal officers around him, and declared his unalterable resolution to resign the crown in favour of the Duke of Savoy. He then repeatedly announced to those around him, that from that moment Victor Emmanuel was their sovereign. "I have sacrificed myself," said he, "to the Italian cause. For it I have exposed my life, that of my children, my throne. I have failed in my object. I am aware that I am individually the sole obstacle to a peace now become necessary to the State. I could not bring myself to sign it. Since I in vain sought death, I will give myself up as a last sacrifice to my country. I lay down the crown, and abdicate in favour of my son, the Duke of Savoy." Having said these words, he dismissed his attendants, sat down, and wrote a farewell letter to his wife; and at one in the morning made his appearance unannounced at the Austrian outposts, where he narrowly escaped being saluted by a discharge of grape. He gave his name as a Piedmontese officer, the Count de Barge, stated that he was on leave to proceed to Nice, and was conducted to Count Thurn, to whom he announced the abdication of the King of Sardinia, and with whom he had a long conference. He was allowed a passage through the Austrian lines, and pursued his journey to Nice, and thence to Portugal, where, before long, his eventful life came to a termination.*

39. Immense was the sensation which the intelligence of these events, and, above all, of the abdication of the

* The preceding account of the campaign of Novara is mainly taken from SCHOENHAUS, p. 315-373; ULION, 1 357-403; ELLESMERE, p. 236-278, and the very interesting narratives of eyewitnesses on both sides in the *Soldier on Active Service*.

King, produced on the National Assembly at Turin. They had been deceived, as is usual in such cases, by false reports, which represented the unopposed concentration at Pavia and passage of the Ticino as part of a deep-laid plan, which was to draw the Austrians into Piedmont in order to destroy them. When, in the midst of these delusions, intelligence arrived of the disasters of Mortara and Novara, the agitation in the Assembly was extreme, and the most absurd plans were proposed and carried by acclamation, as that a levy *en masse* should be ordered, and they should all march against the enemy. But these transports gave place to more sober and worthy sentiments when M. Buffa, one of the ministers, read the abdication of Charles Albert, announced in a letter of the Duke of Savoy. M. Josti then rose and pronounced these just and noble words: "Shall we sink from want of resolution? Is it always to be matter of reproach to Italy that she wants energy in her own cause? For myself, when I consider the littlenesses with which I am surrounded, I see only one great and noble figure raise itself above its contemporaries, and that figure is that of Charles Albert." At these words all the deputies rose and exclaimed, "Honour to Charles Albert! long live the champion of Italy!" The enthusiasm was intense and universal: there was scarce a dry eye in the whole Assembly. Pointing to the picture of Charles Albert, which hung in the hall, the orator continued: "There is the image of the martyr of Italy! Your acclamations will be re-echoed through the entire peninsula. History will do him justice—posterity will recompense him; and at last, when the hour of Italy's deliverance shall have struck, it will avenge his memory, it will crown with immortality the King who has so valiantly drawn the sword for its deliverance."

40. Electrified by these eloquent words, and feeling the justice of this eulogium, the Assembly voted by acclamation several decrees, of no practical use in the circumstances, but characteristic of the spirit by which

they were animated. The whole national guards were put on permanent duty from eighteen to thirty-five years of age; they voted by anticipation a great addition to the taxes, and issued proclamations calling on the peasants to rise *en masse*—an invitation with which they were by no means disposed to comply. But meanwhile the fate of the kingdom was determined by cooler heads, which appreciated justly the real state of affairs. The young King, Victor Emmanuel, met Radetsky at Vignale, a small village three miles to the north of Novara, at eleven o'clock on the forenoon of the 24th, and concluded verbally the terms of an armistice which was formally signed two days afterwards. The fortress of Alessandria was to be jointly occupied by an Austrian and Piedmontese force. The Sesia was to be the line of demarcation between the two armies. Eighteen thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry were to be stationed by the Austrians between the Sesia and the Ticino; ten regiments of Hungarians, Poles, and Lombards, in the Piedmontese service, were to be disbanded; all the places occupied by them in Lombardy, Parma, Placentia, and Modena evacuated, and the fleet withdrawn from the Adriatic. At the first intelligence of the disasters of the army, the minister besought the ambassadors of France and England to intercede, in order to obtain an armistice on the most favourable terms possible—an invitation to which they immediately and cordially acceded. On their arrival at headquarters they found the armistice concluded, but proceeded at once to the more difficult task of ascertaining the terms for a permanent peace. The chief difficulty was the financial part of the arrangement; for the demands of Austria, pressed as she was by almost hopeless embarrassments at home, were at first immense. Radetsky was instructed to demand 200,000,000 francs as an indemnity for the expenses of the war. The impossibility of raising such a sum in the little kingdom of Piedmont was so evident, that the field-marshal himself represented to his government the

necessity of modifying their demands. At length, by the strenuous intervention of the French and English ministers, negotiations commenced on the basis of Piedmont paying to Austria the expenses of the war, without specifying their amount, which was to be left for future consideration.

41. When this convention was read aloud in the Piedmontese Chamber, which was done after an entire change of Ministry had taken place, the most violent agitation prevailed. A resolution, proposed by M. Lanza, to the effect that the armistice was unconstitutional, and that the Ministry which had concluded it had violated the social contract, was carried by a majority, as also that the Chamber should declare its sittings permanent; and that if the Ministry permitted the entrance of Austrian troops into Alessandria, or withdrew their fleet from the Adriatic, before the convention was approved by Parliament, they should be held guilty of high treason. These, however, were vain words merely; the Chamber had no means of arresting the march of the Imperialists; and but for the powerful intervention of the French and English ministers, the field-marshal would in a few days have planted his victorious standards on the walls both of Turin and Genoa. But the Austrians, fearing the addition of these two formidable powers to the league of their enemies, wisely stopped short in the career of conquest; and the new King of Piedmont, Victor Emmanuel, finding the Chamber utterly unmanageable, and set on war to the last extremity, prorogued it on the 30th of March, and dissolved it by proclamation a few days after.

42. The armistice was received and obeyed in peace in many places; with thankfulness in every part of Lombardy, except Milan and Brescia. In the former, the excitement was extreme, and the depression of the people very great; but the presence of a powerful Austrian garrison, and the speedy arrival of General Appel with his corps, detached by Radetsky on the conclusion of the armistice, ren-

dered any outbreak impossible. The latter, however, not being equally overawed, became the theatre of a serious revolt, the more to be lamented that it was alike aimless and hopeless. No sooner did the news of the battle of Novara and the armistice arrive within its walls than the people rose, made prisoner the quartermaster-general of the 3d corps, who was in the town, and shut the garrison up in the castle. Upon this General Nugent approached with a small column 900 strong, which could do nothing; but Haynau himself soon arrived with reinforcements, which raised the whole force to 2500 men and 4 guns. He immediately summoned the town, which contained 50,000 inhabitants, to surrender. The time allowed having more than elapsed, the troops on the outside advanced (March 31) to the assault of the walls in five different columns, while the garrison of the castle commenced a bombardment from thirty pieces of heavy artillery. The action was maintained with great fury on both sides for two entire days; and such was the exasperation of the combatants that some of the Austrian officers who fell wounded were literally hewn in pieces by the insurgents. Thereafter the Imperialists gave no quarter in any house from which a shot had issued.* At length the resistance was overcome, and the town subdued. The Austrian loss was very severe, the regiment of Baden alone having lost two hundred men, and on the side of the insurgents above two thousand fell. The field-marshal gave the command of the town after the victory to General Haynau, who contented himself with executing a few guilty of sanguinary acts, and mulcted the citizens only by a heavy contribution. On the 28th March the field-marshal entered Milan in great pomp at the head of his grenadiers, thus bringing the reality of conquest before the eyes of the Milanese.

43. Genoa ere long became the theatre of an effort at revolution still more serious. No sooner did intelligence of the armistice arrive, than

* SCHÖENHAUS, p. 379.

Avezzana, the commander of the National Guard, summoned the citizens to arms. The gates of the city were closed, and the tocsin sounded. General Azarta, the commander of the garrison, thinking that the only object of the people was to make a stand against the Austrians, allowed them to occupy the forts Della Sperone and Del Begato. It soon became evident, however, that the movement was directed more against the Piedmontese Government than the German. Barricades were erected in the streets, and a provisional government proclaimed, at the head of which was Avezzana, Mocchio, an advocate, and Reta, an ex-deputy. This Government called upon General Azarta to surrender the whole place to the insurgents, and he having refused, a severe conflict took place in the streets. The arrival of 15,000 muskets from France at this critical juncture, intended for the Piedmontese Government, which fell into the hands of the insurgents, gave them such a superiority that Azarta was obliged to capitulate, and left the city at the head of 5000 men.

44. As soon as the Piedmontese Government received intelligence of this revolt, they took the most vigorous steps to suppress it. Troops, now happily disengaged by the conclusion of the armistice with Austria, were hastily assembled, and directed with the utmost expedition against the insurgent city. General La Marmora, with his division, broke up from Parma on the 28th March; and with the force he commanded, which rapidly swelled as he advanced, arrived before Genoa on the 4th April at the head of 12,000 men, with a considerable artillery. Unable to resist forces so formidable, the insurgent leaders proposed to enter into a capitulation, and meanwhile an armistice was agreed to, in pursuance of the arrangements made by the Earl of Hardwicke, who commanded an English ship of the line in the bay, and La Marmora occupied the suburb of Saint Pietro d'Arena. The terms of a surrender were fixed, but the revolutionists in the city, composed in great part of strangers

and desperadoes from all countries, suddenly broke the armistice and opened fire at all points. Upon this La Marmora brought up his forces, carried the forts of Sperone and Begato, occupied with little resistance the outer walls, from them opened a heavy fire upon the town, and carried by storm the Doria palace. A second armistice was now concluded, but it too was broken by the insurgents, headed by Avezzana, who set free and armed all the prisoners in the jails, and recommenced the fight.

45. Their object was, by a sudden attack on the King's troops and the guards of the municipality, to make themselves masters of the naval arsenal and batteries, liberate the galley slaves, and commence a general pillage. Fortunately an English vessel of war, the *Vengeance*, lay off the harbour, having been stationed there by Admiral Parker, the commander on the Mediterranean station, to protect the lives and property of British subjects in the event of a crisis. So persuaded were the democrats by the general policy pursued by the British Government in relation to the Italian revolution, that they in reality favoured the movement, that they could not at first be brought to believe that it had not been stationed there to afford succour to the insurgents; and they accordingly gave hints of such being their understanding to the British commander, the Earl of Hardwicke. But they soon found they had to deal with a man of a very different stamp from what they supposed. Being made aware by the municipal authorities of the danger which was impending, and the urgent necessity for succour, the *Vengeance* was anchored under the mole, with springs on her cables, and cleared for action, in such a position as to command the batteries and overawe the insurgents. Such was the effect of this vigorous act, and such the influence of the flag of England when waved by a commander with moral courage equal to the crisis, that the conflict which had already begun a second time, both inside and outside

of the town, between the King's troops and the insurgents, was quelled, and Genoa saved from probably the greatest calamities ever endured in its long and glorious annals. On the 11th April the town was wholly occupied by the Piedmontese troops. The rage of the disappointed democrats had previously exhaled in an insolent letter to the Earl of Hardwicke, which, of course, met with the contempt it merited, but which deserves to be recorded as a specimen of the braggadocio style of the Italian Liberals of the day, and strikingly contrasts with the temperate and dignified letter of the British commander.*

46. Driven from Lombardy and Genoa, the extreme democrats took refuge, some in Rome, others in the mountains which lie between Piedmont and Tuscany, where they remained for some time uncertain whither to direct their steps, and the Austrian troops were restrained from following them by the apprehension of incurring the hostility of France and England. But meanwhile a revolution of an unexpected and reactionary character broke out at Florence. On the 10th April the citizens of that city, who were sincerely attached to the Grand-Duke their sovereign, rose in a body, and displaced the revolutionary authorities. Guer-

razzi, the dictator, was shut up in the fort of Belvidere, the old constitution restored, the National Guard remodelled, and the clubs closed. All the other towns of Tuscany, except Leghorn, immediately followed the example of Florence. But the revolutionary party in that great seaport were too strong to yield without a struggle; and it was fortunate that it took place, because it opened the eyes of the world to what might be expected if that faction generally got the ascendancy. The extreme democrats, chased from Florence, took refuge in Leghorn, and immediately adopted the most vigorous measures for their defence. On the 23d April a mob broke into and plundered the custom-house and municipal buildings, carrying off all the money that they found, and the arms, even those reserved for the guard of the galley slaves. Next they levied a contribution of 300,000 francs (£12,000) on the city: a burden at least equal to £24,000 in Great Britain, and which fell with extreme severity on a place not containing 100,000 inhabitants. The Revolutionary Government at Rome cordially supported this movement at Leghorn, and took into its pay a body of 7000 refugees from Lombardy, who had assembled in La Spezzia. It was necessary to bring this state of anarchy to a termination,

* "In the struggle for liberty you have taken part against the people: you have been active in your unasked-for advice: you have personally thrown the shots overboard from the battery of the people. You have threatened to fire on said battery; you have hauled your ship into the mole, and placed her in a situation for action; in fact, your ship is now ready for fight, with springs on, topmasts out, hammocks in your tops, and has the appearance of an enemy, contrary to the wish of the English people.

"Now, Sir, by such conduct you have shown yourself and the ship under your command without the pale of honour. Circumstances would warrant me to fire on you instantly; but as I wish to take no unfair advantage of your *imprudence*, I hereby inform you that I will grant you till six o'clock to consider your course; and if your ship is not then in a peaceful attitude, the battery of the people will be turned on you, and I will sink your ship at her anchor; a circumstance that will teach your Government that when they give the command of their national vessels to *men of rank, they should be*

also men of sense"—GENERAL AVEZZANA to LORD HARDWICKE, commanding *Her Majesty's ship Vengeance*, Genoa.

To this insolent letter Lord Hardwicke replied: "Sir,—This is to acknowledge the receipt of your most extraordinary and most insolent letter. The only answer I can make to such a communication is to let you know that I have received and carefully considered its contents, and for your satisfaction I now enclose a copy of a letter I have addressed to Her Britannic Majesty's allies in the port of Genoa.—HARDWICKE, Captain."—The French captain's answer was strongly approving of Lord Hardwicke's conduct; Admiral Parker's was more guarded, rejoicing at the termination of the crisis, but strongly recommending strict neutrality, and no co-operation with the Royal forces of Sardinia, except in defence or protection of British lives or property—ADMIRAL PARKER to the EARL OF HARDWICKE, 16th April 1849.

The Author is indebted for these valuable and instructive papers to his friend the Earl of Hardwicke, to whom he is happy to make this public acknowledgment.

and this was done by the joint interposition of France and Austria. The French frigate the *Magellan*, which lay in the Gulf of La Spezzia, hindered the embarkation of the refugees in that town, while the Austrian corps of d'Asprè crossed the frontier at the earnest request of the Government of Florence, and advanced to Leghorn, and soon forced the revolutionists to submit. The town, attacked on the 10th, was carried by storm on the 11th May. The most decided of the insurgents embarked for Rome, without any opposition from the English cruisers, whither they had been already preceded by General Avezzana, with 450 of those engaged in the insurrection in Genoa.

47. But Bologna, Venice, Rome, and Sicily still held out, and, under circumstances which all well-informed persons saw to be desperate, still maintained the war of independence. The resolution of the insurgents in Bologna led to a prolonged conflict, though it was apparent that successful resistance was out of the question. Count Wimpfen, at the head of a division of Asprè's corps, summoned the town (May 8th) to surrender, but this was indignantly refused by the ruling triumvirate, at the head of which was Alessandrini, a literary professor, and General Bellini, the military commandant. The garrison consisted only of three thousand men; but with them were incorporated some hundreds of the Swiss in the Papal service, and they made a stout resistance. An attempt made by the Austrians to blow open the Porta Galliera, by bringing up their guns, was defeated with the loss of fifty killed and one hundred and fifty wounded, and the guns themselves narrowly escaped capture. A similar attack on the Porta Castiglione was repulsed with heavy loss by the Swiss, who left the gate open, but kept up a murderous fire from the walls and houses, shouting out at the same time, "Come on, this is no Vicenza." The Austrians then contented themselves with blockading the place till reinforcements with the heavy artillery arrived from Mantua on the 12th May. The town was

then again summoned, but the Government returned for answer, "that the *Madonna was all for resistance*, and had repeatedly turned aside the Austrian rockets"! They soon, however, had convincing proof that the Madonna was either powerless, or had deserted them on this occasion. A sally (13th May) to aid the entrance of a body of insurgents approaching from eastern Romagna, was defeated, with the loss of one hundred Swiss; and a heavy bombardment having commenced (May 15th), in an hour the white flag was hoisted, and the town capitulated. The insurgents surrendered their arms, but were allowed to retire whither they pleased: the barricades were removed, the trees of liberty cut down, and the Austrians entered on the following day. At the same time Ferrara was occupied by Count Thurn without resistance, with four thousand men. After this success, Ancona was besieged by Count Wimpfen, and being a strong place, required approaches in form; but they were made, and the place capitulated on the 19th June.

48. "Radetsky has drawn a bill upon us, which we must discharge." So said the veteran Neapolitan General Filangieri, commander of the army, to his staff officers at Taormina, when the news of the battle of Novara arrived. He was as good as his word. Yet was the task one of great difficulty; for not only were the Sicilians ardent, and possessed of numerous troops and strongholds, but England and France had been prodigal of aid, not only in diplomatic protection, but in warlike stores and assistance. Great Britain had furnished arms and ammunition to the insurgents of the value of £420,000, and French officers had superintended the strengthening of the fortifications of the towns in their hands. The Sicilian troops amounted to 20,000 men, who were certainly a match for as many Neapolitans; and they had a foreign legion in their service, composed of Poles, Swiss, French, and Germans, who might measure swords with the redoubtable Helvetic Guard which had put down the insurrection in Naples

in the preceding year. Above all, it was certain that in the event of the royal arms being attended with success, Great Britain and France would immediately interpose in behalf of the discomfited insurgents, and arrest the march of the victorious party. Thus the contest was by no means so unequal as it might at first sight appear, and it required vigorous and decided action on the part of the Government to bring it to an early and successful issue.

49. During the lull of active hostilities which followed the reduction of Messina, in the preceding year, negotiations were set on foot, under the auspices of the English and French ministers, to effect an accommodation between the contending parties. The demands of the King of Naples were moderate in the extreme, and indicated the terror which the recent moral earthquake in the Italian peninsula still excited. His ultimatum was that the two Sicilies were to have one sovereign, one army, one fleet, and one administration of foreign affairs; but Sicily was to have a separate parliament, finances, tribunals, and municipalities, with the constitution of 1812, under certain modifications. Four millions of francs of taxes in arrear, with one million as the expenses of the war, were to be paid by the Sicilians, who, in return, were to obtain an unqualified amnesty. This was as near an approach to a federal union as was in the circumstances practicable; but, though strongly recommended by the English and French ministers, it was rejected by the Sicilian leaders, and both sides prepared to decide the contest by the sword.*

• 50. The troops embarked from Messina on the 31st March, and in the afternoon of the 2d April were in sight

of Taormina. A feeble attempt to defend a strong mountain-pass near the ruins of that ancient city was defeated, and the royal troops appeared before Catania. Twenty thousand armed men, of whom eight thousand were real soldiers, were within the town, commanded by a Polish general named Mieroslawski. Notwithstanding this formidable body of opponents, the Neapolitan Rifles advanced with vigour over the lava at the foot of Mount *Ætna*, and soon reached the barricades at the entrance of the town. Here a desperate strife ensued. The barricade in the *Ætna Street* was first carried by a sudden rush by the riflemen, again recovered by the insurgents, and only in the end carried by a Swiss regiment from Berne, the advance of which excited the admiration of all who witnessed it. This body reached the barricade at half-past seven P.M. Colonel von Muralt, who commanded the regiment, conducted the attack with skill and judgment. He made his men advance in the rosy light of evening, in single file close to the wall on either side, with orders to fire at the opposite windows whenever a light or living object showed itself. Two howitzers moved up the middle of the street, followed by two more in reserve, which fired alternately with those in front, so as to render the discharge of artillery incessant. Behind them came the column of grenadiers, which, at every fifty paces, moved to the front, halted, and fired. Every house from whence a shot issued was broken into and set on fire. In this manner the great street was carried, and three guns taken—the officers leading their men with the utmost courage. The “*Piazza del Cathedral*” was next carried by a simultaneous

* The following proclamation announced the resumption of hostilities to the Sicilians:—“Sicilians! The shout of war to you is a cry of delight. The 29th March, when hostilities with the despot of Naples are to recommence, will be hailed by you with the same welcome as that of the 12th January, and with good reason, for liberty can only be gained at the price of blood. The peace you were offered was ignominious. It destroyed at one blow every interest created by the revolution. Even though victory be not cer-

tain, when honour is at stake, a nation, like an individual, has the superior right to immolate himself. Better to be consumed in the flaming ruins of our country than to exhibit to Europe the spectacle of vile cowardice. Death is preferable to slavery. But no, we shall conquer. Look at the flaming desolation of Messina! War is to us the symbol of vengeance and of love. One city of Sicily alone remains under the yoke of the enemy of liberty. To arms! To arms! We must conquer or die.”—*Ann. Reg.* 1849, p. 312.

attack up two streets leading to it by the Swiss Guard. Two batteries, one of three, one of four guns, were then stormed, and by midnight Catania was entirely in the hands of the victors.

51. The insurgents had cruelly tortured and cut into pieces a Swiss officer who fell into their hands early in the action, which exasperated his comrades to such a degree that thereafter they gave no quarter. The success was gained by the royal troops with the loss of 38 officers and 340 men—a most unusual proportion, being 1 to 9, and proving how gallantly they had led their troops. On the side of the insurgents, 352 were buried, and 215 prisoners made, mostly wounded. Dear-bought as this success was, it was attended with most important consequences: it terminated the war in Sicily. A few days after, a defensive position taken up by the Sicilians at Adorno was forced, and next day Syracuse and Augusta surrendered. Continuing his march towards Palermo, Filangieri was met by a deputation from the city, with the archbishop at its head, to propose a capitulation. The moderate party, however, from whom this proposal came, soon lost their ascendancy; the National Guard, assailed by the populace, was obliged to take refuge on board the royal fleet; and when the king's army (May 5th) descended the hill towards the city, their advanced guard were assailed by the armed multitude, and repulsed. The arrival of the Swiss restored the combat, and the insurgents were driven back into the city. Negotiations were now resumed, and soon came to a successful issue. Filangieri had the good sense, as well as humanity, to award an amnesty, which, at the earnest request of the revolutionists, was made to include offences of every description. The chiefs of the insurrection, who had already escaped, were alone excluded; they had disappeared, despite their appeals to the people to conquer or die, the moment danger approached. On the 15th May, the anniversary of the victory of the royalists in Naples the year preceding, the royal army entered Palermo. Girgenti and

Trapani also surrendered, and peace was restored in the whole of the island.

52. The overthrow of the insurrection in Genoa, Leghorn, Bologna, and Ferrara, with the capture of Ancona and Brescia, and counter-revolution in Florence, caused the revolutionists, closely followed by the Austrians, to recoil from all quarters to Rome. Venice still hoisted the colours of independence, but it was strictly blockaded; the Eternal City alone presented an accessible rallying point to the discomfited insurgents, and it was in consequence rapidly filled by them. It was under the command of the most noted leaders from all parts of Italy—Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Avezzana. The first brought to the cause the aid of unbounded revolutionary enthusiasm, devout trust in human perfectibility, considerable powers of eloquence, and unscrupulous ambition; the second, who was possessed of great energy of character, brilliant military talents, and of an antique disinterested turn of mind, led under his standard all the ardent spirits and refugees who had been expelled from Lombardy and Tuscany by the Austrian arms; while the third, who had come from Genoa with five hundred followers, and been created Minister at War, imported the knowledge of command which he had acquired when at the head of the National Guard of that city. But though the real powers of government were shared among these three persons, the triumvirate in whom they were formally vested were, Mazzini, Armellini, and Saffi; the first of whom was a Lombard, the two last Romans, by birth. Avezzana, when called before the Constituent Assembly at Rome to state what forces he had at his disposal, declared they did not exceed ten thousand men, for the most part young troops; the remainder, eight thousand in number, were on the Neapolitan frontier. But the arrival of Garibaldi in Rome, with some thousand refugees from the combats in the north of Italy, inspired such terror or confidence, that all thoughts of an accommodation were laid aside, and the most determined resistance was resolved on.

53. The resolution of the Romans to

resist brought a strange and unexpected champion on the field, and opened a new phase in the history of modern Italy. It has been seen that Great Britain and France had throughout the contest covertly but very effectively aided the insurgents; in one case by actually supplying them with arms and ammunition, and elsewhere by throwing the shield of diplomatic interference over them the moment they experienced a reverse, and the Austrians threatened to drive them into an ignominious peace. In pursuing this conduct the British Government appear to have been actuated by the vague and popular feeling, that the British empire was interested in the establishment of constitutional monarchies and democratic ascendancy in every part of Europe. But the French rulers were less influenced by this cosmopolitan principle than by a material consideration, which acquired additional weight as the war rolled on. They contemplated with secret uneasiness the progress of the Austrian arms in Northern and Central Italy, and were seized with serious alarm when they beheld Piedmont vanquished, and the fortresses of Romagna and Tuscany occupied by the Imperial forces. Influenced by these considerations, Louis Napoleon gladly availed himself of an invitation addressed to the cabinets of Paris, St Petersburg, Naples, and Berlin, to co-operate for the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope. It was part of this plan that a French expedition, with troops on board, should appear off Civita Vecchia, at the mouth of the Tiber, and the Neapolitan forces cross the frontier of the Abruzzi, and invade the Papal territories from the south, while the Austrians passed the Po at all points, and occupied the northern part of the same dominions. In conformity with these proposals a joint military and naval expedition was with the utmost haste collected at Toulon. The land forces of this armament consisted of two brigades, mustering six thousand combatants, in the highest state of discipline and equipment, under the command of General Oudinot, son of the

celebrated marshal of the same name in the Empire. They embarked at Toulon on the 22d April, and appeared off Civita Vecchia on the 25th of the same month.

54. So completely had the Italian Liberals been misled by the diplomatic interferences of France, along with England, in their favour, that when the French armament first appeared off their shores, they never doubted that they were coming as friends. Accordingly, they allowed the troops to land without opposition; and for some days the French and Roman soldiers mounted guard side by side. They were soon, however, undeceived. The French disarmed the Papal troops in Civita Vecchia, seized the town, and advanced steadily towards Rome, without paying any regard to the protests of the Triumvirate there, or the indignant proclamations calling upon the people to resist. On the 29th of April they were before the walls of the Eternal City, and Oudinot replied to a deputation sent out to warn him that if he attempted to enter the city he would be resisted, "Take care how you oppose me, for my troops are good." The advanced-guard incautiously approached the walls, near the salient angle of the Vatican, and was received with cannon-shots. Oudinot upon this brought up reinforcements, and the French, hearing the *Marseillaise* sung in the streets, thought the town was taken from the Portesi Gate, which also was attacked, and advanced, so as to get close to the gate of San Pancrazio. Here, however, they were received with a discharge of grape, from two guns placed under the archway, and driven back. In the retreat they were surrounded by the Lombard legion of Garibaldi, aided by a battalion of regular troops, and 200 men were made prisoners. At the same time the attack on the Porta-Portesi was also repulsed with heavy loss, a body on the left got entangled under fire in a defile, and Oudinot, convinced that the town was not to be taken without regular approaches, sounded a retreat. In this untoward affair the French lost 4 officers and 180 men killed, 11

officers and 400 men wounded, and 11 officers and 560 men made prisoners, while the entire loss on the side of the Romans was only 320.

55. Had this bloody repulse not been sustained, the French general would have had some difficulty to explain the conduct of his government, or find a decent pretext for the siege and military occupation of a city heretofore in alliance with France, and over which she had recently thrown the shield of diplomatic protection. But after this reverse there was no longer any difficulty experienced by the French Government in recognising the national feelings in regard to the war. The French army had sustained a serious reverse; nothing but victory and the capture of Rome could wash out the stain. Oudinot retired to Palo, and ultimately to Civita Vecchia, to await reinforcements, which, on the first receipt of the disastrous intelligence by the Government at Paris, were despatched from Toulon in great numbers. In the course of May and the first week of June eight additional regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and a considerable train of siege artillery, were sent. Meanwhile the Neapolitan army, consisting of seven thousand infantry, fifteen hundred horse, and fifty-two guns, under General Casella, crossed the southern frontier of the Papal States, and advanced slowly towards Rome. But the French general refused to admit of any co-operation of the Neapolitans with him, which enabled the Roman chiefs to send out Garibaldi, with the Lombard legion, against the latter. The Neapolitans advanced without much resistance to Albano, and their advanced-guard attempted, but unsuccessfully, to dislodge Garibaldi from Palestrina (May 9th); when, finding that the French "reserved the occupation of Rome for their own troops," and that 12,000 men from Rome were advancing against them, they retired to their own frontier, sustaining during the retreat a sharp attack at Velletri. Meanwhile a Spanish auxiliary corps of six thousand men, which had disembarked at Gaeta, to aid in the

restoration of his Holiness, advanced to Terracina, and occupied without resistance the southern parts of the Papal dominions.

56. The proceedings of the French led to more decisive results. In order if possible to attain their object of occupying Rome to the exclusion of the Austrians, the Cabinet of Paris sent out M. Lesseps as a diplomatic agent, to mediate between the Roman triumvirate and the enraged army, panting for revenge, encamped without the walls. The views of the pacific negotiator and the military commander were soon found to be irreconcilably at variance. By the middle of May the French army, 30,000 strong, had advanced to the immediate vicinity of Rome. On the 31st, M. de Lesseps entered into a convention, in virtue of which the French troops were not to enter Rome, but to take up quarters outside the walls; and the restoration of the Pope, or the choice of another form of government, was to be left to the unbiassed determination of the inhabitants. This convention, which was meant to throw a veil over the open attack of a revolutionary republic by the great parent democracy, was far from being satisfactory either to the French President or General Oudinot. Accordingly the latter refused to abide by it, and on 1st June he signified this to the Roman Triumvirate.

57. The military authorities in Rome had turned to good account the breathing-time afforded them since their brilliant success at San Pancrazio. The walls were repaired and strengthened, additional heavy artillery placed on the ramparts, and the barricades inside brought to an unprecedented state of perfection. They had even established a defence of the latter description capable of being moved from place to place, which was very much admired. Their hope was to prolong the defence by these means till the autumn, when the pestilential air of the Campagna might be expected to destroy the besiegers, as it had so often done in former days. Their hopes in this respect were not so illusive as might be imagined; for they had 20,000 armed men and 200 pieces

of artillery within the town, with ample supplies of ammunition; and not only had the spirits of the troops been much elevated by their success, and by the subsequent retreat of the Neapolitan army, but their real efficiency had been materially improved during the interval of rest thus procured for them. Garibaldi in particular, and the officers of his Lombard legion, were intoxicated with their triumphs, which they ascribed entirely to their own prowess, without any reference to the French jealousy of Neapolitan interference. They anticipated from this commencement a long train of glories equal to those which had immortalised the Roman Republic in ancient story. But if the means of defence had increased, those of attack had augmented in a still greater proportion. Oudinot had under his command, in the beginning of June, 30,000 men, with a train of 90 pieces of artillery: and the troops, besides being in the highest state of discipline and equipment, were burning with anxiety to wipe out the affront which they had recently experienced.

58. The armistice having been denounced, the French general commenced operations by an advance of his left to the Ponte Molle, which was occupied without resistance on the 2d June. Having secured his communications, and established his troops on the Monte Mario, which overlooks the walls on their western extremity, he began regular approaches. The Roman Triumvirate meanwhile issued a proclamation, in which they declared their resolution to discharge to the last extremity the duty intrusted to them of defending the standard of the Republic, and the capital of the Christian world.* The first serious attack was made on the 3d June on the Villa Pamphildoria, which was carried after a sharp

encounter. The Villa Corsini was then assailed. It was three times taken and retaken, but finally remained in the hands of the French. In this obstinate encounter the Romans lost nearly 300 killed and wounded, and 200 prisoners. On the side of the assailants about 250 fell. Thereafter the siege was conducted in a regular manner, by pushing forward the sap and forming trenches. The attack was directed against the front of the Janiculum, and the utmost care was taken to avoid injuring private houses, or any of the stately monuments of antiquity with which the city abounded. It would have been an easy matter to have stormed the salient angle, on which St Peter's and the Vatican stood; but this was not attempted, from a laudable desire to preserve the inestimable treasures of art which they contained. The approaches were now pushed with vigour. Though the progress of the besiegers was steady, the besieged made an honourable defence, being supported by the hopes of a democratic revolution overturning the government of Paris, and converting formidable enemies into powerful friends. The sap having been pushed close to the walls of the Janiculum, and a practicable breach formed, two bastions in the outer line of defence were carried with little resistance on the night of the 21st. The attack was now directed against a commanding bastion close to the gate of San Pancrazio. The wall soon crumbled beneath the breaching-fire, and it was stormed at three in the morning of the 30th June. The defenders, four hundred in number, were precipitated over the walls, or put to the sword.*

* Upon receiving intelligence of this disaster, the Triumvirate addressed the following proclamation to the Roman people: "Romans! In the darkness of the night, by means of treason, the enemy has set foot on the breach! Arise, ye people, in your might! Destroy him, fill the breach with his carcasses! Blast the enemy, the accursed of God, who dare touch the sacred walls of Rome. While Oudinot resorts to this infamous act, France rises up and recalls its troops from this work of invasion. One more effort, Romans, and your country is saved for ever. Rome, by its constancy, regenerates all Eu-

* "We never betray our engagements. In the execution of the orders of the Assembly, and of the Roman people, we have undertaken the engagement of defending the standard of the Republic, the honour of the country, and the capital of the Christian world. We will keep our word."—*The Roman Government to GENERAL OUDINOT*, 14th June 1849; *Ann. Reg* 1849, p. 363.

59. By this success the French were established in a solid manner within the walls, and as the guns of the bastion of which they had got possession commanded the inside of the gate of San Pancrazio, it was no longer tenable. Further resistance was impossible; at six in the morning the entire Janiculum was evacuated by the besieged, and their troops brought back to the Strada Longa, the principal street of the Transtevere suburb. In the forenoon of the same day the Assembly met, and after discussing several extravagant propositions for defence brought forward by Garibaldi, it was agreed that a surrender was unavoidable. At four o'clock the white flag was hoisted on the Castle of St Angelo, and the triumvirs resigned. At midnight on the 1st July, Garibaldi marched out of the city with 3400 men, chiefly of the Lombard legion: at noon on the 3d, Oudinot entered at the head of his troops, and on the 8th he heard high mass in the Church of Saint Louis, the patron of France. The city was immediately declared in a state of siege; all the Papal troops who were in it were placed under the command of French officers, and the others disarmed. In the first instance the French colours were hoisted on the Castle of St Angelo and the walls; but after a week they were replaced by those of the Pope, in whose name the government was carried on. The Supreme Pontiff remained at Gaeta, being unwilling, after Rossi's murder, to intrust his person to his rebellious subjects; but later in the year he issued a *Motu Proprio*, establishing a council of state to carry on the government, confirming the provincial councils and municipal

rope. In the name of your fathers, in the name of your future hopes, arise and give battle. Arise and conquer! One prayer to the God of battles, one thought to your faithful brethren, one hand to your arms. Every man becomes a hero! This day decides the fate of Rome, and of the Republic. —MAZZINI, ANSELLINI, SAFFI. "—It was hardly to be expected, after issuing this high-sounding proclamation, that the authors of it dared steal out of Rome in the following night, with Garibaldi, the general, and 3400 men, leaving the city and their fellow-citizens to their fate. —*Ann. Reg.* 1849, p. 305.

corporations, and promising further administrative reforms. An amnesty was afterwards published, but containing so many exceptions that it rather retarded than promoted the reconciliation of the Pontiff with his subjects.

60. After leaving Rome on the night of the 1st July with 3400 men, Garibaldi took the road to Naples. Finding, however, that the approach to that capital by Terracina was shut by Marshal Nunziante with a large force, while another was moving on his flank through the Abruzzi, he altered his course, taking a cross road to Terni. On the 16th July he reached Orvieto, whither the Neapolitans could not pursue him, as it would have brought them in contact with the French troops. His followers, destitute of everything, committed so many acts of violence that the peasantry fled on their approach, and they were soon reduced to the greatest straits from want of provisions. Two days after he entered Tuscany, still keeping in the mountains. Several Austrian columns, however, were now on his track, and it was impossible he could long escape. Crossing the Apennines by by-paths from San Sepulchro, on the 31st his band, reduced by fatigue and desertion to 1000 men, encountered at St Leo, near San Marino, the brigade of the Archduke Ernest, and 900 surrendered at the first summons. Garibaldi himself, with 100 desperate adherents, escaped to Cesenatico, where they seized some fishing-boats and put to sea. The greater part were captured by the Austrian cruisers; but Garibaldi himself again contrived to escape almost alone; traversed Italy after a series of hairbreadth escapes; lost his young wife from fatigue and exposure; embarked at Genoa, and became a wanderer in the wide world till he reappeared on the political horizon and overturned the Neapolitan Government in 1860. Most of his followers found their way back to their homes. Some took to the mountains, and, in bands of twenty and thirty, swelled the troops of robbers who have so long infested the Papal and Neapolitan frontiers.

61. Of all the states in Italy which had taken part in the revolutions of 1848, none was now in arms but Venice; and its inhabitants owed this distinction, not so much to their superior courage or constancy, as to their insular situation, and the powerful flotilla at the disposal of the insurgent Government, which kept the Austrian vessels at a distance. In addition to these natural advantages, the Venetians had formidable forces at their command: the regular soldiers were 15,000, and 2500 marines, without including the burgher guard; 350 guns were mounted on the defences, with a strong outwork at Malghera, the *l'île-de-pont* of the railway bridge of 222 arches, 4000 yards long, which connected the mainland with the city; and the whole was under the command of General Pepe, an officer of skill and determination, who was supported by Manin, a man much beloved by the people, who had been invested since March 1849 with the powers of dictator. After the Milan armistice the defence was prolonged, in the hope of a favourable diversion from the side of Hungary, Piedmont, or Paris; and the operations of the Austrians were limited to a strict blockade both at sea and along the shores of the Lagoon. A diversion in favour of the Piedmontese, attempted when the armistice was denounced by Charles Albert on the 20th March, on the side of Chioggia, at the southern extremity of the Lagoon, which at first was attended with some success, was in the end repulsed just as news arrived of the battle of Novara; and as soon as the second armistice was concluded between the Austrians and the Piedmontese, General Haynau, who commanded the blockading force, received orders to undertake the siege of Fort Malghera.

62. This small fortress, constructed by the French in 1807, situated on the mainland on the edge of the Lagoon directly west of Venice, was a pentagon, with earth walls and wet ditches, bomb-proof barracks, and regular outworks. It was intended to cover the bridge-head which connected the city with the mainland, and therefore its

reduction was an essential preliminary to its being attacked. Thirty thousand men being assembled by the Imperialists, trenches were opened against it on the 29th April, at first armed with a very insufficient artillery, which opened fire on the 4th May, but was entirely overmatched by the enemy's guns, admirably served by their cannoniers. The Austrians, whose operations were much impeded by heavy rains, were obliged to send to Mantua for a larger siege-train, which arrived on the 20th May. On the 24th the bombardment was renewed, and this time with such effect that on the night of the 26th, the ramparts being untenable and the breach ready for an assault, the place was evacuated by the garrison, who withdrew into the city after a most honourable defence. Notwithstanding this disaster, the insurgents prolonged their resistance, though even the English agents earnestly counselled a surrender, being buoyed up with hopes of a decisive intervention by the efforts of the Hungarian insurrection. Batteries were meanwhile constructed by the Austrians along the nearest points of the Lagoon, which opened a fire on the city; but the distance was so great that very few of the shot took effect, though from the 29th July to the 22d August the average number discharged was four hundred and fifty 24-pound shot and four hundred shells daily. An attempt made to surprise the Venetian battery on the broken railway bridge, on the 7th July, failed. But the Hungarian insurrection having been suppressed by the Russian intervention, and the war in Italy terminated by the capture of Rome, the contest had evidently become hopeless, and the struggle had no longer a legitimate object. On the 22d August a deputation from the Venetian chiefs arrived at the Austrian headquarters, and a capitulation was speedily concluded on the most liberal and humane terms on the part of the conquerors. Excepting a few of the Imperial officers who, having deserted their colours and gone over to the insurgents, were sent into exile with some of the popular leaders, a univer-

sal amnesty was accorded to the people, and all duties on imports were immediately removed to assuage the sufferings of the labouring classes, who had become much straitened for the necessities of life. On the 28th August the Austrian colours were again hoisted on all the forts, batteries, and islands of Venice, amidst cheers as loud, if not so sincere, as had resounded when they were lowered on the 23d March in the preceding year.

63. To complete the picture of the Italian revolution, it only remains to add that the Grand-Duke of Tuscany resumed possession of his states, where he was received with unanimous demonstrations of joy, and that a definitive treaty of peace between Austria and Piedmont was, after many difficulties, signed on the 6th and ratified on the 17th August. The terms were moderate in the extreme. No concessions of territory were exacted; an amnesty was accorded; and the only difficulties experienced in conducting the negotiation related to the sum to be paid by Piedmont as an indemnity for the expenses of the war, and the number of exceptions from the amnesty which were to be admitted. At length the first was fixed at 75,000,000 francs (£3,000,000); and the last reduced to 86,—all from the Austrian provinces in Italy. Happily the greater part of the persons excepted had already escaped into Switzerland or elsewhere, and no great energy was shown in seeking them out, the Austrians being chiefly anxious to get the dangerous characters out of the country. Meanwhile Charles Albert died at Oporto on the 28th July; and the profound indifference of the rural population in Piedmont for their electoral rights acquired during the revolution, and still subsisting, having left the elections entirely in the hands of the urban Liberals, the Chamber returned was almost entirely democratic, of which they gave proof by electing, the moment they assembled, M. Pareto, one of the leaders of the Genoese insurrection, president. All efforts to render the Chamber manageable having failed, the King, in order to carry on the government, was

obliged to have recourse to a dissolution. He made a noble appeal to the country, without attempting any change on the representative system introduced, during the fervour of the revolution, by Charles Albert: the rural electors listened to his voice, and came forward to give their votes, and a Chamber was returned giving a majority of fifty to the friends of constitutional monarchy.

64. The conditions accorded by the treaty of the 6th August to Austria were much more favourable to that power than those which, at an earlier period, the Cabinet of Vienna would have been willing to accept; for such had been the exhaustion of the monarchy from the double war which was raging in its vitals, and such the straits to which the Government had been reduced by the successes of the Hungarian insurgents, that they had acceded to the proposal that a separation of the *Regno Lombardo-Veneto* from the Imperial dominions should take place. This the Cabinet of Vienna regarded as the only mode of preventing the armed intervention of France, which they were well aware would at once turn the balance against them in Italy. A long negotiation on this subject went on between the Cabinets of London and Vienna, by the former of whom it was warmly supported, in the hope of averting French intervention. The basis of the proposal (made to the English ambassador at Vienna on the 12th May 1848) was, that Austria should abandon the whole dominions which she held in Italy, and the inhabitants should elect a sovereign totally independent of that or any other power. The new kingdom was to have its own parliament, finances, and treasury, on condition only of paying 10,000,000 florins (£1,000,000) annually as their contribution to the debts of the Empire.* The Austrian minister declared, at the same time, that if the French troops crossed the

* See Lord Ponsonby to Lord Palmerston, Vienna, May 12, 1848; M. Hummelauer to Lord Palmerston, May 23, 24, 26, 1848; Baron Wissenberg to Count Casati, June 13, 1848; *Ann. Hist.* 1849, 191-195, *Doc. Hist.*

Alps, and advanced into Lombardy, they would oppose no resistance to them, but retire first behind the Mincio, and then behind the mountains of Carinthia, leaving Italy to the full enjoyment of the blessings of French intervention. This arrangement, which was proposed and even urged upon Great Britain by the Austrian Government, proved abortive, partly from the disinclination of the Milanese to take upon themselves any part of the Austrian debt, partly because it did not meet the ambitious views of any of the parties who had instigated the insurrection.

65. The conduct of the British Cabinet, under the direction of Lord Palmerston, during the whole of the critical period which followed the Italian Revolution, was in many respects open to exception. Admitting that the circumstances were complicated and difficult, and that it was essential to leave no pretext for French interference, their conduct went much beyond the real neutrality which Great Britain should ever observe in regard to the intestine dissensions of other nations. She did not remain neutral; on the contrary, she interposed covertly, but most efficiently, in support of the insurgents. The language of her official agents and ministers, in urging organic changes upon the Italian governments, universally inspired the belief that they secretly favoured the Liberal cause, and that, in the last extremity, the insurgents might confidently rely on their interposition. Nor were they disappointed in these expectations, for more than once France and England interposed on their behalf, and arrested the arms of Austria when on the point of achieving decisive success. This was all done from a sincere, but, as it has now been proved, entirely delusive view of Italian affairs. The event has demonstrated that the dream of Italian unity and independence speedily terminates in the reality of French domination, which it can never be either for the good of mankind or the interests of Great Britain to extend over Italy. Incalculable were the evil consequences of this one-sided policy

both upon the internal concerns of Italy and the general interests of Europe, for it led the Italian Liberals to reject all terms of accommodation, and thus needlessly prolonged the war under circumstances evidently hopeless. It weakened the influence and damaged the character of England, by spreading the belief that she lacked the means or wanted the courage openly to support a cause which she had secretly fomented. Still more disastrous were the effects of this policy upon the general balance of power in Europe, for it led to the occupation of Rome by the French, and division of the Italian peninsula, in respect of influence, between them and the Austrians. And, by proving to Austria that she could not rely on the support of Great Britain, it threw her into the arms of Russia, induced the Muscovite intervention in Hungary, and brought about that vast increase of the Czar's influence in the East which led him to invade Turkey in 1854, and was only checked by the blood poured out at the Alma, Inkermann, and Sebastopol.

66. The conduct of the military commanders on both sides, in the memorable Italian campaigns of 1848 and 1849, is worthy of the highest praise, and must ever render their operations a subject of deep interest to the military student. Both stood up boldly and manfully for the cause with which they were intrusted; each struck redoubtable blows at his antagonist, and each showed the greatest military skill, both in following up a success and retrieving a disaster. Of the two commanders, the higher praise must be conceded—at least in the earlier part of the war—to Radetsky, for he was at the head of an army which was daily melting away from the insurrections in the provinces from which it was drawn, was greatly overmatched in point of numbers, and had to contend with a superior regular force in front, and an insurgent population, not merely among his enemies, but in the very provinces and cities which his men occupied, and which threatened his communications in the

most serious manner. He was enabled to contend against these disadvantages, and finally to rise victorious over them entirely, by the skilful use of the interior line of communication on the Adige which he possessed, and by such rapidity of movement as counterbalanced inferiority of force. Perhaps the most signal instance of that, the highest feat of strategy, was afforded by Lord Clyde in the relief of Lucknow and defeat of the Gwalior contingent at Cawnpore in 1857—an achievement the more memorable that it was effected by less than six thousand men against sixty thousand; that the troops defeated were inferior to none in the world in the defence of strongholds and fortifications; that among the garrison safely brought off were above two thousand sick, or women and children, not one of whom was lost.

67. Struck with astonishment at the wretched figure cut, with very few exceptions, by the Italian volunteers in this war, the nations of Northern Europe generally settled into the belief that the Italians were incapable of self-defence; that a double efflorescence of civilisation had emasculated their character; and that the independence of their beautiful country was hopeless, because the virtues had been lost which were necessary to assert it. It cannot be denied that the facts of the case, at first sight, seemed to warrant this conclusion. Never had a country such an opportunity for asserting its independence as Italy had in 1848; never were circumstances so favourable for maintaining it. An enthusiastic passion for liberty and independence animated the whole urban, and a considerable part of the rural population; and the regular army of Piedmont, superior in numbers at first to that of the Imperialists, was equal to it in valour and efficiency. Austria, on the other hand, was so distracted by the discordant passions of race, as well as the rising ones of civilisation, that the only army she could rely on was that which the veteran Radetsky commanded. The population of the Italian peninsula

exceeded twenty-five millions; and if the compactness of the territory, the extent of sea-coast, and the incomparable riches of the soil, are taken into consideration, its material resources greatly exceeded those of the Austrian Empire. It was no wonder then that, when all the efforts of the Italians to achieve their independence in these circumstances were unsuccessful, the opinion became general that they failed, either because they wanted the military virtues necessary to insure success, or because they were so torn by separate interests as to be incapable of united action.

68. It is hard to arrive at such a conclusion regarding the descendants of the ancient Romans; and events were not awaiting, in the course of the contest, which proved that, when properly disciplined and led, the modern Italians are capable of emulating the deeds of their forefathers. The soldiers of Charles Albert were equal to any in Europe, and they maintained this character in after-times in the great tournament of nations in the Crimea, and on the field of Solferino. Even the new levies and volunteers exhibited on some occasions—particularly in the defence of Rome and Messina—a courage worthy of a different fate. The real causes of the failure of the Italians were two, either of which is sufficient to account for it. The first of these was their own divisions. Their passion was for freedom and independence, and their rallying-cry "*Liberty and Unity!*" It was evident that the first could be won only by commencing with the last. How did they set about it? The Sicilians, in the very outset, revolted against the Neapolitans, and drew upon themselves the Swiss Guard, which might have turned the scale in the contest in Northern Italy; next the Romans rose up against the Pope, the first leader in Italian reform, and paralysed the Papal regular troops previously engaged on the side of Italy; the Lombards, on the first reverse, besieged Charles Albert in his hotel at Milan, and fired into his windows; the Venetians set up for themselves in

their islands on the Adriatic; the inhabitants of Leghorn rose in insurrection against the authority of Florence; the people of Tuscany expelled the Archduke from his dominions; the Liberals of Genoa strove to shake off the rule of Piedmont, and yielded to the dream of a Ligurian Republic; Rossi attempted, out of these discordant materials, to form a league for mutual defence, and they murdered him. Thus, at the moment when Charles Albert was nobly contending with one of the greatest military powers on the Continent, intestine division paralysed all the forces from which he should have derived support in his rear. It is in these lamentable divisions, the result of separate interests and selfish ambition in the leaders of the movement in the chief Italian cities, that the chief cause of their common subjugation is to be found. What would have been the fate of England, if, when contending for life or death with Napoleon, Scotland had risen up against England, Wales against Scotland, Cornwall against both, and all Ireland had universally followed the seductive voice of the great Liberator?

69. But though these divisions were without doubt the main cause of the overthrow of the Italians in the war of independence, they were not the only ones. Another source of weakness, scarcely less powerful, was to be found in the almost entire want of any regular military force in the Italian states, with the exception of Piedmont, when the war broke out. Except the guards of Naples and the Pope—which, being for the most part composed of Swiss or German mercenaries, were admirable soldiers—the states of Central and Southern Italy had scarcely any military forces worthy of the name. This want of real troops was deemed of no importance by the enthusiastic Liberals; they thought the ardour for freedom, the passion for independence, would soon produce invincible soldiers. They are long found out their mistake. Their military ardour was essentially operative; it evaporated in public meetings, speeches, and pro-

cessions. The volunteers of Lombardy and Rome soon disappeared from the ranks of war on the Adige; the new levies of Central and Southern Italy are scarcely ever mentioned, except to record their defeats, in the subsequent annals of the contest. We should err if we ascribed this uniform want of success to any inherent want of courage in the Italian people. It was the absence of previous preparation and military organisation which was the chief cause of their overthrow. No opinion is so erroneous, however generally entertained, as that it is possible to *improvise* soldiers, and that long previous preparation is unnecessary, because it is expensive, and they can be raised when required. Three or four years' training is required to make a real soldier. A nation which disregards this truth is always on the verge of destruction, because, on the first breaking-out of hostilities, it is sure to be defeated.

70. Perhaps, however, the senseless retention of these political divisions, and this general want of previous military preparation, in the Italian states at the commencement of the struggle, is to be itself ascribed to another and a more general cause. Nature has not been lavish of *all* her gifts to any one people, and experience has abundantly proved that the passionate longing after the ideal, which is the mainspring of excellence in the fine arts, is inconsistent with the practical view of things and sound good sense which is essential in this world to the attainment of the real. The Italians had fixed their desires on a confederacy of little republics, like the Greeks in ancient and their forefathers in mediæval times; and they shut their eyes to the evident truth, that such a league could not maintain its ground for a month against the assault of any of the great military monarchies of Europe. Separate interests, individual ambition, prevailed over all considerations of the general good. In works of genius and imagination, in all the fine arts save poetry, the Italians are as superior in modern, as the Greeks were in ancient times, to any other people: Great Bri-

tain or France can exhibit nothing to compare with their painters, sculptors, and musical composers. But while the modern Italians, like the ancient Etruscans, have been absorbed in the contemplation of the ideal in the fine arts, the inhabitants of England and France, like the Romans in former days, have been intent only on the means of subduing mankind. Great Britain has not produced a painter like Raphael, a sculptor like Michael Angelo, a composer like Mozart: but she has colonised America and Australia; she has conquered India; and her language will be spoken over half the globe.

"Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,
Credo equidem: vivos ducent de marmore
vultus;
Orabunt causas melius; cœlique meatus
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent;
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:
Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."
Æneid, vi. 849.

71. Whatever may be thought on this point, one thing is perfectly clear, and that is, that the Italians, in sighing for a united Italy, were not only desiring an unattainable object, but one which, if attained, would little realise the bright hopes they had conceived. This has been now decisively proved by the event; that rude test which has dispelled so many illusions and reversed so many opinions in this age. Unity all but complete has been given to Italy by the victories of Magenta

and Solferino, the filibustering expedition of Garibaldi in 1859, and subsequent successful invasion of the Neapolitan state. Italy from the Alps to the extremity of Calabria, with the exception of the cities of Rome and Venice, has been united into one kingdom under the sceptre of Piedmont. What has been the result? The former capitals of Italy—Milan, Turin, Naples, Rome—have been degraded to the rank of provincial cities, and now mourn their lessened consequence and diminished concourse of strangers; a lingering civil war has ever since existed between the adherents of the old Government in Naples and the modern conquerors, which has filled the Neapolitan prisons with captives and its villages with slaughter. Ninety battalions are required to keep the conquered provinces in subjection, and the united kingdom can only be held together by an enormous military establishment altogether disproportioned to its resources. Since the Piedmontese conquest of the south of Italy, under the auspices of France and England, the direct taxes have been everywhere doubled, and a regular debt of £14,000,000 yearly has been contracted, which has now (1864) swelled into a floating debt this year of £19,000,000! Italy has added another to the numerous proofs which history has furnished, that revolution is the most costly game that nations can play at; and that popular governments, so far from being the most just and pacific, are the most aggressive and warlike of all the rulers of mankind.

CHAPTER LXXI.

GERMANY, BELGIUM, AND DENMARK, FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848 TO THE INAUGURATION OF THE NEW CONSTITUTIONS IN FRANKFORT AND BERLIN.

1. MORE even than the imaginative people of the Italian peninsula were the inhabitants of Germany shaken by the moral earthquake which cast down the throne of Louis Philippe in France. Among the Germans were found united nearly all the qualities likely to render that event the parent of great results—the Teutonic love of freedom; a turn of mind eminently speculative; an ardour which mocked at difficulties; an enthusiasm which despised danger. Widespread and profound had been the discontent which pervaded the German mind, when the solemn promises of free institutions, which had been made by the sovereigns during the war of liberation, were either openly broken or kept only in name, and Germany remained subject to military and despotic government, at a time when its inhabitants were teeming with energy, its cities resplendent with genius, its fields overspread with labourers, its commerce whitening the ocean with its sails. Many and zealous had been the efforts made by the people in every part of Central and Northern Germany to obtain from their sovereigns the performance of their promises; but all their efforts had proved unsuccessful.

2. In addition to these vehement political and social passions, there were others, of yet deeper origin and more lasting endurance, which were adding to the convulsion. The religious division of the northern and southern states, which had formerly so violently agitated the country, was indeed in a great measure lulled; but the opposite turn of mind which the Protestant and Catholic creeds had produced, still retained its influence.

The free-thinking student of the universities in Hanover or Prussia, who had adopted the whole creed of Rationalism, and aspired to introduce its independence into political institutions, was as much divided from the devout Austrian or Tyrolese, who mingled in their prayers the names of the "Heilig Vater" and "Kaisar," as the Jacobin of Paris was from the peasant of La Vendée. But in addition to this, there had now sprung up, especially in the eastern provinces of the empire, a still more serious and enduring cause of discord, in the ancient and now revived passions of RACE. Exposed by their geographical situation on the eastern frontier of Europe to the perpetual inroad of the Asiatic hordes, the oriental states of Germany contained in their bosom, beyond any other recorded in history, various and antagonistic families of mankind. Numerous and opposite conquerors had at different times swept over the land, and left on its surface descendants animated by passions as warm, and hostility as implacable, as had impelled their fathers from their native seats. The firm hand of government and weight of military power, resting on the strong martial passions of the people, had hitherto restrained these discordant feelings, and turned them to national rivalry rather than intestine broils. But the passions of race were compressed, not extinguished, and, on the first removal of the superincumbent weight, were ready to flare up in fearful violence.

3. AUSTRIA was, from its local situation, the most exposed to those discordant passions, and at the same time, by its weight and power, the most important state in the German confeder-

acy. Beyond any other country in Europe it had been exposed from the most remote antiquity to the inroads of those barbarous nations which, impelled by hunger or the lust of conquest from the wilds of Tartary, sought in the southern and highly-cultivated countries of Europe at once the relief of their necessities and the gratification of their desires. Vienna was on the direct line from Scythia to Rome. Hungary was the great alluvial plain which, however, attracted the wandering tribes bent on the invasion of the Lower Empire. Wave after wave of these formidable invaders had rolled over the country, according as the accumulation of other barbarians in rear impelled them forward, or the decline of the Empire in front weakened the barriers which kept them back. The dark-haired Celts first appeared, and being the original invaders, for the most part passed on and settled in Gaul, Italy, and the British Isles. They were succeeded by the blue-eyed Goths, with their flowing yellow locks and sturdy feelings of independence, who, having rested on the banks of the Danube, formed the basis of the present population of Upper and Lower Austria and Tyrol. The Slavonians followed, during the declining days of the Roman Empire, and, spreading over Moravia, Bohemia, Galicia, and the north of Hungary, have left in their descendants the half of the whole present inhabitants of the Austrian Empire. The Magyars, an entirely distinct race, pre-eminent for their courage and energy, next settled (in the year 889) in the great plains of Middle Hungary, and have ever since formed the ruling power over its whole surface,

while the Wallachians occupied Transylvania and the eastern parts of Hungary. Meanwhile the descendants of the original Celtic invaders, pushed forward by the pressure from behind, penetrated the valleys of the Alps, and overspread the beautiful plains of Lombardy. Some of these races, especially the Magyars in Hungary and the Germans in Austria Proper, held the Celts and Slavonians in subjection on the same territory, and thence a lasting source of mutual irritation and heartburning, which were the main cause, when the bonds of society were loosened, of the extreme violence of the revolution, which all but dissolved the Austrian Empire.*

4. PRUSSIA was not so much distracted by variety of race and the effects of successive conquests as its great southern neighbour, but it contained other elements of discord not less formidable. Its inhabitants, consisting of Goths from southern Scandinavia, were the descendants of a bold and intrepid race, which had maintained on the banks of the Elbe, and in the Hyrcanian Forest, a desperate conflict, in defence of the gods and the rites of their fathers, with Rome when its strength was greatest, and afterwards with Charlemagne in the plenitude of his power. Second to no people in the world in courage and martial zeal, they were distinguished by that ardent love of freedom, mingled with the reverence for antiquity, which in every age has distinguished the Teutonic race, and which, by separating the passion for liberty from the desire of headlong innovation, has rendered its progress slower but more certain, and its ulti-

* The inhabitants of the Austrian Empire at this period were classified, according to the best statistical authorities, as follows.—

	Souls.
I. Germans in Upper and Lower Austria, Tyrol, part of Styria and Carinthia,	7,285,000
II. Slavonians in Moravia, Bohemia, Galicia, Illyria, Croatia, Servia, and Northern Hungary,	17,033,000
III. Magyars in Central Hungary,	4,800,000
IV. Italians in Lombardy, Venetian States, and Southern Tyrol,	5,183,000
V. Wallachians,	2,156,000
VI. Jews,	475,000
VII. Gypsies,	123,000
Total,	37,060,000

mate triumph secure. This peculiarity in their character had caused them to embrace with ardour the doctrines of the Reformation, when they made their appearance in the latter part of the sixteenth century, while the slower and less energetic inhabitants of Southern Germany slumbered on in subjection to the dictates of the Vatican. The prevalence of the Protestant doctrines, which are eminently favourable to variety and independence of thought, had reacted in its turn, in the most powerful manner, on the progress of liberal opinions; and the ardent soldiers who had taken up arms in 1813 in the great war of liberation, returned home, after their triumphs, chanting the odes of Korner, and dreaming of the freedom of the Fatherland. The passion for liberty, accordingly, was much more ardent and widespread in Prussia, Saxony, Westphalia, Hanover, and the lesser central states of the confederacy, than in Southern Germany, where knowledge was much less broadly diffused, and the people were in general ranged for or against the new opinions according as they inhabited the towns or the country. Prussia was not without the causes of discord which spring from diversity of race and the heartburnings of successive conquests, for Silesia and Old Prussia contained great numbers of Slavonians, and in the provinces which had fallen to the lot of Prussia in the recent partition of Poland that race formed a decided majority of the inhabitants. But the heartburnings inevitable on that iniquitous act had been almost obliterated in Prussian Poland by the wise legislative measures and paternal administration which, as already explained, had so greatly

improved the condition of the people, that they had ceased to sigh for the restoration of their stormy Comitia and the licence of a democratic noblesse.*

5. Two most important effects had followed the triumph of the German arms in the latter years of the revolutionary war, and the formation of the confederacy which had secured for them the inestimable blessings of internal peace for three-and-thirty years. The first of these was the great increase of wealth, industry, and population, which had taken place during that long period of repose. The benefit of this suspension of all strife was felt the more sensibly from the contrast which it had exhibited to the ceaseless wars which had watered the German fields with blood, almost from the foundation of the states of modern Europe. Immense was the change when, by the triumphs of 1813 and the establishment of the formidable German confederacy, the evils consequent on these desolating wars were terminated—when the Rhine or the Niemen were no longer crossed by hostile hosts, and the German disposition, eminently pacific and industrious, had free scope for its exercise within the protected limits of the confederacy. During the three-and-thirty years, accordingly, which elapsed from 1815 to 1848, Germany over its whole extent, but especially in the north, had made extraordinary advances both in wealth and population. The inhabitants of Prussia during this period had increased sixty per cent; they had swelled from ten to sixteen millions. Its industry and resources had advanced in a still greater proportion. The same was the case almost in the same measure with the lesser central

* Landed property in Prussia is very much subdivided, and the number of separate possessions has greatly increased since 1848—a sure proof, when coupled with simultaneous augmentation of industry, of general wellbeing. From a statistical table published in 1858 it appears that

In 1849 the landowners in Prussia were	.	.	.	1,700,869
In 1855,	.	.	.	2,049,543
Waste lands reclaimed since 1849,	.	.	.	7,782,932 acres.
Possessions from 5 to 30 acres—in 1849,	.	.	.	502,208 "
" " " in 1855,	.	.	.	587,914 "
Possessions below 5 acres—in 1849,	.	.	.	990,846 "
" " " in 1855,	.	.	.	1,040,547 "

states, and even the huge Austrian monarchy had felt in an extraordinary degree the vivifying influences of this long period of repose.* With the enjoyment of peace and prosperity had sprung up, as a natural consequence, a general desire for the free institutions enjoyed by other countries in a similar state of civilisation and advancement; and the long eluding of the promises

* POPULATION OF THE UNDER-MENTIONED STATES OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE AT THE UNDER MENTIONED PERIODS.

States.	Population in 1818.	Population afterwards.	Extent in German square miles.	Proportion to square mile.
1. German states of Austria,	9,496,753	11,725,540 in 1839	3580.5	3,325
2. " of Prussia,	8,187,220	11,388,168 " 1840	3365.94	3,689
3. " of Bavaria,	3,513,490	4,440,327 " 1843	1394.3	3,231
4. Saxony,	1,206,034	1,757,800 " 1843	271.83	6,755
5. Hanover,	1,314,490	1,755,592 " 1842	698.65	2,517
6. Wurtemberg,	1,397,451	1,701,726 " 1841	360.4	4,815
7. Baden,	1,001,630	1,335,200 " 1843	278.5	4,846
8. Hesse-Cassel,	545,208	732,073 " 1846	208.9	3,501
9. Hesse-Darmstadt,	633,626	852,679 " 1846	177.	5,409
10. Holstein and Lauenburg,	359,985	526,850 " 1845	175.5	3,002
11. Luxembourg,	214,058	389,319 " 1847	86.7	3,853
12. Nassau,	302,769	412,298 " 1843	82.27	5,082
13. Brunswick,	209,527	268,946 " 1843	72.68	3,731
14. Mecklenburg Schwerin,	351,908	528,163 " 1818	228	2,317
15. Oldenburg,	275,471	278,909 " 1846	113.95	2,448
16. Frankfurt-on-Maine,	47,372	68,240 " 1846	1.8	37,911
17. Hamburg,	129,739	188,054 " 1846	7.1	26,559

—*Gazetteer of World*, voce "Germany," p. 572 London, 1856

For the population of Germany in 1861, see *ante*, vol iv, chap xxvii. sec 7, note.

MEAN VALUE OF EXPORTS FROM AND IMPORTS INTO AUSTRIA, 1831-45.

Years	Imports - Florins	Exports Florins	Custom Receipts
1831-35	80,641,128	87,605,000	11,940,622
1836-40	102,854,914	102,184,185	15,218,659
1841-45	115,455,060	111,854,587	16,282,945

—*Gazetteer of World*, voce "Austria," p. 466

In the Zollverein, in Northern Germany, the movement of industry since the peace may be judged of by the following figures —

Years	Zollverein Customs Thalers	Population.
1834.	14,515,000	23,478,000
1845.	27,422,532	28,498,000

VALUE OF EXPORTS AND IMPORTS INTO ZOLLVEREIN

	Exports - Dollars	Imports - Dollars
1845.	178,035,000	219,693,000
1846.	170,764,000	221,488,000

—*Ibid.*, "Germany," p. 578.

Roman Catholics in Germany in 1846, exclusive of Hungary

and Poland,	18,016,000
Protestants,	12,030,000

POPULATION OF AUSTRIA IN

1818,	29,813,586
1837,	35,878,861
1848,	36,201,671

—*Ibid.*, "Austria," p. 467

RELIGIOUS DIVISION OF AUSTRIAN EMPIRE IN 1841.

Catholics,	24,685,527
Greek Church,	6,450,396
Protestants,	3,287,575
Jews,	665,447
Other sects,	49,764

—*Ibid.*, "Austria," p. 468.

made for their concession had at length inflamed this desire into a perfect passion.

6. The next circumstance which had generally prepared the German mind for revolutionary convulsion was the universal diffusion of education. The care of this important branch of public economy had not been left to individuals, but had been almost everywhere taken up by the Government; and the education by parents of their children was in many states not merely recommended as a duty, but enforced as an obligation by the executive. No less than 27,000 primary schools existed in Prussia, and 1000 colleges or academies, almost all maintained at the public expense. In all Germany there were at this time 6,000,000 children at school, being 1 in 7 of the entire population. Those in Prussia were 2,328,000, out of 15,473,000 inhabitants in 1843; in Saxony 303,506, out of 1,709,000 souls. The German rulers having great standing armies at their command, and, in the Catholic states at least, the entire control of the books which were to be read, both at school and for the most part after it, deemed it perfectly safe to give this vast extension to general education. Nay, they thought, with Napoleon and the Chinese emperor, that, by affording the means of regulating the *thoughts* of men, they would succeed in establishing government on a much stronger basis than could ever be done by means of material coercion, because they would take away from their subjects even the desire to revolt. They were yet to learn that, whatever may be the enervating effect of the universal power of reading, while coexisting with a despotic government, and a press enslaved either by the bayonets of soldiers or the precepts of a priesthood, nothing but tumult and dissension were to be anticipated from it when first introduced into a country where free discussion has become unavoidable, either from external influence or internal determination.

7. A third circumstance at this period rendered revolution in a peculiar manner formidable and hard to resist

in Germany, arising from the general arming of the people, which had been forced upon the country by the severities of the French invasion. It has been already explained how Baron Scharnhorst, when Prussia was constrained, by the treaty forced upon it by Napoleon in 1806, to have only forty thousand men under arms, contrived to elude it by keeping the soldiers only three years with their colours, and thereby training triple the number to the use of arms who at any one time were present with the standards. Beyond all doubt it was this admirable system which was the main cause of the successful resurrection of Prussia in 1813, and the glorious stand which she then made on behalf of the liberties of Europe. The perception of the advantages derived by the cabinet of Berlin from this system led to its general adoption by the lesser German states, and to its becoming in a manner a fundamental principle of government in the whole of northern and central Germany. Everywhere the whole male inhabitants, without distinction of social position, between eighteen and twenty, were liable to serve in the ranks of the regular army, in which they did duty for three years. They then retired into pacific life, to make way for others, who were to go through the same system of military training, discipline, and dismissal. In this way the whole male population was trained to the use of arms. Immense was the effect of this military organisation both in war and peace, but with directly opposite tendencies. As much as it multiplied the means of defence and national strength, in the event of foreign invasion or external warfare, did it augment the public danger when internal dissensions arose, and Government was called on to make a stand against internal revolt; for it brought them into contact, not with undisciplined mobs, but with experienced soldiers. Hence the common saying in Germany in 1848, that it was no wonder the sovereigns were overthrown, for their enemies were all old soldiers, and their defenders were young recruits.

8. To these observations on the tendency in periods of civil trouble of the military organisation of Germany, an exception, and a very important one, must be made of the Austrian army. The great military force of this vast monarchy, amounting on its peace establishment to 286,000 men, besides 54,000 in the military colonies, was raised on a different principle. The soldiers were there all enrolled for twenty-one years, whether raised by voluntary enrolment or conscription; and every regiment consisted of three battalions, two of which were on active service in any part of the monarchy, while the third remained as a depot in the circle to which it belonged, to train the recruits to their military duties. The early disasters which Radetsky sustained on the breaking out of the revolution in Lombardy, were, as already mentioned, mainly owing to this cause. The whole depot battalions in Lombardy, forming nearly a third of the effective military force to the south of the Alps, went over to the insurgents on the first raising of the standard of independence in Milan. But in other parts of the Empire the fidelity of the troops, owing chiefly to this peculiarity in their organisation, was attended with the most important effects. Generally speaking, with the exception of the Hungarians, with whom the war speedily assumed a national character, the troops remained loyal; and even these continued faithful to their colours in Radetsky's army. Beyond all doubt, it was this fidelity of the soldiers, in the midst of the defection of the greater part of the nation, which saved at its utmost need the Austrian monarchy.* The soldiers formed—as they generally come to do when long embodied, and especially after having gone through real service together—a body apart, with which military honour and fidelity to their colours were the ruling

motives to action. The citizen had come to be forgotten in the soldier. There is no doubt that the growth of such a military caste at the command of government may often be attended with danger to public liberty; but, situated as the Austrian Empire was, composed of various and hostile races, and surrounded by powerful military monarchies, it was the only force which could either defend or hold together the State.*

9. The great question at issue between the aristocratic and democratic party in Germany, as in Great Britain at the passing of the Reform Bill, was the principle on which the national representation should be founded. The former contended for a representation of "estates," that is, of *classes of society*; the latter for a simple representation of numbers, told by head, as in Spain by the constitution of 1812. The dispute on this subject was of very old standing, and had begun when the terms of the Federal Act first came under discussion. Baron Stein, the celebrated and able Prussian minister, then proposed that the famous 13th clause of that act, which embraced this subject, should run thus: "A popular representation shall be introduced into every state of the confederacy." This was strenuously opposed by Prince Metternich, who contended that it should be altered to this: "Assemblies of estates shall find a place in every state of the confederacy."† The difference here was more than verbal; it lay at the foundation of the whole question. Nearly all the German states already had a "Ständische Verfassung," or representation of the people in their several classes; and they were divided into four sec-

* This system has since been altered, and the soldiers in the Austrian army are now enrolled for a short period of service only—with what a fatal effect upon the efficiency of the army the Italian campaign of 1859 testifies. Drill is speedily acquired by young soldiers, but real efficiency in the field is the gift of old soldiers alone.

† Stein's article was,—"In jedem Bundesstaat soll eine Volksvertretung eingeführt werden." Metternich's,—"In jedem Bundesstaat eine Ständische Verfassung wird Staat finden."—BAUER, WIEN, 1848.

* The soldiers of the Austrian army, when the insurrection broke out in 1848, were divided by race as follows.—"105,488 Germans; 104,000 Slavonians; 44,000 Hungarians; 60,000 Italians"—*Universal Gazetteer*, 473, "Austria." A proportion perilous in the extreme when a war of races begins.

tions—the clergy, or “Geistlichkeit;” the higher nobility, or “Herrenstand;” the common landowners, or “Ritterstand;” and the citizens of towns, or “Burgherstand.” In the Tyrol, as in Sweden, the peasants, or non-noble owners of land, formed an order by themselves, and the whole nobility, higher and lower, one only. All the members of the estates met in one house, and the votes were taken by head. They had no legislative power, their duties being chiefly to apportion the public burdens among the different classes of society, and to regulate matters of local interest. The influence of Austria prevailed in this dispute, and the 13th article was drawn as Metternich desired. This, however, was very far indeed from meeting the views of the Liberal party. They wished to have, as in Spain by the constitution of 1812, one deputy for every seventy thousand inhabitants. The parties, therefore, split upon a vital point, regarding which it was next to impossible to effect a compromise; for the concession of the demands of the Liberals would have vested the uncontrolled government of the country in the lowest class, because the most numerous; and the retention of the existing system would have continued it, without any effectual restraint, in the privileged ones.

10. The system of estates in Hungary differed essentially from that in the proper German states: it was purely aristocratic, without any intermixture of the other classes, or any semblance even of control over their proceedings. The legislature there consisted, as in Great Britain, of two chambers, but there the resemblance to the English constitution ceased. The House of Lords was composed of hereditary great magnates; the Elective, of deputies from the higher clergy, the free towns, the lesser landholders, and the widows of magnates. But of these the deputies from the country, who required to be themselves magnates, and elected by magnates, were alone entitled to vote; the deputies of the free towns were only entitled to sit and speak, without voting. The whole

legislature was thus in the hands of the magnates, who were, with very few exceptions, Magyars, and thus influenced not only by the interests and prejudices of rank, but by the still more inveterate and dangerous feelings of race. This difference rendered the revolution much more widespread and perilous in Hungary than in any other country of Europe; for there it was not so much the revolt of the people against the Government, as a great aristocratic movement of a third of the inhabitants, composing the dominant race, to secure their exclusive privileges alike against the sovereign above and the burghers and working class below them.

11. The exclusive privileges which, in this highly aristocratic state, the nobles had come to enjoy, far exceeded those in possession of the French nobility before the Revolution, and were such as would seem incredible, if not proved by authentic evidence. They are thus described by one of the latest authorities on the subject, whose testimony is the more valuable that he belongs to the aristocratic interest: “So great were the privileges of the Hungarian nobility, that the person of the noble and his property were alike inviolable: no creditor could either arrest the former or attach the latter. He and his servants were relieved from every impost, national or local. The charges of the State were borne exclusively by the *misera plebs contribuens*, as they were called. To such a length had the abuse of these privileges been carried, that the nobles and their servants paid no toll on passing the bridge of Pesth, though it constituted one of the principal sources of revenue enjoyed by the town. The peasants, bourgeoisie, and mechanics were alone burdened with it. The peasant alone was liable for the hearth-tax; he alone contributed to the expenses of the Diet and the county charges; he paid the dues of the schoolmasters, guards, notaries, clergy, and curates; he alone kept up the roads, the bridges, the churches, the public buildings, the dykes, and the canals; he alone was burdened with

the whole war-taxes, and furnished the recruits to the army; and in addition to all this, he was compelled to hand over a ninth of his income to his lord, and to give him fifty-two days' service in the year. In fine, besides the charge of transporting wood for his lord's family, he was burdened exclusively with the quartering of soldiers; and he was compelled at all times, and for a merely nominal remuneration, to furnish such to the county authorities or their attendants. The Spartan Helots were kings in comparison."* There are certainly sufficient causes here to account for a revolution, and probably render it inevitable; but the extraordinary thing is, that it began in, and was mainly supported by, not the *misera plebs contribuens*, but the haughty Magyar nobles, who lived upon these iniquitous exactions.

12. The demand for equal and uniform representation was not the only one which had arisen in Germany. Another cry had been heard, connected with the former, and deemed indispensable to secure its full and secure development; this was the wish in Germany, as in Italy, for **UNITY**. The inhabitants had felt so long and so bitterly the evils of divided government and the contests of sovereigns within the confederacy, that the first desire, when invested at all with the power of self-government, was to mould the confederacy into a real empire, ruled by one government, governed by one set of laws, and directed by one sovereign. Comparing the distracted state of Germany anterior to the formation of the confederacy in 1815, with the power and influence of France on the one side, and Russia on the other, they were impressed with the idea, which was undoubtedly in a great degree well founded, that the superior strength and weight of these powers were owing to their homogeneous character and unity of government. If Germany, with its forty millions of inhabitants and two thousand walled cities, were similarly united, it would,

from the advantages of its central situation, compact territory, fertile and yet varied surface, and numerous navigable rivers, soon acquire still greater influence, and become, beyond all question, the leading state in Europe, commanding at once internal peace and securing external respect.* Such was the dream of the patriots and Liberal leaders in Germany—a dream largely intermingled with truth, and rendered difficult of realisation only from the contending interests and separate jealousies of the various nations and chiefs composing the confederacy.

13. The jealousy of the Cabinet of Berlin of Austrian influence, and their desire to establish a preponderating ascendancy in the north of Germany, had led to another change in political institutions some time before, which powerfully contributed to swell the same cry for unity in the central government. The Prusso-Bavarian league which, under the name of **ZOLLVEREIN** (toll-alliance), was established at the time when the ferment of Liberal opinions was very strong in 1833, and came into full operation in 1834, had this effect in a remarkable degree. This league, as already mentioned, embraced Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Baden, Hesse, Brunswick, Nassau, and a number of lesser states, including all Central and Northern Germany, and containing a population of twenty-four million souls.† Its object was twofold: 1. To establish a perfect freedom of commercial intercourse, and mutual abolition of all duties on import and export within the states of the union, and levy one uniform rate of impost on all foreign productions; the produce of the taxes being remitted to a common treasury, from whence it was proportionally divided between the states comprising the union. 2. To establish so considerable a tax on all imports as should effectually exclude

* By the census of 1861 the inhabitants of the Germanic Confederation have risen to 45,013,034.—*Almanach de Gotha* for 1864, p. 470.

† For an account of the origin and progress of the league, see *ante*, vol. iv. chap. xvii. § 53-56.

* BALLEVDIER, *Rev. d'Autriche*, i. 22, Introduction.

the competition of foreign industry. This last part of the system was specially levelled at the English manufactures. "We should not have complained," said the *German Künke*, in 1835, "that all our markets were overflowing with British manufactures—that Germany received in British cotton goods more than the whole British subjects in India—had not England, while she was inundating us with her productions, insisted on closing her markets to ours. Mr Robinson's resolutions in 1815 had in fact excluded our corn from the ports of Great Britain. She told us we were to buy, but not to sell. We were not willing to adopt reprisals. We vainly hoped that a sense of her own interest would lead to reciprocity; but we were disappointed, and we were compelled to take care of ourselves." This is a manful statement of the principles of free trade; and if the Germans had acted accordingly, they would be entitled to credit for having thus early enunciated them. But they have not done so; their reciprocity has been all on one side. England took off the whole duties on grain in 1846, and materially lowered those on foreign animals and other rural productions; but the governments of the Zollverein made no advance towards a similar concession; and through all the states of the union the import duties, where not raised, continue at the original rate—nominally of ten per cent on the declared, in reality of from thirty to forty per cent on the real value. Nay, in 1845, the very year when free trade was in course of being carried in Great Britain, increased duties were introduced over the whole of the Zollverein on foreign iron and cotton yarns, the principal articles of British export.

14. The effects of this change have been very great, both upon the material prosperity and the moral feelings of the German people. Since it was introduced, the internal trade of the different states of the union with each other has very much increased, and their industry, being in a great measure shel-

tered from foreign, and especially British competition, has largely augmented. In 1834, when the population of the Zollverein states was 23,478,000, the custom-house receipts were 14,515,000 thalers; in 1845, when the population was 28,498,000, they had risen to 27,422,000 thalers; in 1850, when the population had swelled to 29,803,000, the receipts were still 22,144,000 thalers, notwithstanding the effects of the monetary crisis of 1847 and Revolution of 1848 in checking both consumption and industry; and in 1862, when the population was 34,670,000, they were 25,846,000 thalers. The industry of the union, as measured by its imports and exports, had increased in a similar proportion. Great as had been the effect of this expansion of domestic industry upon the material prosperity, it was still greater upon the moral and political feelings, of Central and Northern Germany. The influence of Prussia was greatly increased by the change, for the lesser states thereby found their own prosperity wound up with hers; and, by making the petty sovereigns chiefly dependent for their future revenues on the permanence of the union, she rendered their fidelity to her in peace and war the condition of their existence as independent princes.

15. While so many causes were conspiring to spread far and wide in Germany the passion for change, and longing after an undefined future, which is the first stage of the revolutionary fever, another circumstance, arising partly from the original character of the general mind, partly from their geographical and political circumstances, rendered the malady in its case peculiarly violent and dangerous. The situation of the empire in the heart of Europe having rendered the maintenance of great standing armies the condition of existence, the larger states had at their command huge bodies of armed men. Relying on the support of these formidable prætorians, the Governments everywhere thought there could be no danger, but rather the reverse, in permitting an unlimited freedom of writing

and publishing upon all subjects, excepting such as touched on the forbidden field of politics, or as concerned the actual administration of affairs. This state of things fell in singularly with the peculiar turn of the German mind, which, especially in the north, eminently imaginative and speculative, was by nature turned rather to the contemplation of the ideal than the improvement of the real. Thus the minds of men, in a country where education and the power of reading were universal, were habituated to the most perilous of all exercises in a political point of view—that of bringing to the solution of subjects of thought, not the powers of reason, but the flights of imagination; not the lessons of experience, but the visions of fancy.

16. So completely had the minds of men in Germany been prepared by these causes, and the skilful use which the Liberal leaders in Switzerland and Italy had made of them, for a great and general convulsion, that when the news arrived of the revolution in Paris and the fall of Louis Philippe, it seemed as if the match had been suddenly applied to a train previously laid, with branches in every direction. Unlike the first French revolution, during which the progress of the new opinions had been slow, and they had to surmount vigorous resistance from the privileged classes in every quarter and at every step, it was now immediate and almost universal. Instead of taking up arms, as they had done both in 1792 and 1830, in their own defence, the Governments of the adjoining states at once yielded to the tempest, and sought only, by immediately bending, to escape its fury. Great resistance was made in several quarters in the end, and the conservative cause was generally at last triumphant; but in the beginning nothing of the kind was thought of, and the annals of the German powers for some months are nothing but a series of encroachments imperiously made by the revolutionists, and concessions weakly, but generally unavoidably, yielded by the sovereigns.

17. BELGIUM was the country where,

from proximity of situation, and the news of the Paris convulsion being first received, the shock was earliest felt, and where at the same time, from the government being of a revolutionary character, it might be expected to be most violent. The effects of the blow, however, were lessened, and the throne of Leopold surmounted the concussion, partly by moderation on the part of the Liberal leaders, partly by wisdom and address on that of the sovereign. Knowing that he had no legal title to the throne, unless his election by the people could be esteemed such, Leopold most prudently took the initiative. No sooner did the intelligence arrive of the fall of Louis Philippe, than he convoked (Feb. 26) the council of his ministers, and after reminding them that the throne of Belgium had been none of his seeking, offered to resign if they thought it would avert calamity, or conduce to the public welfare. The ministers replied that the form of a constitutional monarchy was the one best adapted to the wishes of the Belgian people; that the republican form of government was neither suited to their habits nor adapted to their wishes; and that the existing constitution, having been approved by a constituent assembly, the organ of the public will, and nominated by an immense majority of electors, might be considered as a fair index to the wishes of the people. The result proved that their opinion was well founded: the spirit of the nation was still, as in former days, religious and monarchical, not freethinking and revolutionary. The King retained the throne: the democratic societies in Brussels all met on the following evening (Feb. 27), and attempted a revolutionary movement; but although at their bidding some crowds assembled in the streets, there was no general movement, and a few of the leaders were arrested without difficulty. On the day following, the Minister of the Interior announced an electoral law, in virtue of which the franchise was fixed at the lowest point allowed by the constitution—viz. twenty florins yearly from real property (40s.), being nearly the same as the lowest point of the

county qualification in England. By this change the number of electors was at once doubled; and the liberal intentions of Government were soon after still further evinced by another law, which reduced the qualification for municipal councils to forty francs annually (36s.) These timely and wise concessions gave general satisfaction, and so completely disarmed the extreme democratic party, that when the French revolutionists, who were by no means satisfied with these temperate reforms, endeavoured to penetrate into the country, they were, as already mentioned, met and with ease defeated by the loyal troops of Leopold. The existing government was soon after still further strengthened by a document from the pen of M. Potter, who had taken so active a part in the revolution of 1830, in which he exhorted his countrymen to rest contented with the real freedom which they enjoyed under their constitutional monarch, and not to endanger it by aspiring after a perilous and impracticable republican regime.

18. But although Belgium thus avoided the great risk of a change of government on the occurrence of the French revolution, yet it could not escape the serious evils arising from the shock given to commercial credit, and through it to general industry. They fell with unmitigated severity in that great emporium of mercantile and manufacturing industry; England itself did not suffer more severely. The discounts at the Bank of Brussels, which in 1847 had been 164,200,000 francs, sank in 1848 to 87,900,000; and the current accounts fell from 183,000,000 to 96,000,000 francs. The general panic soon rendered the payment of notes in cash impossible. But the Government acted with equal energy and prudence on this trying occasion. By a law passed on 20th March 1848, cash payments were suspended, and the Bank was authorised to issue inconvertible notes to a limited extent. Under protection of this law, the notes of the Bank in circulation, which during the panic had fallen to 3,000,000 francs, rose before the end of the year to 10,300,000 francs. The other great

banking establishment, the "Société Générale de Bruxelles," was at the same time authorised to issue notes of 20 francs and 5 francs to support the circulation during the temporary absence of specie; and their circulation, also protected, rose from nineteen millions to thirty-two millions. The notes of neither establishment underwent any depreciation, notwithstanding the large increase in their paper circulation—a clear proof that it was issued in sufficient but not excessive quantities. The consequence was, that public credit was restored by this seasonable support to the banking establishments, and industry revived so quickly, that Government were enabled, before the end of the year, to surrender to the towns the tax on personal property and patents, in consideration of their giving up the *octroi* on articles of consumption imported into them, which had been loudly complained of. These changes, and the effects of the crisis, occasioned a deficit in the public accounts for the year of 9,000,000 francs, which in the next was more than compensated by a reduction in the army, the cost of which was lessened to the extent of nearly a half of what it had been ten years before. This mode of dealing with the monetary crisis of 1848, which was exactly the same as has been shown to have been adopted in France at the same period, is well worthy of observation, for both were diametrically the reverse of that followed in England during the corresponding time of suffering. France and Belgium sought to supply the want of a metallic currency, temporarily drawn away, and to support a credit for the time shaken, by a temporary issue of notes to a limited extent, to be withdrawn when no longer required, to supply the place of the former and uphold the latter; England was resolute to adhere to a system which forcibly contracted the notes when credit was all but ruined by the withdrawal of the gold. The former said, "If the beef is taken away, give the soldiers more bread;" the latter, "If the beef is taken away, *take away the bread also*, and all will soon be right."

19. HOLLAND also felt, though in a lesser degree, the shock of 1848, both in politics and commerce. Being the advanced post of the legitimate monarchies, it was sure to be exposed to the first blows of the revolutionary power, if hostilities broke out; and accordingly military preparations were made throughout the whole country on a very extensive scale. The whole militia or landwehr, for 1845, 1846, and 1847, were called out, and a considerable addition was made to the regular army. But these defensive preparations were accompanied by wise and timely concessions to public opinion, violently agitated there as elsewhere by the events which had taken place in France. On the 26th February, immediately on receipt of the news from Paris, a project for certain fundamental changes in the constitution was submitted to the King by the Council of State, and approved by him, after which the Chambers were convoked to take them into consideration. The result of their deliberations was a new constitution, which was formally promulgated on the 14th October. By it Holland received the whole immunities of a free government, and her inhabitants came to enjoy nearly the same rights and liberties as those of Great Britain. All traces of the aristocratic privileges retained by the constitution of 1815 were swept away. All citizens were, without distinction of rank or creed, made eligible to all employments; the King's person was declared inviolable, but his ministers responsible. He commanded the forces by sea and land, declared war and made peace, and nominated to all public offices with the advice of his ministers. The States-General were to be still divided into two chambers, but their composition and mode of appointment were changed. The members of the Upper House, who by the constitution of 1815 were all named by the King, were to be no longer appointed by him, but by the provincial estates, and to be taken from a roll of the persons paying the highest amount of direct taxes within their respective limits. They were to

be elected for nine years, and to receive an annual salary from Government of 3000 florins, or £300, a-year. The lower chamber was elected for four years, and to be chosen by all persons paying above 20 florins (£2) and below 160 florins (£16) a-year. A deputy was to be chosen for every 45,000 inhabitants; and, to be eligible for the second chamber, the candidates were required to be above 30 years of age. This chamber was exclusively invested with the right of voting taxes and supplies, which was to be done annually, and with that of proposing and moving amendments to laws. The debates in both chambers were to be open, and published in the newspapers; and the people enjoyed the right of petitioning either the local estates or the general legislature, as well as, under certain limitations, that of meeting in public to discuss their grievances or express their wishes. These provisions contained the whole elements of real freedom, and made as large concessions to democracy as were consistent with its existence.

20. While the kingdoms of Belgium and Holland were reaping in this manner the fruits of a sage administration on the part of their respective governments, and moderation on that of their people, the lesser states in Germany were falling one after another, with unheard-of rapidity, before the revolutionary tempest. Such was the swiftness with which the storm advanced, and the universality of the overthrow which it effected, that it could be compared to nothing but a tropical tornado sweeping over the land, and overturning in its fury, towers, churches, and palaces. Nothing like it had ever been witnessed in the civilised world before, and probably never will again. On the 29th February the Government at Carlsruhe, to allay the hourly-increasing effervescence, announced to the Chamber of Deputies that they were about to bring forward proposals for the liberty of the press, trial by jury, and the general arming of the people; and on the evening of the same day the citizens, already armed, thronged the

streets, and the rule had slipped out of the hands of the sovereign. At Stuttgart, on the 2d March, an assembly of bourgeois addressed to the monarch a petition, in which they demanded the immediate convocation of a German parliament, the institution of trial by jury, the entire liberty of the press, equality in taxes and privileges, the abolition of *corvées*, and general arming of the people. A decree, announcing the speedy convocation of the Estates, was the consequence of that petition. In the Duchy of Nassau, a similar petition, on the same day, led to a similar result. On the 3d March the German Diet sitting at Frankfort yielded to the loud and menacing demand of the public voice, passed a decree virtually abandoning all general control or right of direction over the confederacy, and permitting every separate state to regulate the liberty of the press within its dominions as it deemed expedient. On the 9th the same body adopted a tricolor flag—black, red, and gold being taken as the arms of the confederation. At Cologne a tumult got up, and a petition was largely signed and paraded through the streets, demanding universal suffrage and popular government, unrestricted liberty in speech and publishing, the abolition of the standing army, general arming of the people, security for employment to all by the Government, and education of all at the public expense.*

21. When such extravagant ideas were fermenting in the public mind, it was not to be expected that the sovereigns of the lesser German states could oppose any effectual resistance to the torrent. In truth, they were so thunderstruck by the Revolution at Paris, and so overawed by the great parent democracy on the other side of the Rhine, which they expected every moment to burst in armed bands of liberators upon them, that they nowhere attempted it. Concession to whatever was demanded was universal and immediate. At Munich public

discontent had been long excited by the avowed influence of Lola Montes, a celebrated dancer whom the King had created Countess of Landsfeld, over the royal mind, and the Revolution of Paris blew it into a flame. The Countess having taken a body of students, named *Allemanen*, under her protection, they were publicly insulted (Feb. 9) by the other students; and matters became so serious that, by a royal ordinance, the university was closed for a year. This strong step excited such indignation, that tumults arose, in the course of which death ensued, barricades were erected, the King himself was slightly wounded, and the Countess, after having had her hotel pillaged, was obliged to leave the country.* Matters being in this distracted state, the intelligence of the French Revolution, which immediately after arrived, brought matters to a crisis. On the 3d March the King dissolved the Lower Chamber, and announced the meeting of the new one for the 30th May; but this was far too long a delay for the movement party. On the next day a tumultuous mob passed the windows of the royal palace, and proceeded to pillage the arsenal, where they got arms in abundance; and the King, having no longer any means of resistance, two days after issued a decree convoking the Chamber for the 16th March, and at once abolishing the censorship of the press, and ordering the army to take the oath of fidelity to the constitution. On the 5th March the Grand-Duke of Baden, destitute of all means of resistance, convoked the Chambers, publicly acknowledged the sovereignty of the people, and established a National Guard; the King of Würtemberg engaged to establish civic guards and abolish feudal rights; at Weisbaden similar concessions were made by the reigning prince; while at Heidelberg a body of democrats, self-elected as rulers of the empire,

* Her subsequent history exceeded all that fiction had ever figured of the marvellous; and after displaying her charms and exhibiting the violence of her temper in California and the United States, she died at length in great poverty. She was of Scotch origin, and was born in Montrose.

* BALLEVD. *Rev. d'Autriche*, i. 13, 14; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 386, 387; GARNIER PAGES, *Hist. de la Rev.* de 1848, i. 361-364.

published a declaration, stating that the existing Diet at Frankfort did not possess the confidence of the nation, and appointing a standing committee to arrange the preliminaries for a real representation of the people over the whole confederacy. On the same day the King of Saxony issued an edict, making an entire change in the ministry in favour of the Liberals, and ordering the immediate convocation of a chamber to settle the basis of a new constitution.

22. It might have been expected that, though the lesser states of the confederacy were unable to resist the storm which set in with such violence from the left bank of the Rhine, the case would be different with the great military monarchies which were farther removed from the scene of danger, and possessed a powerful armed force to support authority and stifle insurrection. But it was just the reverse: the tornado fell with more violence, and speedily produced effects more important, at Vienna and Berlin than at Munich or Dresden. In the Prussian capital the panic was extreme when the intelligence from Paris first arrived; nothing less than an immediate invasion by the arms of France was anticipated. Meetings in consequence were held, at which petitions were agreed to, and straightway signed, especially at Coblenz, Dusseldorf, and the other cities in the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, praying for a general arming of the people, and the immediate concession of all the points on which the two Chambers had agreed at their last sitting; and the King, to appease the public mind, had no alternative but to accede to the demand. On the 11th of the same month, a programme of the changes intended to be introduced was published by the Government, by which absolute liberty of the press was at once conceded in the mean time, and hopes were held out of a law for a common constitution of the whole confederacy. From the early and decided step thus taken by the Prussian Government, which in this manner put itself at the head of the *Liberal Unitarians* of Germany, it

was evident that they had in view a great augmentation of the ascendancy of Prussia in the revolutionised federation, and that visions were already entertained of an imperial crown, supported by the Liberal states, adding fresh lustre to the house of Brandenburg.

23. This was rendered still more apparent by a royal proclamation, issued on the 18th March, in which the King said, "Above all, we demand that Germany shall be transformed from a confederation of states *into one federal state*. We acknowledge that to effect this a temporal federal representation must be formed out of the chambers of all German states, and convoked immediately. We demand a general military system for Germany, and we will endeavour to form it after that model under which our Prussian armies reaped such unfading laurels in the war of independence. We demand that the German federal army be assembled under one single federal banner, and we hope to see a federal commander-in-chief at its head. We demand a German federal flag; and we expect that the period is not far remote when a German fleet shall cause the German name to be respected on the ocean. We demand a federal tribunal for the settlement of all differences between princes and their states, as between different German governments. We demand a common law of settlement for all Germany, and an absolute right of all Germans inually to migrate to any part of the Fatherland. We demand the abolition of all custom-houses which shall impede the internal commerce of all German states; a general Zollverein for the whole of Germany, and an entire uniformity of weights, measures, and coins throughout the entire union. We propose the same liberty of the press throughout all Germany, with the same guarantees against its abuse. To accomplish these our intentions, we convoke the general Diet for the 2d April; and in the mean time the censorship of the press is abolished, all laws relating thereto abrogated, and offences of the press against the

government or individuals are sent to the ordinary tribunals."

24. From the terms of this very remarkable instrument, it was evident not only that the King of Prussia was disposed to put himself at the head of the large party professing Liberal opinions in Prussia, but that he had embraced the views of the still more numerous body in the whole confederacy which aspired to restore a German empire, no longer a disjointed confederacy of independent states, but one powerful and united monarchy. It was not difficult to see who was designed for its head; and as it was not to be supposed that Austria would yield the palm, the confederacy, at the very threshold of its liberal advances, and when panting for pacific union, was threatened with a serious war between the rival aspirants for its direction. But ere this inevitable jealousy could break out in open acts, the direction of affairs was taken out of the hands of the King, and the Prussian Government afforded another example of the eternal truth, that those who aspire to acquire or retain the lead in public affairs by the support of the democracy, end by becoming puppets in its hands. The King of Prussia was virtually dethroned the very day after this proclamation had been issued. On the evening of the same day an immense crowd assembled in the König-Strasse and in the square in front of the palace, to testify their gratitude to the monarch who had thus early made such concessions, and loud acclamations rent the sky when he appeared at the balcony to receive the grateful homage of his subjects. But the extreme liberals and revolutionists had no intention of allowing the direction of the movement to remain in the hands of the Government; and in order to wrest it from them, and excite the popular passions against the sovereign, they determined to provoke a collision between the citizens and the royal troops. For this purpose, in the midst of the tumult and rejoicings at the appearance of the King at the balcony, a few shots were fired from the König-Strasse on a

squadron of cavalry, which were drawn up under the windows of the palace. At the same time barricades began to be erected in that street, within sight of the royal dwelling.

25. Upon this the cavalry moved forward to clear the square, but at a walk only, and without unsheathing their swords. At the same time two muskets were discharged from the infantry ranks, whether by accident or command is unknown, which was immediately followed by a general discharge of firearms from the mob in the König-Strasse and along the square. The students at the University were at the head of the insurrection; but it was soon supported by a battalion of the Guard, the Chasseurs of Neufchâtel, which joined the popular side. The cavalry now drew their sabres, and charged the mob in good earnest. A sanguinary conflict ensued, for the insurgents had among them a great number of old soldiers as well trained to arms as the royal troops, and the students combated with the utmost resolution. The conflict continued till nightfall, and even long after it had become dark, by the light of the burning houses, several of which were broken into, and, after being sacked, set on fire by the combatants. Overwhelmed with terror at this calamitous event, which cost sixty persons their lives, besides four times that number wounded, the King issued a proclamation, addressed to "my beloved Berliners," in which he expressed the utmost regret at the events which had occurred, and declared that the conflict had arisen from accident, and the shots first fired from the König-Strasse. Next morning the King gave token of his submission by accepting the resignation of his whole ministers, who were immediately succeeded by a new cabinet composed of known Liberals, at the head of which was Count d'Arnim, and M. d'Auerswald was made Minister of the Interior. On the 20th a general amnesty was proclaimed; the whole persons in custody on account of the insurrection were liberated without bail, and two additional ministers were appointed, known to

belong to the most advanced Liberals. And on the 22d the bodies of the citizens who had been killed in the affray on the evening of the 18th were paraded with great pomp before the royal palace, and the King was obliged to submit to the humiliation of inclining his head before the lifeless remains of those who had perished under the sabres of his guards. At the same time the King published a decree appointing a national guard in the capital, and ordered the royal troops to leave the city; and after riding through the streets in the German uniform, in the course of which he made repeated protestations of his anxious desire for German freedom, he issued two proclamations, in which he openly announced his intention of putting himself at the head of the restored and united German nation.

26. While these events were passing in Prussia, Bavaria had become the theatre of a revolution less bloody, but still more strange. A report got up, whether well founded or not is unknown, that the favourite, Lola Montes, had returned from her banishment, and was in secret lodged in the palace. Upon this the populace (17th March), dreading the removal of the Prince of Wallerstein, who had been appointed prime-minister on occasion of the former disturbances, rose up, and several conflicts ensued between them and the royal troops, in which the insurgents were generally worsted. But the public discontents soon assumed a more pacific but not less formidable form. A petition to have the favourite dismissed, and the popular demands conceded, was presented to the King, who was constrained to yield, and withdraw from the Countess her patent of naturalisation. An order was even issued to arrest her if she returned to Bavaria. On the 20th March, the King, overwhelmed with vexation, and seeing himself deprived of all real power, resigned the crown in favour of his son Maximilian, a man of thirty years of age, who immediately ascended the throne. The accession of this prince, who was married to a sister of the King of Prussia, was the signal of

a speech by the new sovereign to the assembled Chambers, specially convoked, in which he announced a general amnesty, the responsibility of the King's ministers, the liberty of the press, the general election of the deputies to the Lower Chamber by the people, an immediate and complete representation of the Palatinate in the Chamber, the redemption of seigniorial rights, the introduction of trial by jury, laws against the Jews, a revision of the regulations regarding the landwehr, and the general arming of the people. This was immediately followed by a change of ministry—the new cabinet being entirely composed of men of the most Liberal principles—Baron Thon de Dittmar, a noted leader of that party, being at its head.

27. Rapid and decisive as had been the triumph of the Liberals, both at Berlin and Munich, it ere long appeared that the people, as a whole, in neither country were unanimous on the recent changes, and that the seeds of future and frightful divisions were already sown while the *Io Pæans* of victory were still resounding through the streets of the great towns. The provinces first hoisted the signal of resistance. Some of them, in assemblies as numerous as that which had effected the revolution in the capital, openly condemned the changes effected on the 18th March, and stigmatised them as concessions extorted from an unwilling sovereign by a rebellious capital. This was in particular done in Pomerania, the old marquisate of Brandenburg, and the circle of Westhavel. The Poles, too, emulous of the movements of their Liberal brethren in Berlin, were already preparing a formidable agitation in the Grand-Duchy of Posen, and demanding an extension to them of the privileges won by their German fellow-subjects. The movement of the Prussian monarch in favour of a new German empire, of which he was to be the head, was loudly condemned in Bavaria and all the Catholic states of the south. At Munich the portrait of Frederick William was publicly burnt in the midst of the cheers of an immense

concourse of spectators. Pressed by so many difficulties without and within, the Liberal Prussian Ministry, installed on the 19th March amidst the smoke of the barricades, found itself unable to carry on the government. Ten days after he was appointed minister, Count d'Arnim was compelled (April 2) to retire from the cabinet, which was remodelled by large concessions to M. Camphausen and the extreme Liberals; and the new cabinet with difficulty held its ground till the 16th June, when a third ministry was appointed under the pressure of a second popular insurrection. The Catholics in the monarchy all took part against the Protestants and the new order of things; the Poles were preparing a revolt against both; the inhabitants of the country generally stood aloof, or openly condemned the encroachments of the Liberals in the towns; and Germany, while still resounding with the cry for a great and united Fatherland, was in reality threatened with the horrors of a war of races and a religious strife, superadded to the distractions of a social revolution.

28. The Prussian Estates, convoked for the 2d April, found themselves suddenly invested with the powers and called to the duties of a constituent assembly. Upon them had devolved the duty of fixing the basis of the new and liberal constitution of Prussia in a manner suitable to the new-born lights of the age and conformable to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. The first thing to be done was to fix the principles on which the elections for the popular part of the legislature were to be conducted—the *Reform Bill* of Prussia—upon which, if it remained durable, its future would in a great measure depend. The King, in opening the Assembly, did not disguise his expectation that his country, in taking a lead on this occasion, was in effect laying the corner-stone of the edifice on which the whole fabric of German liberty and independence was to be reared. "His Majesty," said the ministerial address, "has promised a

real constitutional charter, and we are assembled to lay the foundation-stone of the enduring edifice. We hope that the work will proceed rapidly, and that it will perfect a great constitutional system for the whole German race. The Government recognises in its mission the invigorating power of the State closing again the broken bonds of order, the reviving of confidence and credit, and the giving an upward impulse to trade and labour. It will endeavour to maintain peace without as long as the honour of Germany will permit, and to the honour of Germany also restore peace within."

29. Proceeding on these principles, the basis of the new constitution proposed by the King, unanimously and enthusiastically agreed to by the Chamber, were as follows: 1. Every householder of twenty-four years of age, not convicted of a crime, or having received public or parochial relief, to have a vote for the representation in the Lower House. 2. Every five hundred of the primary voters to elect one elector, to be determined by the absolute majority of votes. 3. Every householder of thirty years complete, in possession of civil rights, to be eligible as an elector. 4. Two deputies to be chosen for every town or district with a population of sixty thousand inhabitants, according to the census of 1846, and for every forty thousand more one deputy in addition. 5. The investigation of the legality of elections to be conducted by the Assembly itself, and the elections to be determined by a majority of votes written by the electors themselves, and conducted by the magistrates or municipal authorities. 6. The deputies to vote according to their own opinions, not according to any written instructions from their constituents. In regard again to the general constitution of the kingdom, the monarch promised that proposals should be laid before them providing for the freedom of the press, personal liberty, the right of meeting and petitioning, the publicity of judicial proceedings and *viva voce* examination of witnesses; trial by jury, especially in political cases;

abolition of heritable jurisdictions; equality of civil and political rights and of all persuasions; a general arming of the people; a popular law of election thoroughly representing all interests; a decisive ascendancy of a simple majority of the popular assembly in the administration and legislation of the state; the responsibility of ministers; and swearing of the army to the constitution.

30. This regulation of Prussia as to the election of members for their own Diet, of course, could bind no other state, and it was even doubtful how far that Diet possessed the power of electing the representatives of that state itself for the General Diet of the confederacy. Thinking, however, that they possessed that power, the Prussian Diet elected these representatives. This gave great offence to the General Diet, which maintained, with truth, that, by the existing constitution of the confederacy, its members were to be chosen by direct election for itself, and not by the suffrages of any other body; and as the Prussian Diet insisted on their supposed right, the matter at first assumed a very serious aspect. At length, however, the Prussians gave way, annulled the first election, and agreed to send deputies chosen by direct election. The other states of the confederacy all sent deputies directly chosen, in terms of a resolution of the General Diet on 31st March; and such was the enthusiasm which universally prevailed, that they were practically selected by universal suffrage, and such only were chosen as were known from having adopted extreme opinions. One deputy was to be returned for every seventy thousand inhabitants; and the opening of the General Diet, which was to consist of five hundred members, was fixed to be at Frankfort-on-the-Maine on the 4th May, the anniversary of the opening of the States-General of France sixty years before.

31. On the 26th March a great meeting took place at Heidelberg, around the ruins of the magnificent castle which has there so long been the object of universal admiration, at

which speeches were made eminently descriptive of the German mind at that juncture. The assembly, which consisted of above thirty thousand persons, was addressed in heart-stirring strains by the leading Liberals of Central and Northern Germany. One of these, Welcher, spoke wisely as well as eloquently, and it would have been well for Germany if his counsels had been followed. "Do not," said he, "mistake licence for liberty, nor suppose that because much must be remodelled, all must be overturned. Far be such a thought from us! Let us progress, but steadily and thoughtfully. Let us lay the foundation of our freedom, a national parliament: let us be citizens of one united country; but do not imagine such an object can be attained by proclaiming a republic. Look at France. She now for the second time possesses that form of government in which alone, according to some, true freedom is to be found. What has she gained by it? What is her present condition?—what her future prospects? To say the least, they are not encouraging; and I am delighted that among my own countrymen no desire has been expressed to follow in her steps. But regard the present condition of England! (Thunders of applause.) Let her be our model. She has long enjoyed free institutions; she alone remains unshaken in the storm which is howling around. It is to her we must look to be our model and our guide."

32. A question both of delicacy and difficulty arose in the very outset as to the mode in which the Assembly was to be elected. It was universally felt that the existing Diet, returned under the old aristocratic regime, could not be maintained. Several meetings in various parts of the country had condemned it, and public opinion had loudly declared itself to the same effect. A self-convoked assembly of Liberal representatives from nearly every part of Germany had met at Heidelberg on the 2d March, and, after passing resolutions in favour of German unity, independence, and the

general representation of the people in one assembly, had appointed a committee of seven to draw up the plan of a general German representation. The old Diet, erected under the aristocratic regime, met at Frankfort on the 8th March; and feeling themselves not strong enough to resist the torrent, invited seventeen of the most popular of the Liberal leaders, including the seven appointed by the Radical assembly, to unite with them in framing a scheme for the general national representation; and this proposal was acceded to. A united assembly, accordingly, consisting of three hundred persons, met (March 31) to discuss the mode of election, and it soon appeared that the extreme Radicals had a decided majority. Resolutions were passed to the effect that a National Assembly for all Germany should be elected on the principle of one deputy for every seventy thousand persons, the lesser states of the confederacy being, however, entitled to a deputy, though containing a smaller number of inhabitants. M. Mittermayer was chosen president of this preliminary or Vor-Parliament, and MM. Dahlmann, Blum, Itzstein, and Jordan, all decided Radicals, vice-presidents. Having decided the mode of election on this highly popular basis, the Vor-Parliament dissolved itself, having previously appointed a committee of fifty to watch over the public interest till the day of meeting of the new national representatives. Thus was the first great step in the career of revolution made, almost without resistance from any of the aristocratic classes—namely, the fixing of the general federal representation on the footing of the population *told by head*, after the model of the Spanish constitution of 1812, in direct opposition to the old system in every European state, which was the representation of classes.*

33. Such was the importance attached by all Germany to the idea of a united federal empire, that it soon came to supplant, in general estimation and interest, the proceedings of

the separate Diets in the different states. Even the greatest monarchs looked to this Assembly as the only remaining channel for influence and supremacy. Austria sent the Archduke John, the most Liberal of the Imperial family, as one of her representatives to the General Diet, and openly canvassed for the presidency. But although a prince of the house of Hapsburg was a member of the Diet, that gave no indication of the real inclinations of the Assembly. All the efforts of the princes, dukes, and potentates of the Confederacy could not prevent the representatives chosen being for the most part of the most violent character. In vain the chiefs yielded to the torrent, and everywhere put themselves at the head of the movement, in order to obtain its direction; in vain they brought forward the most celebrated persons in philosophy and literature as candidates for the suffrages. The Revolutionists were more than a match for them, and the choice of the newly-aroused German people fell on persons of a very different and far more dangerous character. M. Dahlmann, the celebrated professor of history in Göttingen, who had obtained additional celebrity by being removed from his chair by the King of Hanover, was rejected in Prussia; M. Albrecht, his colleague, was thrown out in Saxony; M. von Gagern in Hesse; M. Uhland, the beautiful and popular poet, and a distinguished Liberal leader, in Würtemberg; M. Welcher in Baden. It was already evident that these the first apostles of freedom, the original leaders of the movement, were passed in Germany, as they had been in France, in the race by bolder and more unscrupulous men, and that the lead in the German Revolution would fall into the hands of decided Republicans. From the very outset of their meetings extreme opinions were advocated by men destined to acquire a melancholy celebrity in future times; the word "Republic" was heard from the lips of M. Robert Blum, M. Struve, and M. Ronge, the revolutionary representative of Silesia.

* GARNIER PAGES, ii. 82-85.

34. So strong and general was the passion for German unity, as well as freedom, that before even the new National Assembly had met, and during the sitting of the Vor-Parliament, pretensions of the most iniquitous kind had been put forward by the German democracy, which, if persisted in, would, it was evident, lead to a general war, and could not be carried into effect without the most violent invasion of the rights of other states. The duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenberg contained a considerable proportion of inhabitants of German descent; but a great number of them were Slavonians or Celts, and for two centuries they had formed part of the Danish dominions.* Under the influence, however, of the events which had taken place in Paris, Berlin, and Vienna, a great ferment got up in these provinces, especially among the inhabitants of German descent, and the cry was raised for a union with the Fatherland. The Government of Denmark had recently before sustained a serious loss by the death of the wise and popular King Christian VII., who had mounted the throne on 3d December 1839, and died on 20th January 1848. He was succeeded by his only son, Prince Frederick, who was born in 1808, and immediately ascended the throne by the title of Frederick VII. His first act was, in conformity with the general spirit of the age, to give a constitution to his subjects. By it a united parliament was constituted for the kingdom of Denmark and the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. This parliament was to consist of fifty-two members in all, and to be invested with the powers of legislation and laying on taxes. It was to meet within two months of the promulgation of the decree constituting it. The number of deputies was to be one-half for

* The majority of the inhabitants in Holstein and Lauenberg were Germans, in Schleswig Danes. Holstein and Lauenberg were members of the Germanic Confederation as well as constituent parts of the Danish monarchy. The German claim upon Schleswig was founded on the assertion that Schleswig and Holstein were inseparably united and that therefore the former must follow the latter into the arms of the Confederation.

Jutland and the isles, and one-half for Schleswig and Holstein, so that they gained greatly, and obtained, in every respect, a suitable place in the united parliament. The constitution was received with the utmost demonstrations of joy in Denmark proper; but it was otherwise in the duchies, where opinion was much divided, from the desire generally felt for a separate legislature of their own. Matters were in this state when the news arrived in the end of February of the revolution in Paris. The cry immediately arose in the duchies that they should be detached from the Danish crown, and incorporated with the great German Confederacy. This was cordially supported by emissaries from Berlin and the leading German patriots, who encouraged the people to persevere in their demands, and promised them the support of the whole Confederacy in asserting them. The effervescence instantly became extreme over the duchies. Public meetings, very numerous attended, were held in all the great towns, in which a union with Germany was demanded; and the excitement was carried to the highest point by the arrival of summonses from the Vor-Parliament at Frankfort, which, treating them as already parts of the Confederacy, ordained them to send deputies to the approaching General Diet.

35. This step on the part of the German confederative assembly was a most important one, both in a social and political point of view. It was the first assumption of pretensions, altogether at variance with existing rights, and evinced a determination to disregard former treaties, how solemn or ancient soever. The duchies of Schleswig and Holstein had, from a very remote period, been, not a part of the kingdom of Denmark, but an appanage of the Danish crown. The right of the King of Denmark to these duchies was sold in the year 1326, when Waldemar, King of Denmark, gave the duchy of Schleswig or South Jutland to Count Gerhard de Holstein, as a hereditary fief, on condition, however, that it should never be united

with the kingdom of Denmark. The states of Schleswig-Holstein, in consequence of this limitation, claimed soon after the right to choose their own duke, and this was agreed to by Christian I., King of Denmark, who on 6th March 1540 acknowledged the right of the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig to choose their duke from any son of *his family* that they chose. This right of election, however, remained in abeyance till 1588, when it was exercised by the Estates of the duchies with the sanction of the regnant Queen-mother of Denmark. Thereafter it became obsolete, and in 1608 the Duke of Schleswig executed an entail of the succession to the heir-male in the Gottorp portions of the duchies; and in 1650 a similar entail was made of the royal duchies; and the right of election in the Estates became again obsolete. In 1658 Christian IV., King of Denmark, was obliged to cede, by the treaty of Roskeld, the Gottorp portion of the duchy of Schleswig to the Duke of Gottorp, and various wars were waged between the King of Denmark and the Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp until 1714, when the forces of the King of Denmark, having driven the Swedish troops, who took part with Holstein, out of the disputed territory of Gottorp, took possession of it for the crown of Denmark. This was followed, in 1720, by a treaty, under which France, England, Russia, and Prussia guaranteed to Denmark the perpetual and peaceable possession of the ducal part of the duchy of Holstein, while the Gottorp portion of Schleswig was declared to belong to the Duke of Holstein as a prince of the Empire. In 1767 the Empress Catherine of Russia, regent of the Gottorp portion of the duchy of Schleswig, exchanged it for the countries of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, which belonged to Denmark. In 1773 the Gottorp portion of Schleswig was formally ceded to the King of Denmark, who thus became vested with the entire right to the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, which have formed part of the Danish dominions ever since.

36. There was ample room, in this long deduction of titles, for the industry of antiquarians and the ingenuity of lawyers to exercise their talents upon, and the Estates of the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig had for several years before the French Revolution been engaged in a respectful and amicable contest with the Crown of Denmark, chiefly relating to the reunion of the duchies, for which they contended, and the claims they advanced to be considered as part of the German Confederacy. But, under the influence of the French and German Revolutions, they took higher ground, and, by a deputation of five of the chief leaders in the agitation, openly demanded of the King a formal recognition of the independence of the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, and their forming part of the German Confederacy. The King replied with great judgment and moderation, that he was not opposed to a closer connection between Holstein and the German Confederacy, of which its inhabitants formed a part; but that, in that event, it must be separated from Schleswig, which had never formed part of the German Confederation, and which he neither had the legal power nor the inclination to compel its inhabitants now to enter. The Cabinet, though remodelled, and chiefly composed of Liberal men, inclined to the constitutional system, and cordially supported the King in this resolution; and it soon appeared that it was entirely in unison with the wishes of the people of Schleswig. As one man they rose to assert their independence of the Germanic Confederation, and maintain their connection with the paternal and much-loved Government of Denmark. The revolutionists of Holstein, in connection with the German emissaries, had already prepared a revolt; and so eager were they to commence it, that it broke out before the answer was received from Copenhagen to the demands of the Holstein deputies. It began in Kiel in Holstein, where Prince Frederick of Noor, a younger brother of the Duke of Augustenburg, who had joined the insurgents, hoisted

the standard of insurrection on the 23d March, and a provisional government was formed. Rendsburg, on the frontier of Schleswig, was next day summoned to surrender. Left without instructions, and told that their king was a prisoner in the hands of a revolutionary mob, the Danish garrison made no resistance; and this strong fortress, with a supply of arms and £300,000 in money, fell at once into the hands of the insurgents. No sooner was intelligence of this received at Copenhagen, than the enthusiasm rose to the highest point: a great meeting was held, at which all classes joined in the most earnest expression of loyalty and affection to the reigning family, and preparations were made to prosecute the war with the utmost activity both by sea and land.

37. Prussia, from its geographical position, was first implicated in these hostilities, as its territory adjoined that of the Danish duchies. On the 4th April the first meeting of the insurgent Estates took place at Rendsburg, on the Eider, at which the motion for an incorporation of both duchies with the Germanic Confederacy was carried with only two dissentient voices. This led to an immediate movement on the part of the German powers. On the 6th April a body of Prussian troops, under the command of General Von Wrangel, crossed the Holstein frontier, with the avowed object of supporting the insurgents, while, at the same time, the Cabinet of Berlin issued a hypocritical declaration that they entered the duchy with no intention of invading the rights of the King of Denmark. Meanwhile their troops immediately joined the insurgent bands; the Frankfort Diet, by a formal decree, acknowledged the provisional government of the duchies, and ordered forces from Hanover, Mecklenburg, and Oldenburg, to advance into them to support the Prussian army which had first entered. The King of Denmark, upon this, addressed, by means of his ambassador at Frankfort, a formal note protesting against any attempt on the part of

the German Confederacy to dismember his dominions, and a war immediately ensued between the two powers. It seemed hopeless on the part of Denmark, which was then brought into collision, with half its forces, with the vast strength of the German Confederacy. Nevertheless it came to a successful and glorious termination for the Danish crown—so great was the patriotic spirit of her people, and so indomitable the courage of the descendants of the old sea-kings of the north. It was a curious circumstance, that over the gate of the town of Rendsburg, on the Eider, which the troops of the Confederacy entered first on their invasion of Schleswig, and where the standard of revolt against Denmark was first hoisted, stood the old inscription, which had been there for centuries, "*Eidora Romani terminus Imperii*,"—thus affording a standing reproach against the aggression, and proof of the justice of the Danish claims.

38. The first operations of the war were eminently favourable to the Danes, and ominous of the ultimate issue of the contest. The Danish regular troops entered Schleswig on the 7th April, and on the 9th, by a skilful flank attack, completely routed the insurgents, 4000 strong, supported by 6000 regular troops of the Confederation, near Flensburg, with the loss of 1100 men, while the victors were weakened only by 250 *hors de combat*. On the same day the Danish fleet destroyed the batteries which had been erected by the enemy near Kiel, and a few days after the land forces, having recaptured the town of Schleswig, drove the Germans over the Eider, and regained the entire province of Schleswig. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, one unanimous cry of indignation arose in every part of the Confederacy; everywhere the Liberals preached a crusade against the audacious Danes, who had ventured to brave the German colours, and impede the resurrection of the Fatherland. The governments of the neighbouring states were swept away by the torrent; the Diet strongly supported the same

views; the principle was openly asserted, that wherever the German language was spoken, there were the bounds of the great Teutonic Confederacy. The fact was totally overlooked that the German population was little more than a *third* of the whole inhabitants of the disputed territory, and that a vast majority of the entire population was warmly attached to the Danish connection.* Indeed, the greatest difficulty which the Danish troops experienced was in restraining the furious indignation of the inhabitants, which broke out in acts of savage hostility against the retiring Germans. They had signalised their entry by blood and rapine, and the women, in return, poured boiling water upon them from the roofs of the houses as they withdrew. Inflamed beyond measure by the recital of these mutual atrocities, the Prussian, Hanoverian, and Brunswick Governments poured formidable armies into Holstein. Without any declaration of war, they invaded the duchy. On the 5th of April, the Prussian regular troops had taken possession of the fortress of Rendsburg, in which they placed a garrison of 5000 men; and an army of 40,000 men was now collected to carry the terrors of German vengeance over the whole Cimbric peninsula.

39. The forces of Denmark were unequal to the encounter of so large an armament, notwithstanding the gallant spirit with which they were animated.† She could not bring more than 12,000 regular troops into the field against 40,000 of the Confedera-

tion. They made, however, a noble defence. The King having refused to obey a peremptory order (April 11th) of the Diet at Frankfort to withdraw his forces from Schleswig, the Prussian army received orders to advance from Holstein, and enter at all points the Danish territories; and the Danish Government, in reply, laid an embargo on all German vessels in their harbours, and issued orders to their cruisers to capture all vessels bearing the Prussian flag. Each party was successful on the element on which its forces preponderated. The Danes reasserted their ancient maritime superiority on the Northern Ocean; the Prussian flag was swept from the ocean, their harbours blockaded, and their foreign trade nearly destroyed. But at land the Danes experienced in the outset very considerable reverses. On Easter Sunday, 23d April, the Danish troops, 10,000 strong, with 30 guns, under General Hedemann, were suddenly attacked on the Danewirke, near Schleswig, by General Von Wrangel, with 30,000 Prussians, and 72 guns. The Danes held the town of Schleswig, and the line of ancient fortifications called the Danewirke. This is a long earthen mound, grass-grown and interspersed with gaps, which runs from the top of the deep creek of the Baltic called the Schlei, to the marshy grounds on the headwaters of the Treen, a stream which flows into the North Sea. Along this line, about ten miles in length, and about the town of Schleswig, the fighting was most obstinate. But after a most heroic resistance of eight hours, the Danes were compelled to retire. They withdrew in the best order, however, without losing a single tumbril or piece of artillery; but the town of Schleswig fell into the hands of the enemy. Finding himself decidedly overmatched, the Danish general wisely withdrew from the mainland, and stationed his troops—except a rear-guard left in front of Alsen—on the islands of Alsen and Funen, lying on the east coast of Schleswig, where they could not be followed by the invaders, and maintained a secure and

Total inhabitants of Schleswig,	330,000
Of which—Danes, .	185,000
" Frisians, .	25,000
" Germans, .	120,000
	— 330,000

—*Ann. Hist.* 1848, p. 483.

† So anxious at this time was the Danish Government for peace, that they offered to accept the mediation of Prussia in respect to Holstein, provided Schleswig was not invaded; and, on the 15th April, actually proposed to give up the frontier of the Eider, and renounce the southern portion of Schleswig as far as the line of the Schlei; but it was all in vain. The Diet would listen to no compromise.

yet menacing position on their flank. Von Wrangel, upon this, having no longer an enemy in his front, divided his army into two columns, one of which entered Jutland, and carried the war into Denmark proper, where they levied a contribution of two million crowns, while the other occupied Schleswig.

40. The entrance of the German troops into Jutland, avowedly beyond the limits both of the Confederation and the duchies, brought new actors on the scene, and it was evident that, if persisted in, it would bring the whole of the north into the contest. As soon as it was known at Stockholm, the Cabinet of that place addressed a warm remonstrance to that of Berlin, in which they announced that, if the invasion of Denmark was persisted in, they would be under the necessity of sending a *corps d'armée* into Funen, or some of the other Danish islands, to resist the attack, and secure the safety of the Scandinavian kingdoms. The Prussian Government replied that they had no intention of permanently occupying any part of Jutland, but that the measure had been rendered necessary by the seizure of a number of Prussian ships by Danish cruisers, and as a means of compelling their restitution. The Prussian troops, however, continued to advance, and reached Kolding, upon which the Swedes landed a considerable body of troops in Funen to support the Danish forces there; while a Russian squadron set sail from Cronstadt under the Archduke Constantine, and began to cruise along the coast of Jutland to be ready for any emergency which might occur. Matters now began to look serious, and to threaten a general war in the north. To avert it, a conference was opened in London of the ambassadors of Russia, Prussia, England, Sweden, and Denmark, and a Russian diplomatic agent was stationed in Hamburg to communicate the result of their deliberations to the belligerent parties. The Russian Government declared they would not tolerate any invasion of Denmark proper. By the intervention of these

powerful mediators the advance of the Prussian troops was at length arrested in Jutland, and they were withdrawn from that peninsula. Meanwhile a bloody combat took place with the Danish troops on the mainland, in advance of the island of Alsen, in which the invaders were worsted, and driven back to Gravenstein.

41. To avenge this affront, the Prussian and Hanoverian troops, notwithstanding the pending negotiations, made a combined attack, on the 5th June, on the Danish forces, who had taken up, and hastily intrenched, a position at Duppel, on the mainland immediately in front of Alsen. The superiority of numbers in the land forces was decidedly in favour of the Prussians; but, on the other hand, the Danes had the advantage of a strong position and of the support of a flotilla of gunboats in the strait between the mainland and the island of Alsen, which lay on their flank, and the guns of which reached the field of battle. General Hedemann commanded the Danes; and in order to throw no obstacle in the way of the mediation of the allied powers, his orders were to act strictly on the defensive. The forces under his command were only fourteen thousand; the Germans brought twenty-four thousand sabres and bayonets into the field. The first line of the Danes was carried after an obstinate struggle and great slaughter on both sides; but they retired to a still stronger position in their rear, which was commanded both by heavy artillery on the opposite heights in the island of Alsen, and the gunboats in the straits. The fire from these was so heavy upon the advancing columns of the Prussians, when they came within range, that they were driven back, and the Danes reoccupied the position which they had held in the earlier part of the day. The attack was resumed next morning; but though the Prussians gained some advantages, they made no material progress; and after a useless slaughter, both parties remained nearly in the same position as they had occupied in the commencement of the conflict.

Another combat, equally to the honour of the Danes as the weaker party, took place on the 29th June, when the Danish rearguard repulsed an attack by the insurgents, headed by the Prince de Noor.

42. Anxious to terminate a contest so unequal, though waged with so much honour to himself and his forces by sea and land, the King of Denmark addressed, on the 15th June, a note to the ambassadors of Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden, at Copenhagen, requesting their mediation between him and the German Confederacy. The result of this was an interposition of these powers, which led to an armistice for seven months, concluded at Malmoe, on the 26th August. The conditions of this convention were, that both duchies should be evacuated alike by the Danish and German forces; that prisoners on both sides should be restored; all vessels captured, or on which an embargo had been laid since the commencement of the war, be restored; a garrison of two thousand men be allowed to be kept by the Danes in the island of Alsen, and one of equal strength by the Confederacy in the town of Altona; and the administration of the duchies in the mean time to be intrusted to a mixed commission of five persons—two chosen by the King of Denmark, two by the King of Prussia, in name of the German Confederation, and a fifth by the whole four, who was to have the president's chair. Both contracting parties claimed the guarantee of Great Britain for the faithful execution of this treaty. Thus were hostilities for the time stopped, and on the 23d October, the King, in opening the Chambers, announced the approaching concession of a constitution, and congratulated his subjects in deserved terms on the noble stand they had made against the unjust invasion by the German democracy, with which they had been visited. The conditions of the armistice, though in appearance fair, were however in reality eminently favourable to the Confederacy, for by it the Danish troops were compelled

to keep aloof from both duchies, which were in a manner sequestered and withdrawn from the Danish crown, to which they had so long belonged. It was as if an armistice were to be concluded between Great Britain and France, on condition of Scotland or Ireland being evacuated by the forces of both parties, and put under neutral government. The British Cabinet, enamoured of the Liberal cause throughout the world, however supported, looked on, a passive spectator of this oppression of the weaker state by the greater, and permitted an independent monarchy to be bereaved of half its dominions without either drawing the sword or exerting any effective diplomatic interposition in its behalf. Lord Palmerston proposed that Schleswig should be neither Danish nor German, but independent, connected with Denmark by a "political tie," forgetting that, under the appearance of impartiality, this was, in effect, deciding the question of aggression in favour of the Confederacy.

43. Meanwhile the commission of seventeen members of the Vor-Parliament, which had been charged with the preparation of a constitution, and the first German National Assembly, met at Frankfort on the 18th May. Much alarm was occasioned at this time by an insurrection which broke out in the southern provinces of Central Germany, under two democratic leaders, Hecker and Struve, who drew together some thousand lawless characters, and commenced levying contributions, during the suspension of authority, on their own account. They were pursued by the troops of the Confederation, and at length brought to bay (April 20) on the heights of Schlechtonau, when they were totally defeated by General Von Gagern. Von Gagern was perfidiously murdered by the insurgents, in a parley. This tumult being appeased, the Assembly commenced their labours, and elected Baron Von Gagern, brother of the general who had defeated Struve, President of the Assembly. It was quite distinct

from the German *Diet*, elected under the old constitution, which was sitting in Frankfort at the same time—a strange juxtaposition, somewhat similar to the Chartist conventions which have sometimes been assembled in London at the time when the British Parliament was sitting in Westminster. The respective situation and consideration of the two rival houses was very different from what they had been in the British capital, for the whole eyes of Germany were fixed on the new Assembly; and the Diet, when their sittings commenced, were glad to conceal their insignificance under a pacific message, expressive of a desire to act in friendly unison and co-operation with the newly-elected representatives.

44. The debates on the new constitution which had been prepared by the committee of seventeen commenced immediately after the Assembly met, and lasted till the 28th June, when it was finally adjusted, after repeated divisions. By this constitution it was provided that there should be a "Provisional Central Power" for the government of the entire Confederacy, which should exercise generally all the functions of the executive, direct the armed force, nominate cabinet ministers for the exercise of all the duties of government, appoint the commander-in-chief, ambassadors, and consuls to foreign powers, decide on peace and war, and conclude treaties with foreign states in connection with the Assembly. The provisional government was, by a majority of 378 to 176, to be centred in a single regent, who was himself irresponsible; but the ministers whom he appointed were responsible, and were entitled to seats in the Assembly. The whole powers of the old German Diet were to cease the moment that the Provisional Government began to exercise its functions, and it in its turn to cease as soon as the permanent constitution was established. The constitution, as a whole, was approved finally by a majority of 450 to 100. These resolutions indicated clearly the revolutionary tendency of the Assembly, which had already, in effect, overturned the whole ancient Germanic

constitution. But a different result appeared in the choice of a regent, which demonstrated that the old traditions still lingered among them, and that the influence of Austria was rather for a time in abeyance, than permanently destroyed. Shortly after the approval of the constitution, the regent was (July 5) elected, and the Archduke John was chosen, the numbers being 436 for his Imperial Highness, and 52 for the President of the Assembly, Von Gagern. The announcement of the numbers was received with loud cheers in every part of the Assembly.* On the next day the German Diet, still sitting, like the ghost of its former self, at Frankfort, also elected the Archduke regent, who thus centred in his person all the authority which could be conferred both by the ancient and the revolutionary authorities in

* The representatives for the Assembly from each of the under-mentioned states were as follows:—

Prussia,	193
Austria,	110
Bavaria,	66
Wurtemberg,	26
Hanover,	24
Saxony,	21
Baden,	19
Hesse (Duchy),	12
Hesse (Electoral),	11
Schleswig,	11
Nassau,	6
Mecklenburg-Schwerin,	6
Luxemburg and Limburg,	6
Oldenburg,	5
Brunswick,	5
Saxe-Weimar,	4
Saxe-Coburg,	2
Saxe-Meiningen,	2
Altenburg,	2
Hamburg,	3
Lesser states, 18—1 each,	18

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The Assembly contained, divided by classes,—

Professors,	95
Doctors of Philosophy, Law, and Physic,	81
Editors of newspapers,	14
Clergymen,	17
Civil functionaries, as Notaries, Attorneys,	200
Landowners,	93
Military officers,	13
Merchants,	23
Manufacturers,	16

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the Confederacy. His Imperial Highness, when chosen to this high office, was sixty-seven years of age, having been born on 28th January 1782. He had lived, respected and beloved, in retirement, occupied with scientific and literary pursuits, since the unhappy time when, by the tardiness of his advance from Hungary, he had marred the deliverance of Germany on the field of Wagram.

45. This anomalous and unexpected result in an Assembly elected under the first fervour of revolutionary passion, was a subject of extreme mortification to the King of Prussia and his Cabinet, which had expected a very different result from the votes, and confidently anticipated the establishment of an imperial throne for their own royal family from the changes in progress. This election, accordingly, is to be regarded as an important turning-point in the annals of the German Revolution, for it detached the Prussian Government from the cause of innovation. They now saw things in their true colours, and became alive to the dangers of the abyss on the edge of which they stood. From this period, accordingly, may be dated a decided change in the policy of the Cabinet of Berlin, which ere long brought them into open collision with the innovating party, and contributed more than any other circumstance to the deliverance of Government from the revolutionary fever, and the restoration of the royal authority over the whole of the Prussian dominions.

46. Meanwhile the installation of the Archduke as Regent of Germany took place with great pomp at Frankfurt, on the 21st July. He made his solemn entry into the town, and being nominated by both Assemblies, he united for a brief period all suffrages in his favour. The President of the Assembly, Von Gagern, addressed him in these terms: "At this moment, when all the authorities of Germany have united to cement their alliance, a new era commences for our common country. August Archduke, Vicar of the Empire, you are welcomed in the National Assembly, which has come

under the solemn engagement, in the face of the country, to assist your Imperial Highness, in the arduous task which you have undertaken, with all its strength. To accomplish that object, the Government of the Vicar of the Empire may rely on their support in contributing to whatever tends to strengthen the bonds of unity, to secure the liberty of the people, to re-establish public order, to restore confidence, to augment the common prosperity. The German people proclaim with gratitude the patriotism of your Highness; but it demands that all the energy and activity of the Archduke John should be consecrated, without division, to the general interests of the country." "In entering upon my functions," said the Archduke in reply, "I declare anew that I will maintain, and cause to be maintained, for the general glory and prosperity of Germany, the law which has placed me at the head of the central power. I declare at the same time, that I will devote my entire time to my functions; and I will pray the Emperor of Austria to charge me with the care of representing it at Vienna as soon as I have opened the Diet. That done, I shall devote myself without reserve to the discharge of my functions." The Archduke immediately constituted his ministry, which was finally arranged on the 9th August, the Prince Charles of Leiningen being President of the Council; M. Heckscher, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Pencker, of War; M. Schmerling, of the Interior.

47. The National Assembly of Germany, at Frankfurt, which had only sat since the 18th of May, a period of less than three months, had now made extraordinary advances to supreme power, and achieved what in the beginning of the year would have been deemed impossibilities. It had, by falling in with, and acquiring the direction of, the floodtide of enthusiasm which now swept away the German mind, succeeded in that short time in compelling all the separate states of the Confederacy to bow to its authority; dissolved the Germanic Diet, the work of the Congress of Vienna;

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under the solemn engagement, in the face of the country, to assist your Imperial Highness, in the arduous task which you have undertaken, with all its strength. To accomplish that object, the Government of the Vicar of the Empire may rely on their support in contributing to whatever tends to strengthen the bonds of unity, to secure the liberty of the people, to re-establish public order, to restore confidence, to augment the common prosperity. The German people proclaim with gratitude the patriotism of your Highness; but it demands that all the energy and activity of the Archduke John should be consecrated, without division, to the general interests of the country." "In entering upon my functions," said the Archduke in reply, "I declare anew that I will maintain, and cause to be maintained, for the general glory and prosperity of Germany, the law which has placed me at the head of the central power. I declare at the same time, that I will devote my entire time to my functions; and I will pray the Emperor of Austria to charge me with the care of representing it at Vienna as soon as I have opened the Diet. That done, I shall devote myself without reserve to the discharge of my functions." The Archduke immediately constituted his ministry, which was finally arranged on the 9th August, the Prince Charles of Leiningen being President of the Council; M. Heckscher, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Pencker, of War; M. Schmerling, of the Interior.

47. The National Assembly of Germany, at Frankfort, which had only sat since the 18th of May, a period of less than three months, had now made extraordinary advances to supreme power, and achieved what in the beginning of the year would have been deemed impossibilities. It had, by falling in with, and acquiring the direction of, the floodtide of enthusiasm which now swept away the German mind, succeeded in that short time in compelling all the separate states of the Confederacy to bow to its authority; dissolved the Germanic Diet, the work of the Congress of Vienna;

elected, by an immense majority, a Regent of the Empire, whose power was paramount to that of Austria and Prussia, and who wielded the military force of forty millions of men. All this had been done, too, with the cordial approbation of the most intelligent and highly educated classes, and amidst the loud applause of the multitude. The sovereigns who had been shorn of their lustre and cast down from their high estate by this vast usurpation, if not cordial in approving, were at least quiescent under it; they were overawed into submission, or hopeless of resistance, and the revolution seemed to be as cordially approved by the Emperor, Kings, and Princes, as by the burghers or students. So general was the concurrence, that the protest of Ernest, King of Hanover, asserting the independence of his dominions, was scarcely noticed amidst the general chorus of approbation.

48. The unanimity, however, as is usually the case where great changes are introduced under the influence of terror, was on the surface, and seeming only. Beneath it there lurked the seeds of divisions the most serious, and discord the most inveterate, which ere long distracted the apparently united society, and covered the fields of the Fatherland with mourning. The Polish provinces of Prussia were the quarter where the conflicting passions first broke out; for there the divisions of race, and the sore feeling arising from extinguished nationality, coincided with the revolutionary desires cherished there as elsewhere in the world. The Grand Duchy of Posen, from the very first, was violently agitated by the intelligence of the revolution at Paris; and the general discontents were brought to a crisis by a decree of the King of Prussia, which, on grounds, to say the least of them, questionable, made a new division of the Duchy, by which the whole western portion of the province, up to the very gates of its capital, was assigned to Germany. This division, which was intended to swell the deputies of Prussia in the National Assembly, and in reality had

that effect, at once blew into a flame over all the eastern frontier of Germany the hereditary animosity of the Slavonic and Teutonic races. The Germans in all the provinces on the frontier trampled under foot the Polish cockades; the Poles did the same to the Germans. Hostilities and mutual massacre soon ensued between the contending parties, and Prince Czatorinski set out from Paris to organise the movement, thinking that the hour of Polish deliverance had at length struck.

49. But he was soon miserably undeceived. The peasants in Lithuania and all Russian Poland *took part with the Russians*—a markworthy circumstance, indicating the commencement of a new era in Slavonic history, and bespeaking the practical benefits which the cultivators of the soil had obtained from their change of masters. Thus the collision was confined to the Polish provinces which had fallen to the lot of the German powers, and there it was for a short time very violent. The peasants reappeared, armed with scythes; the flame spread to the borders of the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw, and the revolt became general in Western Poland under Mieroslawski. The Poles immediately gave way to the most frightful atrocities. Hands and feet were cut off, eyes scooped out, and women, even in an advanced state of pregnancy, beaten to death, under circumstances of the most frightful cruelty. Murder, lust, and arson stalked triumphant through the land; neither age nor sex, church nor dwelling, was spared. Maddened by the sight of these enormities, the German troops retaliated in like manner, and the insurrection, from the very first, assumed on both sides a character of frightful atrocity. It was soon, however, suppressed. A bloody conflict, rather to the advantage of the insurgents, took place at Kozmin: but the little town of Xions, defended with obstinacy by the Poles, was stormed (April 30) by the Prussians, and great part of the defenders put to the sword. A desperate struggle, with various success, took place at Miloslaw (May 1), where

the Poles had established an intrenched camp, which, after being taken and retaken several times, finally remained in the power of the Prussians under General Blum. Several small corps of insurgents having united in the district of Schroda, they were surrounded and attacked on the 8th May by the Prussian troops under Generals Colomb, Pfuel, and Widel, and forced to capitulate, with their leader, Mieroslawski. This success terminated the insurrection in Poland, and extinguished there for a time the hostility of the German and Slavonic races. The revolt was the more easily suppressed, that it was only partially shared by the inhabitants of the country, thanks to the experienced beneficence of the Prussian rule. And being supported by the extreme revolutionary party in the towns, it shared in the obloquy into which that portion of the community, from the experience of their excesses, were beginning to fall in every country of Europe.

50. The new constitution which had been prepared by the Liberal ministry was at length announced at Berlin by the King; and it was calculated, if anything could, to satisfy the demands of the democratic party, for it contained all the elements of real freedom. It declared the equality of all citizens in the sight of the law, personal liberty in the highest degree, security of property, inviolability of private homes; freedom of religion, unless it endangered public tranquillity; the entire liberty of the press, the censorship being for ever abolished; the right of meeting and deliberating unarmed, the right of association and petition; the inviolability of the King's person, and responsibility of his ministers, who were liable to be impeached by the Lower House and tried by the Upper; the division of the legislature into two houses, the one elective, the other in part hereditary. The princes of the blood-royal had sixty peers, to be nominated by the King, to form part of the Upper House; the remainder, consisting of 180 members, to be chosen by the people: when once elected, the dignity to be hereditary in the first

sixty; but the seat to be for eight years for the latter portion. The former required a property qualification of 8000 dollars a-year, the latter, 2500. The members of the Lower House to be elected for four years, and subject to no property qualification; but they were to be above thirty years of age. The sittings of the courts of law to be public, and the facts in criminal cases ascertained by verdicts of juries.

51. This constitution, how great a concession soever to public freedom, was far from satisfying the democratic party. Debates immediately began upon its several articles, which were conducted with great acrimony, and continued through the whole summer and autumn. The Assembly being elected practically by universal suffrage, the speeches were extremely violent, and of interminable length. The chief trial of strength took place on a speculative question, "whether the events in March in Berlin were a transaction between the Crown and the people, or a revolution;" and it was carried, after a furious debate, by a small majority of 177 to 160, in favour of its being a transaction. This decision gave the utmost offence to the democratic party in the Assembly, as did several other votes at the same time, refusing to sanction the principle of revolution, and they were soon cordially supported by the mob in the streets, who proceeded to vent their rage against the obnoxious members. At length (June 14) they got worked up to such a pitch that they made an attack upon the Assembly and the arsenal, which immediately adjoined its hall, which they carried by storm, and pillaged—the Burgher Guard, intrusted with their defence, making very little resistance. This insurrection on their part cost the State 500,000 dollars. The mob destroyed everything in the arsenal which they could not carry away. The arms were broken and thrown out of the window; antiquities of great value, rare pieces of artillery, arms inlaid with silver and ivory, were stolen or destroyed. This outrage immediately became the subject of a warm debate, the Minis-

try having brought forward a motion for the protection of the Assembly by an armed force; the Revolutionists meeting it with an amendment to the effect "that the Assembly needed no armed protection, but placed itself under the safeguard of the people of Berlin." So intimidated were the members by the recent outbreak that the amendment was carried by a large majority. Upon this the Ministry resigned, and no small difficulty was experienced in forming another. At length, however, a cabinet was arranged, with M. von Auerswald President of the Council; M. Schleinitz, Foreign Affairs; and M. Schreckenstein, War; and the mob of Berlin, satisfied with their victory, relapsed for a short period into quiet.

52. This lull was not of long duration. The Auerswald Ministry, which from the beginning was in a very tottering condition, fell under a hostile vote the 9th September. Still greater difficulty was experienced in now forming an administration, but one was at length constituted under the presidency of General Von Pfuel. These repeated changes in so short a time indicated unequivocally a lamentable weakness in the executive, which seemed to be approaching a state of complete prostration. On the 23d

September, General Pfuel issued a proclamation to the army, in which he stated, "According to the draft of the constitution which has been proposed by his Majesty to the Assembly, the officers of the army will be obliged to take an oath to the constitution, in the same manner as the civil officers are obliged to do, and no reactionary tendencies will clash with the duties of an officer in the army." The allusion here to "reactionary tendencies" was owing to the well-understood feelings of the army, which had become thoroughly ashamed of the events of March, and the inglorious part they had borne in them, and were panting for an opportunity to wipe out their disgrace in a more honourable conflict. The King, however, had now become alive to the extreme danger of putting himself at the head of the revolutionary movement, and the elevation of the Archduke John to the office of Regent had dispelled all the ambitious illusions which had formerly obscured his vision in regard to it. He determined accordingly on repressive measures, and the first step was the appointment of General Von Wrangel, on his return from the seat of war, now suspended by the armistice, to the command of the troops in Berlin and the Brandenburg Marches.

CHAPTER LXXII.

NORTHERN GERMANY, FROM THE ROYALIST REACTION IN SEPTEMBER 1848
TO THE TREATY OF OLMUTZ IN 1850.

1. THE accession to the command of this sturdy, plain-spoken soldier, was inaugurated by an address to the troops, of historic value, as indicating at once the altered policy of the King and the misery of the country. For some days before, a great concentration of forces had taken place by means of the railways, and fifty thousand troops of the line were now assembled in and around Berlin. On the 22d September a review was held at Potsdam, and, in an order of the day addressed to them, the General said, "The King has honoured me with the highest proof of his confidence, in giving me the command of all the troops in the Marches. I will establish order when it is dis-

turbed, and support the laws when they are infringed. The Burgher Guard is primarily charged with this duty; but when I find it fail in discharging it, we shall advance, and we shall succeed. *The troops are staunch; their swords are sharpened, and their muskets are loaded.* It is not against you, men of Berlin, that this is done, but to protect you—to protect the liberty given us by the King, and to defend the laws. For you, and with you, we shall act. No reaction! but protection for order, for the laws, and for freedom. How melancholy does Berlin now appear to me! Grass is growing in your streets; your houses are empty; your shops are full of goods, but void of purchasers. Your industrious citizens are without work, without wages, without profits. This must be changed, *and it shall be changed.* I bring you order and its attendant blessings. Anarchy must cease, and it shall cease. I swear it to you; and a Wrangel never yet failed in keeping his word."

2. In truth, the disorders in the streets had reached such a height as to render these stern words absolutely necessary, and the conduct of the Burgher Guard had sufficiently proved that no reliance whatever was to be placed on them to avert these. On the 22d August a serious riot occurred at the hotel of M. Auerswald, where a diplomatic soiree was going on, when the populace threw stones at the windows, and nearly killed the Bavarian minister. They were not dispersed till several lives had been lost, and thirty of the policemen wounded. These violent demonstrations met with the greatest favour from the democratic clubs, several of which passed resolutions that the captain of the Burgher Guard who had deserted his post when the arsenal was attacked had deserved well of his country. So notorious had the vacillation of the Guard become, that, in answer to a deputation from their number promising fidelity to the constitution, the King replied, "It would be better to prove it by deeds than to make promises." The discussion of the articles

of the constitution, which began on the 11th October, still further augmented the public alarm and excitement; for every article became the subject of a trial of strength between the conservative and revolutionary parties, attended by a vehement agitation in the clubs, and terror in the city. The whole of the first day was taken up with a debate on the title the King was to assume; and it was decided, by 217 to 134, that the words, "by the grace of God," should be omitted. The object of this was to make it appear that his sole title to the throne was the will of the people. On the other hand, they decided that his title should be that of "King of Prussia," not the more popular one of "King of the Prussians." Meanwhile the capital was in a state bordering on distraction; for, in addition to the excitement arising from political changes, distress of the severest kind—their invariable concomitant—was setting in upon the people. The chief manufactories were closed; thousands of workmen were without bread, and added to the dangers arising from upwards of eight thousand convicts at large in Berlin, who were always ready to join in any popular explosion. Four thousand of this unruly rabble joined in an attack on the mills of Copenmichelfeld, to destroy the machinery erected there. They were at length beat off, but not until several lives had been lost and barricades erected in the streets. The Assembly, so far from discouraging, gave the greatest encouragement to the authors of these disorders, for, on the 31st October, they passed a resolution "that all Prussians are equal before the law; that neither privileges, titles, nor rank are to exist in the State; and that *the nobility are abolished.*" On the next day, Herr Wahlenberg moved a resolution pledging the Government to give assistance to the inhabitants of Vienna, then engaged in a contest with the Government.

3. This brought matters to a crisis. The King had for some time been only waiting for an opportunity to repress the anarchist faction without depart-

ing from the constitution, which he had sworn to respect, and the violence of the revolutionists now furnished it. Not content with the majority which they already possessed in the Assembly, the mob from without, with the avowed purpose of intimidating the conservative members, broke into its hall, amply provided with ropes, nails, and nooses, as a preparation for summary hanging. They even went so far as to assault their former leader Behrend, whom they accused of having become "lukewarm in the cause of the people," and singed his long red beard with their torches. After a violent struggle, the Burgher Guard (Oct. 30), which for once did its duty, succeeded in expelling the intruders. The Assembly had now evidently become altogether unmanageable, and a mere puppet in the hands of the mob. It was apparent that a new revolution was imminent, which would altogether overthrow both the throne and the constitution, and establish, like the 10th August in France, a republic on their ruins. Thus menaced, the King at once adopted a decided course, and threw himself without reserve into the hands of the conservative party. The Pfuel Ministry had all resigned immediately after this outrage, as they felt themselves altogether unable to carry on the government, and held office only till their successors were appointed. In the interim a deputation of the Assembly waited on the King at Potsdam, whither he had retired, to point out to him the danger of appointing a ministry not chosen from the majority, or of conservative principles. The King heard them, but refused to give an answer in the absence of his responsible ministers. "Will you not hear us on the state of the country?" said Herr Jacobi, the spokesman of the deputation. "No," replied the King. "It is the misfortune of kings that they will not hear the truth," rejoined Jacobi; and they separated. Soon after, on the 9th November, the *Royal Gazette* announced the formation of a new administration. Count de Brandenburg was at its head and Minister of For-

eign Affairs; M. Manteuffel, Interior; General de Stoosha, War; M. Ladenberg, Public Instruction; M. Kisker, Justice; M. Kuhne, Finance; M. Pommes Erche, Commerce.

4. As this ministry was all composed of men of decided conservative principles and known firmness of character, a collision between them and the Assembly was immediately anticipated. It was not long of occurring. On the very day on which the *Gazette* containing the new ministry appeared, Count Brandenburg rose in the Assembly to address the house, but was stopped by the President, as he was not a member of the Assembly, and could not speak but with its consent. Upon this the Count sat down, but handed in a royal decree, which, after mentioning the display of republican symbols in the streets, and the frequent attempts to overawe and intimidate the Assembly, transferred its sittings to Brandenburg, and appointed it to meet there on the 26th November, till which time its sittings were suspended. The reading of this decree was interrupted by repeated cries of "Never! never! we will not consent! Perish rather here. It is illegal, it is unconstitutional; we protest, we will remain here—we are masters." In the midst of this tumult, Count Brandenburg rose and calmly said: "In consequence of the decree which has just been read, I summon the Assembly to suspend its sittings forthwith, and to adjourn till the time specified. I at the same time declare all further prolongations of the deliberations to be illegal, and protest against them in the name of the Crown." Having said these words, he withdrew with the whole ministers.

5. A scene of the utmost violence ensued when the ministers had retired. It ended in the adoption of resolutions—1. That there are at present not sufficient grounds for removing the sittings of the Assembly to any other place; it will therefore remain at Berlin. 2. The Crown is not entitled to adjourn or displace the Chamber against its will. 3. The responsible functionaries who may have

advised the Crown to issue the above message, are not qualified to do so or to represent the government; on the contrary, they have thereby rendered themselves guilty of dereliction of duty towards the Crown, the country, and the Assembly. These three resolutions were put separately and carried almost unanimously, fifty-nine of the monarchical party having withdrawn along with the ministers and the diplomatic body. The Assembly resolved to sit in permanence, and thirty of the members remained in the House till next morning. The night passed off in a state of feverish excitement, but no actual outbreak took place. The ministers during the night intimated to the President the illegality of their persisting to meet at Berlin, and that he would be responsible for the consequences; and the minority of fifty-nine who had retired with Count Brandenburg, protested formally against its continued sitting at Berlin. Early next morning (Nov. 10) the Assembly was summoned to meet in its hall; but when the members began to arrive at five they found the building surrounded by troops, who had orders to allow any one to go out, but none to come in. The President then rose and said that the House was completely surrounded by the military. The commander of the Burgher Guard asked General Wrangel why he had assembled his troops. "To protect the Assembly," was the reply. "They would rather decline the honour of your protection," rejoined the commandant: "how long do you mean to keep your troops here?" "For a week if necessary; *my troops are accustomed to bivouac*. I shall be happy to allow any member to withdraw, but none shall enter." Upon this the President desired the members to retire under protest, and meet elsewhere on the following day. They accordingly withdrew in a body, attended by the Burgher Guard, which warmly espoused their cause. Early next morning they (Nov. 11) met by appointment in the hall of the Schützen Gild, which, before daylight, was surrounded by the Burgher Guard in

great strength, where they remained all day to the number of two hundred and twenty-five, and received deputations expressing sympathy and condolence from the Municipal Council and most of the public bodies. The mob outside naturally and loudly expressed their concurrence, as they generally do in periods of excitement, with whoever resists legal authority. In the course of the day a royal proclamation appeared, dissolving the Burgher Guard, and requiring them to give up their arms. At the same time a proclamation was issued, assuring the people that the King would faithfully observe the constitution, and that no infringement of their liberties should take place.* No attention was paid to this order; on the contrary, the citizens met and agreed to refuse to deliver up their arms. Upon this it was renewed in still more peremptory terms on the day following; and as the aspect of public affairs had become in the highest degree menacing, troops in great numbers were marched in, the *landwehr* called out, and the capital was declared in a state of siege. Before midnight, thirty thousand soldiers, stanch and true, were concentrated in Berlin; a force nearly double of the Burgher Guard, and incomparably more disciplined and effective.†

* "I give you this inviolable assurance, that nothing shall be abrogated from your constitutional liberties; that it shall be my holiest endeavour to be unto you a good constitutional King; so that we may mutually erect a stately and tenable edifice, beneath whose roof, to the weal of our German Fatherland, our posterity may quickly and peaceably rejoice in the blessings of genuine and true liberty for centuries to come. May the blessing of God rest upon our work!"—CAYLEY, *ii* 90

† The Frankfurt Assembly sent Herr Bassermann, a leading Liberal on their side, to Berlin, at this period, to report on the crisis then pending in that capital, and his report is valuable as the testimony of an unwilling witness, and prejudiced, if anything, on the popular side. It was extremely unfavourable to the Berlin democrats. "The liberty of the press is atrociously abused; the most mischievous placards and flying sheets are printed and circulated: one representing a man asleep with a number of lamps around him, and a man hanging from each, is called 'The Republican's Dream.' The red flag has

6. To all appearance the contest could only be decided now by an appeal to arms; but the crisis passed over without bloodshed, in consequence of the firmness of the Government, and the united gentleness and steadiness of the soldiers. On the 13th November the members again met in the Schützen-Gild-hall, and their proceedings were interrupted by the entry of an officer from General Wrangel, summoning it, as "an illegal assembly, to disperse." The Vice-President was in the chair, and refused to leave it unless forced to do so. The whole Assembly shouted, "Never, till forced by arms!" Upon this three officers entered the hall, attended by a body of soldiers, and, repeating the same summons, were received with the same answer. Thereupon the officers advanced, and quietly lifted up the chair on which the president sat, and carried it out with its occupant into the street. The members followed, loudly protesting against the violence, and the Assembly was adjourned to another time and place. The members separated and retired, attended by multitudes loudly cheering them; but the military had orders to fire upon the people if they remained in crowds in the streets after being ordered to disperse. Subsequent to the declaration of a state of siege, there was no actual collision or lives lost. The disarming of the Bürger-Guard immediately after commenced, and continued during the following day with nothing more than a passive inert resistance on the part of that body.

7. During this struggle, public opinion was daily more strongly declaring itself in favour of the Government.

been hoisted before the door of the Assembly, and the most violent threats are uttered against the unpopular members. Thrice have they petitioned the Assembly to pass laws to secure them from mob intimidation, and as often have they refused to do so. On the very staircase of the Assembly a mob orator has called on the people to come next time with pick-axes and knives, saying it is easier to find obnoxious members when so provided. The aspect of the streets is melancholy in the extreme: the Assembly is always surrounded by a frightful mob.—*HERM. BASCHMANN'S Report, November 1848*—*CAYLEY, ii. 97, 98.*

But the Assembly were not discouraged, and, trusting to the unanimous fervour which had attended their election and first installation in power, firmly continued the contest. On the 15th they again met in the hall of the Town Council, but the military appeared, and the members withdrew under protest. In the evening of the same day, two hundred and twenty-six of the members assembled in a café in the Linden, and passed a decree refusing to grant any supplies to the Government. Another resolution was proposed, declaring that the Brandenburg Ministry were not authorised to levy taxes till the National Assembly shall resume its duties in safety at Berlin. When the discussion on this motion was just beginning, an officer of the line entered the room, with six grenadiers who were posted at the door, while a battalion was drawn up in the street opposite. The officer approached the President, and informed him that he had orders from General Wrangel to cause the chamber to be evacuated. Great agitation arose upon this being announced from the chair. "No, no! a thousand times no! we will not leave this room till compelled to do so by bayonets!" re-echoed from all sides of the hall, and sixty deputies rushed forward towards the officer and his escort, and by their gestures threatened to drive them from the hall; while the remainder crowded in a state of extreme excitement round the President. The officer and his escort remained perfectly calm, but communicated with the battalion outside, and sent to headquarters for further instructions. Meanwhile the Assembly passed by acclamation the second resolution proposed, and then, on the motion of the President, M. Unruh, who had been informed by the officer that he had orders to employ force, and would do so if necessary, withdrew and dispersed, exulting in the belief that they had done as much mischief to the Ministry of Count Brandenburg as in the circumstances was practicable. No attempt was made to meet again.

8. During this critical time the

Brandenburg Ministry remained firm, and, by a happy union of decision with moderation, they prevailed in the contest. They were clearly right in the question at issue: the King, beyond all doubt, was entitled either to prorogue or dissolve the Assembly, and assign the place of its reassembling, and to dissolve the Burgher Guard. It might be a question, of course, whether it was wise or expedient, at any particular time, to resort to these extreme measures; but of the right of the King to do so when it became absolutely necessary, not a doubt could be entertained. The events, which were fresh in every one's recollection, had demonstrated that this necessity had now arisen. Accordingly, in the stand which he now made against the encroachments of the Assembly and of the Burgher Guard, the King had the support, not only of the army, but, in the end, of the great bulk of the respectable portion of the people. This could hardly have been expected in the earlier stages of these troubles; for in the outset of their career the National Assembly had the sympathy of a vast majority of the people in their favour. They had forfeited this good opinion by the violence of their language and acts, and, above all, by their evident want of business habits and acquaintance with the real wants of the nation. Accordingly, the King was generally supported by the nation in the measures by which he followed up his victory. Numerous arrests took place in Berlin of the leaders in the late tumults, which effectually broke the neck of popular insurrection. Circulars were at the same time sent to all the "royal governments" in the kingdom, warning them not to pay any regard to the illegal resolutions of the Assembly. These were everywhere obeyed, and the collection of the revenue went on without interruption. When the news of the stopping of the supplies by the Assembly at Berlin reached Frankfort, the National Assembly there (Nov. 21) passed a resolution, by a majority of 234 to 189, condemning the resolution of the Prussian Assembly in the strongest terms;

and the Archduke John, as Regent of Germany, immediately after issued a circular letter to all the states of the Confederacy in the same terms, and declaring that the Government of Germany would permit no such illegal proceedings as had disgraced the cause of liberty in Prussia, and endangered the prosperity of all Germany.*

9. This resolution of the Frankfort Assembly completed the defeat of the anarchical faction in Prussia, by depriving them of the moral sympathy and support of the great body of the Liberals in Germany. In his subsequent measures, accordingly, the King experienced no difficulty. The crisis was past; it only remained by vigour, combined with moderation and prudence, to follow up the victory. On the day appointed (Nov. 27), the monarchical deputies met at Brandenburg; but as the refractory members refused to join them, they could not at first make a house, as the legal number was wanting. At length (Dec. 1) Unruh, with the two hundred and twenty-five dissentients, made their appearance, in order to have a trial of strength; but being in a minority in one vote, they again withdrew, announcing their intention of returning on the 7th December, when it was expected Unruh would be re-elected President. To counteract this design, the Assembly was dissolved by royal proclamation on the 5th December; and as it had

* "A part of the Prussian deputies have resolved to withhold the taxes. By so doing they have loosened the bonds of political existence, deeply shaken the foundations of civil society, and brought Prussia, and with it the whole of Germany, to the verge of civil war. The Imperial Assembly has solemnly pledged itself to maintain the rights and liberties promised to you, and promised you protection against any who would violate them. It has, however, declared the resolution of the Prussian deputies to withhold the taxes, null and void. Prussians! the Imperial Assembly at Frankfort represents the German nation in the aggregate, and its decision is supreme law to all Germans! I will act in full accordance with the Imperial Assembly. I will not allow the resolution which, by preventing the levying of taxes in Prussia, endangers the prosperity of the whole of Germany, to be carried into effect."—ARCHDUKE JOHN to the Kings and Princes of the Empire, November 22, 1848: *Ann. Reg.* 1848, p. 394.

not yet devised or agreed to any constitution, notwithstanding the interminable debates in which its members had indulged, the King accompanied the proclamation by the draft of a new constitution, which amply redeemed his pledge to secure all the rights of freemen to every class of his subjects. The dissolution took the revolutionary party quite by surprise, and they were unprepared with any counter-move to meet it. But their rage exhaled in several impotent riots and mobs in the streets, which, however, were not suppressed till the military had fired in several places, and seven lives had been lost.

10. By this constitution, which was in the main modelled on that of Belgium, of which an account has already been given, all the elements of real freedom were obtained. It declared the equality of all Prussians in the eye of the law, freedom of the person and of the press, and the right of all to emigrate. Letters going through the post-office were to be inviolable, and offences of the press judged of by the ordinary tribunals. The civil ceremony was to give validity to marriage. Feudal tenures, entails, and all exclusive privileges of rank, were abolished. The person of the King was inviolable, but his ministers were responsible for his acts. Judges, whether supreme or inferior, were to be irremovable, except by sentence of competent courts; the right of meeting and petitioning secured, and ample provision made by the state for universal education. The legislature was to consist of two chambers; the first or Upper House to contain 180 members, elected by the same delegates as those who chose the members for the Lower House, out of persons paying 300 florins of direct taxes or having an income of 2500 florins a-year; besides the princes of the blood-royal and 60 members nominated by the King. The Lower Chamber was to consist of 350 members, chosen by double election; the primary electors, or the persons choosing the delegates, to be the whole male inhabitants, and the members persons above twenty-

four years of age, who had resided six months in the place of voting, and received no parochial aid. A delegate was to be chosen for every 750 inhabitants. The members of the Upper Chamber required to be forty years of age, and to have resided five years in Prussia. All exemptions from taxation were abolished; laws and ordinances were to be valid only when passed in legal form; but on urgent occasions ordinances having the interim force of laws might be issued, to be sanctioned by the Chambers, however, on their next sitting. This programme gave general satisfaction, and even the revolutionists were abashed, as well they might be, for the King had conceded to his subjects all the guarantees of real freedom. Indeed, the only question was, whether he had not gone too far in yielding to the prevailing thirst for popular power; for here was a constitution, with both the Houses of Lords and Commons elective, and the latter elected by *universal suffrage*, guarded against only by the feeble barrier of a double election. This was the royal constitution published by the King in the moment of his triumph! It is doubtful whether the British people, with their business habits, practical turn of mind, and centuries of freedom, could stand the strain of such institutions three months.

11. On 1st January 1849, the King, deeming the danger at an end, published an address to the troops of the line and the landwehr,* in which he

* "I congratulate my brave army—the line and the landwehr—on the opening of the new year. At the close of the eventful year 1848, it is a heartfelt pleasure to me to express my acknowledgments for its unequalled conduct. When, without God's assistance, Prussia would have sunk under treason and deception, my army has preserved its old renown, and acquired fresh glory. Both King and people regard with pride the sons of our Fatherland! They remained faithful when events prevented the development of those free institutions which I had introduced to my people. When Germany required their arms in Schleswig, they covered our banners with fresh laurels. When the insurrection in Posen was to be suppressed, it underwent victoriously both toils and dangers; its co-operation in the task of preserving order in Southern Germany acquired a new tribute of

congratulated them in warm but not undeserved terms on their loyalty and steadiness, and expressed his gratitude for their unequalled conduct. He might well do so, for beyond all doubt the Prussian army, by its loyalty, had saved the Crown from destruction, the people from the extinction of liberty by democratic despotism. The constitution which their fidelity enabled the King to give them, contained, as the event proved, at least as much liberty as they could bear; anything beyond it would have been nothing but Republican tyranny. The evil effects of the troubles which had already been experienced from popular rule in Berlin, gave no inviting foretaste of its ultimate consequences. The appearance of the city was dreary in the extreme; the principal families had left it, the houses were empty, the streets deserted; no one was to be seen but a few workmen mournfully going to earn their diminished wages, or the patrols who traversed the streets to prevent insurrection. In the seven months immediately succeeding the insurrection, a twentieth of the shops in the capital were closed, from their tenants having become bankrupt; a serious diminution had taken place in the public revenue; the state of the treas-

acknowledgment to the Prussian name. Finally, when in Prussia itself the violation of the laws made necessary the interposition of the armed power and the calling out of the landwehr, the men of that force cheerfully abandoned hearth and home, wife and children, to discharge their duty, and both landwehr and troops of the line justified the confidence. I have always trusted in them, and proved how admirable is that organisation of the whole army which was established by the late King my father. Everywhere the troops have done their duty. But higher still than their achievements in the field do I value the conduct they have observed for months together under the most detestable attacks; under insults, slanders, and attempts to seduce them from their allegiance, against which they have opposed unshaken the spirit of loyalty and a noble self-command. I knew my army when I called them out; there they stood unshaken in unbroken fidelity and perfect discipline. In Prussia's most glorious epochs the army could have done no more. To the generals, officers, and soldiers of the troops of the line and landwehr I return thanks, both in my own name and in that of our common country.—FREDERICK WILLIAM.—*Ann. Reg.* 1848, p. 344.

ury was so alarming that a voluntary loan to a considerable amount was unavoidably contracted: and the condition of the working classes had become so miserable that, on their own urgent petition, two preliminary decrees were of his own authority issued by the King for their relief.

12. The political storm which occasioned such dissensions in Prussia in the latter part of the year 1848, produced convulsions also at Frankfort, where the Diet was sitting, and in the south of Germany. Immediately after his installation as Regent, the Archduke John appointed his ministers, the Prince of Leiningen, one of the most Liberal of the German princes, being the President of the Council; M. Hekscher, of Hamburg, Foreign Affairs; M. Von Schmerling, of Vienna, the Interior; and General Von Peucker, War. One of the first steps of the Assembly, after a long and eloquent debate, was to decree the abolition of capital punishment over all Germany. This was carried by a majority of 288 to 146. The next important point which came under discussion was the armistice of Malmœ, between the Prussians and Danes; and as this involved the great object of extending the German name and influence, it was carried by a majority of 238 to 22 *not* to ratify the armistice, in consequence of which the Archduke's ministry resigned. Such a difficulty, however, was experienced in framing a cabinet to succeed them that they finally resumed office. But the conduct of the popular assemblies in the two duchies ere long became so violent, and the insubordination of their levies so excessive, that the sympathy of the majority in the Assembly at Frankfort was alienated from them, and some days after (Sept. 16) they passed a resolution virtually recalling the former. By this decree, which was carried by 257 to 236, it was declared—1. That nothing shall be done in the mean time to prevent the execution of the armistice; and, 2. That the Central Power of Germany be requested to come to an understanding

with Denmark, for the introduction of such terms into the armistice as that Power may deem admissible.

13. As this resolution indicated a desire to return to the paths of reason and moderation, instead of following the phantom of democratic ambition, it excited the utmost indignation in the extreme revolutionary party. The clubs were immediately put in motion, the streets were covered with threatening placards; crowds, with menacing cries and gestures, assembled in all the public places, and resolutions were passed by these self-constituted meetings, to the effect that "the members of the majority, who had ratified the infamous armistice of Malme, had been guilty of high treason against the majesty, liberty, and honour of the German people." This resolution was without delay communicated to the Assembly, and they felt themselves so powerless that they officially intimated to the Regent that they were no longer able to preserve the peace of the town. The Regent's ministry, upon receiving this information, acted with promptitude and courage. The aspect of affairs was in the highest degree threatening, for the trades-unions and democratic societies of Mayence, Hanau, Offenbach, and all the towns in the vicinity, had sent bodies of armed men, marching under their respective banners, into Frankfort, who had joined the same classes in its streets; and twenty thousand men, under the orders of the extreme democrats of the Assembly, were drawn together to enforce the demands of the revolutionists. Their leaders made use of the most violent language, which, of course, was loudly applauded. It was notoriously a political revolution, or change of rulers, which they desired: the destruction of the bourgeoisie, the division of property, the extinction of monarchical government and the nobility, were loudly demanded; in a word, everything which the Parisian socialists had convulsed society in France to achieve. Orders were immediately despatched to the Austrian, Prussian, and Bavarian troops in the neighbourhood, or in garrison at Mayence, to march in,

and on the evening of the 17th they began to arrive in great strength. The sight of uniforms coming to repress their violence only augmented the public frenzy; an immense crowd collected round the church of St Paul, where the Assembly held its sittings, to overawe the members; stones began to be thrown at those who had become unpopular; a committee of the revolutionists was appointed, which sat all night; and an insurrection was openly announced for the following day.

14. Early next morning the contest began, and with a degree of skill and method, on the part of the insurgents, which showed how large a proportion of old soldiers were to be found in their ranks. Detachments of Prussian and Austrian troops at daybreak occupied the principal streets; but the mob on their side had already, after the most recent Parisian fashion, erected barricades, the two strongest of which lay across the Döngerstrasse and Schnauggasse, near the Exchange. The latter was formed of large blocks of stone, with regular loopholes for musketry at the top, and a mass of omnibus and other vehicles below the range of the fire was placed in its front, to obstruct the approach of the soldiers. The combat commenced at three in the morning by a detachment of Austrian soldiers marching down upon the barricade in the Döngerstrasse, on the top of which a huge red flag waved in proud defiance. They were received by so heavy a fire from the barricade, and windows adjacent, that they fell back in disorder. Being reinforced, however, by a strong body of Prussians, they returned to the charge, carried the barricade, made themselves masters of the principal street of Frankfort, from whence they stormed a fortified guardhouse, the principal stronghold of the insurgents. The latter now petitioned for an armistice, which was accorded for an hour, during which they besought the Archduke to remove the troops from the city, promising submission when they were gone. His councillors, however, prevailed on the Regent to answer the petitions by declaring martial

law if immediate surrender were not made. This not being done, the conflict recommenced at six o'clock, and cannon having been brought up, the remaining barricades in possession of the insurgents were shattered and pierced through in every direction. By midnight the rebels were defeated in all quarters, and the city was in the entire possession of the military. The loss, however, had been severe on both sides, and the cause of the revolutionists had been disgraced by the treacherous murder of two distinguished men, when attempting to reason with the mob. The first was Prince Lechnowski, one of the most eloquent members of the Assembly, and the other M. d'Auerswald. The Prince dropped from his horse severely wounded, while in the act of addressing the people; M. d'Auerswald was pulled from his, and both, while lying on the ground, were immediately hacked at and beaten with savage ferocity with scythes, hatchets, and clubs by the infuriated mob. Death soon put a period to the sufferings of the last: the former was still breathing, though his arms were hacked to pieces, when he was carried to a field adjoining the town, where he was set up as a target, and fired at by the populace till some soldiers came up, attracted by the discharge of firearms, and carried off his mangled remains.

15. Scarcely was this hideous revolt quelled in Frankfort, when a fresh alarm, of a still more serious kind, was heard from the Upper Rhine. It arose from a democratic insurrection, headed by the notorious journalist Struve, who had escaped to Bâle, and remained there hatching plots since the failure of his former attempt. Deeming the present crisis favourable to the realisation of his long-cherished dreams, he got together a band of two thousand French, Polish, and Italian refugees, and invaded the territory of Baden, denouncing at the same time the Assembly at Frankfort as a mere mockery, which, under the name of legality, would lead to a slavery worse than could result from a bloody war. At the same time, the *Moniteur de Lor-*

rach, a journal in the hands of the revolutionists, published several decrees, professing to be in the name of the Provisional Government, which, besides abolishing tithes, crown and feudal rights, promised property, liberty, and instruction for all. At the same time martial law was proclaimed, a provisional government announced, and universal arming of the people enjoined. But these transports were of short duration. The troops stood firm; the insurgents, undisciplined, half-armed, and distrusting each other, were speedily overcome. Attacked on the 25th September by General Hoffman, at the head of the regular forces of the Grand-Duchy of Baden, the insurgents were totally routed near Staufsen, and the Provisional Government, which had not ventured far over the frontier, forced to take refuge in the neighbouring territory of Bâle. Struve, who had escaped from the field of battle, was taken the next day, and after being brought before successive tribunals at Fribourg, Carlstadt, and Rastadt, was sentenced to confinement for life. His partisans were, for the most part, either slain on the field of battle, or made prisoners in the flight, and the insurrection was entirely quelled. As, however, great agitation prevailed in all the towns along the Rhine, a considerable body of Prussian, Würtemberg, and Hessian troops were quartered in all the frontier cities, from Mannheim to Bâle, and in the former town four thousand Prussians took post, a corps of twenty thousand men was concentrated at Fribourg, while twelve thousand occupied Schweizingen, and a considerable body of Austrians and Bavarians were stationed in Constance.

16. These violent outbreaks excited serious attention at Frankfort, and a formal demand was made for a prosecution of such members of the Assembly as had been implicated in the late rebellion in the town. They were numerous, and of course great favourites with the people, and the motion excited an extraordinary degree of interest. M. Vogt pleaded the cause of the deputies implicated, and he rested

their defence on the alleged necessity of insurrection from the Assembly's neglect of the cause of the people. "If you have reaped the whirlwind," said he, "it is because you have begun by sowing the wind. There would have been no insurrections in the streets if there had been no deceitful ministers in the cabinets, and blind representatives in the Assembly—if Government, resting on vain parliamentary majorities, had not constantly refused to treat with the people assembled to conquer new institutions. It is thus that they are driven to fight: brutality against brutality; force against force." "Do you, then," said M. Bassermann in reply, "put in the same line, regard in the same light, force employed in support of the law, and violence committed in resistance to the law? There is but one authority and law in the land, and every other is usurpation and rebellion. Were it otherwise, the assassin on the high-road might say to me, 'I murder you in my right, as the gendarme who is pursuing me does in his.' But this is the grand error of the age: resistance is preached up everywhere, and against everything, without distinguishing against what or whom. Because a system which had stood for three-and-thirty years was overturned this spring by force, it is thought that force is for ever justifiable, and that it ends by justifying itself." There could be no doubt of the soundness of the answer, but it sounded strange in the mouth of M. Bassermann, the old leader of the Opposition in Baden, and who had by violence overturned the existing constitution in his own country. The Assembly, fearful of irritating the people, passed to the order of the day—a melancholy proof of weakness on the part of Government, too common in troubled times.

17. Although, however, the revolutionary party had been thus defeated in Berlin, Frankfort, and Baden, yet the difficulties of the National Assembly were by no means lessened by these victories; on the contrary, they were materially increased. A new element of discord sprang up from the success

of the conservatives, arising from the renewed pretensions of Austria. That power, which had held the first place in the former Germanic Confederacy, had bent before, but not been broken by, the storm. She was by no means inclined to submit to the government of any central authority, or merge her separate hereditary sovereignty in a great confederacy ruled by an elective chief. Even the choice of the Archduke John as regent had by no means reconciled her to the Frankfort Diet. It was well known that he had been elected in consequence of his Liberal principles, which were very far indeed from being those of his family, or the traditionary tenets of the Government of Vienna; and it was strongly surmised that, although the choice of a regent had fallen on a prince of the house of Hapsburg, that of an emperor would devolve on the King of Prussia. This idea could not for a moment be entertained, and accordingly the vision of German unity found few advocates at Vienna. On the contrary, the jealousy between the partisans of Austria and those of a central government became so violent at Frankfort, that the regent's administration was broken up by it. Von Schmerling, the Minister of the Interior, and Wurth, one of the under-secretaries of state, who were both deputies from Vienna, found their situation so irksome that they resigned office in the middle of December, and M. Von Gagern was sent for, who succeeded in re-forming the ministry, of course containing a majority of decided Liberals, with himself at its head.

18. The Prince of Leiningen, Prime Minister under the Archduke John, thus stated the requisites which were indispensable towards the formation of a united German Empire: "The nation must decide whether it will really have a united and powerful Germany; it is indispensable that it should elucidate this question to its own satisfaction, and thereafter act upon its will. As there is only one kind of real liberty which rests on law and order, so there is but one sort of unity—an actual union of the component parts as a

whole, and that too in such a manner as to remove the possibility of any dispute or contest between the whole and its parts. If any other course be pursued, not singleness or unity, but discord and separation, will be established. If the German nation, therefore, will have unity, it must not only adopt the means thereto, but accept the consequences thereof. There must be no more opposition of Bavarian, Prussian, Saxon, or any other interests, to those of Germany, for the former must be absorbed in the latter. Jealousy between individual states, revilings of the northern against the southern parts of the empire, are therefore mischievous absurdities. But opposition or disobedience to the imperial authority in the National Assembly is a crime against the majesty of the nation itself, a treason against the Fatherland, which must speedily be followed by condign punishment. Dynastic interests, as far as they refer to the imperial power, cannot, if the nation wills unity, be taken into consideration; for princes are as much called on to conform to that will as any other German. If, therefore, the nation would convert words into deeds, it must admonish the imperial power—that is, the National Assembly and the Central Government—to adopt with rapidity and precision, and without regard to collateral interests, all such measures as correspond with the object of restoring a free and united Germany, and moreover lend its own hearty support in aid of the work. To retrograde to a confederation of states, or to establish a weak central government by a powerfully repressed independence of individual states, would only lead by a mournful transition to fresh catastrophes and revolutions.*

* On the other hand, the views of Austria on this all-important subject were developed in a note addressed at this time by the Cabinet of Vienna to the Frankfort Assembly:—"The Imperial Government concurs with the German tribes next beyond the limits of the Austrian frontiers in their desire for a regeneration of Germany; the first condition of which, it apprehends, must be found in a closer union of the individual states. To promote this closer union ought to be the common task of the German princes and peo-

There can be no doubt that the general adoption of these magnanimous ideas was the only foundation on which German unity could be established. But alas for those who embraced that captivating illusion! they showed that it rested on the most hopeless of all foundations—a general negation of the selfish desires by all classes of the community.

19. A tragic event ere long occurred, which ulcerated in the highest degree the feelings of the National Assembly at Frankfort, and demonstrated how chimerical was the idea of fusing together Northern and Southern Germany in one united empire. When Vienna was reconquered from the insurgents on the 31st October by WINDISCHGRATZ, as will be immediately narrated, Robert Blum, the republican minister for Frankfort, and a man of ability and eloquence, fell into the hands of the victors. It appeared that he was in arms along with others when the city was taken, but not actually combating; they had retired to their hotel, when it was surrounded, and they were all made prisoners. Blum, who was

ple. Far from excluding itself, the Imperial Government is prepared for an earnest and candid co-operation, supposing always that the end to be attained is to be a union, not a total remodelling (*umschmelzung*) of existing institutions—that is, the maintenance (*wahrung*) of the various organic members of Germany, and not their abolition and annihilation. The formation of a unitarian state appears as little practicable for Austria as desirable for Germany. It is not expedient for us, for the position of Austria in the Confederacy ought not to cause us to forget our rights and duties to the non-German provinces of the monarchy. The Imperial Government cannot break the bonds which for centuries have joined the German and non-German countries of Austria, nor can it give its adhesion to a one-sided abolition of the German Confederation, which is an essential element of the European treaties. Indeed, such a unitarian state does not appear to be desirable for Germany; for not only would it oppose, in many ways, the various wants of the country, but it would stand in the way of its moral and material interests, destroy the traditions of the past and hopes of the future, and be a stumblingblock in the way of the much-longed-for and jealously-watched political and individual liberty of the Germans."—*Note of AUSTRIA*, October 28, 1848; *Monteur*, November 4, 1848.

well known as a republican leader, was taken before the Commander-in-chief, when he protested against the legality of his arrest upon the ground of a decree of the Frankfort Assembly, by which they had declared their own persons inviolable. The military commander was induced to sustain the plea, but he was overruled by the civil authorities, and Blum was immediately shot. It is scarcely possible to maintain that any assembly can, by voting itself inviolable, authorise its members to commit high treason in foreign states. But, be that as it may, there can be no doubt that the execution of Blum was a harsh and imprudent measure of the Austrian Government, adopted in the first transports of reactionary fervour, which finally dissevered Southern from Northern Germany, and blew to the winds the vision of a united central empire. It was intended as a defiance of Austria against Northern Germany—accepted and avenged as such. The Assembly at Frankfort solemnly protested against this execution as an invasion of their rights and privileges, and all hope of an accommodation between them was at an end.*

20. The principle of Von Gagern's ministry was to treat Austria as a member of the Germanic Confederacy, and maintain intercourse with her as such, but not to regard her as embraced in the new Federal Constitution, and therefore not entitled to be consulted in its construction. In effect, the high monarchical ideas of the Austrian Cabinet were so inconsistent with the democratic views of the great majority of the Frankfort Assembly, that it was plain no common measures could be pursued between them. It was by a radical revolution at Vienna alone that this could be effected, and such

* Impolitic as the execution of Blum undoubtedly was, there can be no doubt that, on the principles of public or international law, it was strictly legal as long as the punishment of death is affixed by nations to grave political offences. He was not tried for anything he had said or done at Frankfort, and as a member of the National Assembly there, but for taking part in arms in an insurrection in the streets of Vienna—a foreign country, so far as its domestic rule is concerned, to the Frankfort Assembly.

an event had been indefinitely postponed by the victory of Windischgratz and execution of Blum. Independent of this, the character of the Frankfort Assembly had become such that it was hopeless to expect anything rational or practical from its deliberations. The very first articles of the proposed constitution went to exclude Austria directly from any share in the united German nation; for they expressly declared "that no part of the empire could be united into a single state with countries not German; and if a German country has the same sovereign as a non-German country, the relations between the two countries are not to be regulated but on the principle of a purely personal union." The Austrian Cabinet, already distracted by internal broils, saw nothing but ruin in such propositions; and Prince Schwarzenberg accordingly, on hearing of these articles, sent an official note, in which he stated, "The complete, indissoluble unity of all the states which compose the Austrian monarchy is indispensable to Germany and to Europe; Austria will consider hereafter on what terms it is to unite with Germany." This was just the reverse of what the Frankfort Assembly intended, which was that the German provinces of Austria should form part of united Germany, and the Slavonic and Hungarian states another empire under the same head, just as they proposed for Schleswig and Holstein.

21. It would be inconceivable how conduct so senseless could have been pursued by the ardent apostles of unity, if it were not recollected how the Frankfort Assembly was composed, and under what influences it had fallen. Formed originally of a great majority of professors, doctors, and literary men, who had no practical acquaintance with affairs, but were enamoured of abstract principles, it had wasted the whole time that it had sat—above eight months—in debates upon words or general resolutions, without having advanced one step in real business, or adopted one single practical measure. It had not even

fixed the basis of the constitution. In consequence, it had become much discredited in the opinion of all sensible men in Germany; and serious doubts had come to be entertained of the practicability of governing a Confederacy consisting of such heterogeneous materials by an Assembly so composed. But in addition to these, the members, since they came to Frankfort, had become exposed to influences still more perilous. That city was filled with clubs, where the most reckless and ambitious from every part of Germany were congregated, to bring to bear on the Assembly the united force of their ambition, selfishness, and inexperience. Nearly every member of the Assembly belonged to more than one of these clubs, at which all the subjects coming before it were previously discussed, and instructions were given to the members how they were to vote, and even the order in which they were to speak. In a word, these clubs resembled so many *præ* and *post*-comitial Diets of Poland, at which pledges were imposed on the members of the Comitia before its meeting, and they were called to account after it was over for the manner in which they had conformed to them. It was melancholy to behold in an Assembly boasting its intelligence, and brought together expressly for the regeneration and improvement of society, a repetition of the very errors which had proved the ruin of the oldest republic in Christendom.

22. The open breach between Austria and the Frankfort Assembly led, in the beginning of 1849, to one decided step on the part of that body, which, if adopted at an earlier period, might have been attended with very important results. After several preliminary resolutions tending to the same end, the important question was submitted to the Assembly, whether the Sovereign of the new German Empire should be elective, excluding the head of any reigning family, or bestowed on one of the reigning German sovereigns; and it was carried by a majority of 339 to 122, that the reigning sovereigns should not be excluded;

and by 258 to 211, that the choice should be limited to one of the German sovereigns. This was a great point gained, and proved decisive; for it excluded a democratic president, and seemed to leave no choice, now that Austria was out of the field, but to bestow the Imperial Crown on the King of Prussia. The strength of the democratic element, however, appeared in the next vote, which was (Feb. 16) on the question whether the dignity thus conferred should be elective or hereditary; and in spite of the secret efforts of Prussia, the former was carried by a majority of 263 to 211. The next proposition submitted to the Assembly was, that the Crown should be tendered to the Prussian monarch. The debate on this subject commenced on the 17th March, and continued without intermission till the 28th. In the course of it the Prussian party offered the greatest concessions to secure the hereditary succession of the title. They consented that the new emperor should have only a suspensive *veto*; that the proposed council of princes should be abandoned; finally, that both chambers should be elected directly by universal suffrage. In return for these great concessions, the popular party agreed on the 27th that the dignity of emperor should be hereditary. On the 28th the decisive vote as to the choice of the emperor came on. The greatest anxiety prevailed as to the result: to the feverish tumult which had continued during the discussion succeeded a deathlike silence when the vote was taken, and at length, amidst intense excitement, the numbers were announced — for the King of Prussia, 290 out of 558 votes. It was immediately announced from the chair, that the choice had fallen on the King of Prussia, and a deputation of thirty-two members was appointed to tender him the Crown. Next day the Archduke John, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of his Council, resigned his office of Regent.

23. The time was when this flattering offer would have been joyfully accepted by the King of Prussia; for it

seemed to realise all the secret wishes and aspirations of his Cabinet, which had led them to embrace with so much warmth, in the outset, the principles of the German Revolution. But Time had worked many changes here, as it never fails to do elsewhere in human affairs. The Imperial Crown, as now tendered, was very different from the Imperial Crown as originally coveted. Being elective, in the first instance, it more nearly resembled the Presidency of America, or the Empire of Imperial Rome, than the old Germanic diadem. Moreover, it was accompanied by such restrictions as left little more than the shadow of power in the hands of the possessor. Austria had openly declared against the union of all the Confederacy under one head, and there could be little doubt that the acceptance of the Imperial Crown by Frederick William would at once bring on a war with that power, backed by Russia, with whom she was now in the closest alliance. France, torn by revolutionary passions, and England, paralysed by the economy of a citizen-ruled Government, were in no condition to give him any effectual support, and thus he would be left to make head against the two greatest military powers in Europe, with no other support but that of the lesser German states, who could not be expected to remain long united on such a crisis. Add to this, the party in the Frankfort Assembly which had tendered the Imperial Crown was the same as that from which he had recently made so narrow an escape in the streets of Berlin. Influenced by these considerations, the King determined to decline the proffered honour, prudently veiling, however, the refusal, under the pretext that the offer was "not as yet sanctioned by the sovereigns and free states of our Fatherland." It was well known that this sanction would never be got, at least from Austria, or the powers whom she influenced; so that this was in effect an absolute rejection. The deputation took it as such, and after remaining a few days in Berlin, to see whether the King would not re-

lent, took their departure in deep dejection for Frankfort.*

24. When such were the views of the Cabinet of Berlin upon this question, it may readily be believed that that of Vienna was still more decidedly of the same opinion. In a note addressed on 8th April to the Frankfort Assembly, the sentiments of the Austrian Cabinet on their assumption of power were openly expressed. It was there said, "The constitution of Frankfort is nothing but a project: that project can only become a law when it has received the sanction of the States of Germany. The Assembly has therefore exceeded its powers in publishing as a law, a constitution which is yet only a project. It has equally exceeded its powers when, without authority, it wished to give to Germany a hereditary Emperor. Thus, from henceforth, *Austria regards the National Assembly as no longer existing.*" At the same time (April 9), a note was sent to the King of Prussia, stating, "The King may, as member of the Germanic Confederacy, make any proposition which he pleases; but he should no longer rest on the wishes or resolutions of the Frankfort Assembly. That Assembly is not entitled to exercise an influence over measures tending to the formation of a new central power, nor take a part in deliberations having for their object to bring about a concurrence in a constitution which itself has declared to be completed." To these sentiments the Kings of Bavaria, Hanover, and Saxony immediately acceded, which gave the monarchical party a decided majority in the states of the Confederacy.

* The King said to the Deputies, "I feel honoured by the confidence of the National Assembly, and I am ready to prove by deeds that this reliance on my fidelity, love, and devotion to the cause of the country has not been misplaced. But I should not justify that confidence, I should not answer to the expectations of the German people, I should not strengthen the unity of Germany, if, violating sacred rights and breaking my former explicit and solemn assurances, I were, without the voluntary assent of the crowned Princes and free States of our Fatherland, to take a resolution which must be of decisive importance to them and the States which they rule."—*Ann. Reg.* 1849, p. 343.

25. On the other hand, the whole lesser states of Central and Northern Germany, comprehending Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, Hesse-Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, Holstein, Lauenburg, Anhalt, Dessau, Brunswick, Saxe-Weimar, Altenburg, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Meiningen, Schwartzburg, Sonderhausen, Hohenzollern, Waldeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, and Frankfort, agreed to accept the newly-created German constitution, and concurred in a collective note, to the King of Prussia, urging him to accept the proffered dignity of Emperor, and binding themselves to recognise him as such. In this note they declared that the constitution, as finally determined on by the Frankfort Assembly, did not in all its parts meet with their entire approbation, but that, adverting to the powers bestowed on the members by their constituents, and the extreme danger of any division or farther delay on the subject, they unanimously agreed to accept it as it stood. They added in the close of this note: "They permit themselves to hope that the Prussian Government, in consideration of the pressing motives, which apply equally to all parts of Germany, will adopt the same principle, and come to the conviction, that in this manner it will be placed in a position to fulfil the mission that the regeneration of Germany intrusts to her. They hope also that every German government, whose entrance into the federal union is not prevented for the present by its special relations, will, influenced by the same patriotic purpose, join itself to the united empire, and that, therefore, any arrangement with them out of the pale of the constitution will be unnecessary."

26. Thus the great monarchical and the lesser states of the Confederacy were brought into direct collision on the question of the adoption or rejection of the new constitution. What rendered this division the more fatal to the project of German unity, and had occasioned the hesitation even in the lesser states to acquiesce in its adoption, was the extremely democratic nature of its character. The Imperial

Legislature was to consist of two Houses, in the Upper of which, one half was to be named by the Emperor, and one half by the Lower House. The Lower House was to be elected by the *universal suffrage* of all the male inhabitants of Germany above twenty-one years of age, and not in receipt of parochial relief. The Emperor's power of refusing his consent to any measure which had passed both houses was to be suspensive only: if it lasted three successive sessions, it became law, whether he consented or not. Thus the Lower House, elected by universal suffrage, was to have the entire command of the State; for it nominated directly half the Upper House, and it could force the Emperor to adopt any measure by passing it in three successive sessions. This constitution, therefore, was a republic, veiled under monarchical forms; it had no resemblance whatever to the old Germanic or any ancient European constitution, but closely resembled those struck out for the emancipation of mankind during the fervour of the French Revolution, or that adopted in 1812 by the rump of the Cortes in the Isle of Leon, which had so long been the watchword of the extreme democratic party in the south of Europe.

27. The Archduke John, at the earnest solicitation of Austria, as well as of the Frankfort Assembly, had been prevailed on to withdraw his resignation, and he still nominally continued Regent. But he had no real power, and the proceedings of that body soon became so violent that it was evident that they were entirely in the hands of a republican faction, and that it was only a question of time when an open rupture should ensue between them and the monarchical states. In consequence of instructions from Vienna, dated the 5th April, the whole of the Austrian members, 121 in number, withdrew from the Assembly. On the 30th April the Republican majority published a resolution disapproving of the dissolution of the Assembly in Prussia, and of a similar one in Hanover, and ordering the Governments of these two countries to

direct a new election as soon as possible. On 4th May they voted another series of resolutions, requiring all the governments, legislatures, and municipal bodies of the different states, to acknowledge the general constitution promulgated on the 28th March, and appointed the elections to take place under it on 15th August. As Prussia was expected to dissent, it was provided that, in that event, the office of interim regent or stadtholder should devolve on the sovereign of the state in the Confederacy which should possess the next greatest number of inhabitants. The expectations entertained of the dissent of Prussia were soon realised; for in a few days after, the Government at Berlin published a declaration to the effect that the Frankfort Assembly had no right to fix the time and mode of the elections, and that they could not in any manner recognise or execute its decrees. This was immediately followed by a royal ordinance, declaring that the commission of the deputies at the Frankfort Assembly had expired, and enjoining them to take no part in any ulterior proceedings. In reply, the Frankfort Assembly published a resolution, "that the gross violation of the peace of the empire, of which the Prussian Government had been guilty, by its unauthorised interference in the kingdom of Saxony, shall be repressed by all available means."* The Regent was solicited to put this decisive resolution in execution, and to form a cabinet to do so. This the Archduke John refused to do, and upon this the matter was referred to a committee, which reported that the Regent's government should be summoned to take the oath to the empire, and that its armies should be placed at the disposal of the Assembly. Upon this the Prussian Government instructed its plenipotentiary at Frankfort to announce that it no longer recognised the right or ability of the Central Government to direct the negotiations with Denmark, that it would do so itself, and that it had directed the Prussian commander in Schleswig to take his orders from

Berlin alone. The Frankfort Assembly upon this, deeming themselves no longer in safety in Frankfort, which was considered too much under the influence of Prussia, resolved to transfer the place of their deliberations to Stuttgart in Würtemberg, and a great majority of the members removed thither accordingly; while the Regent's government, with a steady minority, remained at Frankfort.

28. The democratic portion of the German Assembly had now run themselves into a desperate and even ludicrous position. Assuming and professing to exercise imperial powers, it in reality possessed neither the moral influence nor the physical strength to enforce obedience to its decrees. Having come to an open rupture with Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover, and Saxony, it could rest only on the support of the lesser states, and their strength was wholly unequal to a contest with these great monarchies. Its moral influence was still more seriously weakened; for such had been the violence of the speeches made, and perilous nature of the resolutions brought forward by the members of the Assembly, as well as the trifling nature of many of the points discussed in the debates on which so much time had been lost, that they had irrevocably forfeited the confidence of all persons of sense or experience in Germany, and thrown the Assembly into the arms of an insane revolutionary party precisely similar to the Jacobins of Paris, equal to them in audacity and presumption, but very different in ability of conduct and political power. This soon appeared in their public acts. After the removal of the Assembly to Stuttgart, they openly attempted to bring about a new and more violent democratic revolution, which should be entirely free from the conservative influences that had come to moderate the first. On 6th June 1849 they published strong resolutions against a new imperial constitution, to be immediately noticed, which had been framed by the Governments of Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony; appointed a new Provisional Government

* To understand this, see *post*, § 29.

of eight persons to conduct the affairs of Germany, all of the most revolutionary character; deposed the Archduke John from the regency, declared him guilty of illegal usurpation for having continued to carry on the powers originally conferred upon him; ordered a general arming of the people, and directed the Finance Committee to negotiate a loan of 5,000,000 florins (£500,000) for the expenses of the Central Government in the months of June and July. These proceedings on the part of the rump of a legislature possessed of no real power, indicated the having of a body of political fanatics whom no experience could teach, and no change of circumstances convince. They were deemed too dangerous to be permitted to continue sitting, and yet too contemptible to warrant the application of military force. They were therefore handed over to the police, which prohibited their meeting; and the famous Frankfort Assembly, which had been charged with the mission of regenerating Germany, and deemed itself equal to the task, universally distrusted and discredited, expired on the mandate of a sergeant of police of the little kingdom of Wurtemberg!

29. It was not, however, without a serious contest in the lesser states, and some lamentable bloodshed, that this new and more violent democratic movement was finally quelled. The revolutionists were resolved to fight for it; and fight they did, and were thoroughly beaten. The first outbreak occurred at Dresden on the 5th May, when the people rose in revolt, and after a serious conflict with the military, succeeded in erecting barricades in the streets, and compelling the royal family to take refuge in the adjoining fortress of Konigstein. A provisional government was immediately proclaimed in the capital, having at its head a Polish refugee, and several other decided republicans. Their power, however, was of short duration. On the 7th, large bodies of troops arrived by the railway, including a Prussian regiment, and a

combined attack was immediately made on the position occupied by the insurgents. They were in part soon carried, and additional reinforcements, both Prussian and Saxon, having arrived on the succeeding day, a bloody conflict ensued, in which, as in Paris in the preceding year, the contending forces combated not only in the streets and on the barricades, but in almost every house. At first half the city was in the hands of the insurgents, but they were gradually expelled, and by the evening of the 9th the whole streets were in the possession of the royal troops, and the provisional government had taken to flight. The King immediately returned to his capital, and his authority was re-established. At the same time disturbances broke out at Leipsic; but as the Burgher Guard there remained faithful, they were suppressed before they had made any great progress. In Hanover, things at first wore a still more serious aspect; for the King there, who, in imitation of the Prussian Government, had dissolved the Chamber, whose democratic tendencies had become apparent, was so besieged in his palace by deputations from the towns and boroughs in his dominions, requiring the immediate and unqualified acceptance of the Frankfort Constitution, that he was on the point of quitting his capital, and was only prevailed on to remain and await the course of events, by promises of immediate and powerful assistance from the Prussian forces.

30. A still more alarming outbreak, attended by a great effusion of blood, took place a few days after in Baden and the Palatinate. The object of it, as of all the other movements at the same time in Germany, was to compel the Government by force to adopt the Constitution of Frankfort, which had now come to form the rallying-point of the whole discontented spirits in the Confederacy. On the 13th May an open-air assembly was held at Offenberg, in the Grand-Duchy of Baden, at which violent resolutions were proposed and agreed to, to the effect that the Chambers should be

dissolved, a constituent assembly convoked, and was immediately declared against Prussia. At Carlsruhe, on the same day, a mutinous spirit was evinced by the troops; and at Bruchsal a mob assembled, which liberated some democratic leaders who were in confinement, and paraded them in triumph through the streets. Next day, as the garrison of Rastadt had revolted, and the insubordination of the military seemed to increase, and the Grand-Duke had no means of resisting them, he withdrew from his capital, and took refuge in Alsace, while a provisional government was established in his stead. This example was soon imitated in the Palatinate. On the 17th May a provisional government was established by a sudden outbreak at Kaiserslautern, and a convention immediately entered into with the provisional government at Baden, to the effect that the two states should be formed into one united revolutionary State. And on the 19th the provisional government of Baden issued a proclamation breathing defiance to the government of the Regent, and declaring their readiness to march against those powers which had entered into a coalition to bring about a counter-revolution, and restore all the old abuses. The insurrection, in the first instance, met with great success. The ardent democrats and discontented republicans from all quarters flocked to the standard of revolt; and in a few days the two provisional governments had twenty thousand armed and disciplined men enrolled under their banners.

31. This insurrection might have been attended with very serious consequences, if it had been met with less vigour and decision by the constituted authorities. But, meanwhile, the Governments of Prussia and Bavaria made the most vigorous efforts to extinguish the flames which threatened to involve the whole of Central and Southern Germany in conflagration. On the 22d May they declared the whole Palatinate in a state of insurrection, and denounced the provisional government as guilty of high treason.

The Prussian King despatched a large body of troops under the command of General Weber to assist the forces of the Confederacy. The insurgents retired before their united forces, and abandoned the whole country between the Rhine and the mouth of the Neckar. The Prussian troops were divided into two columns, the first of which, in conjunction with the troops of the Confederacy, without experiencing any serious resistance, advanced into Baden as far as Weinheim (15th June), while the second, on the opposite (left) bank of the Rhine, moved through the Palatinate. The former encountered twelve thousand insurgents under the Polish General Mieroslawski, who now again appeared at the head of the rebels in Southern Germany. He commenced a vigorous attack on the Prussian troops in position near the village of Grossochen, but was repulsed with loss. A few days after, Mieroslawski sustained a severe defeat from a Prussian corps greatly inferior in number, near the village of Hannechen. Martial law was soon proclaimed in the whole of the Grand-Duchy of Baden, and the Prussian troops, who were now commanded by the Prince of Prussia, crossed the Neckar (June 21) after a severe combat, and occupied Heidelberg and Mannheim, and the discomfited bands were driven into the defiles of the Black Forest. Thither they were immediately followed by the victorious Prussians (now joined by the column from the Palatinate which passed the Rhine at Gernersheim), who came up with a considerable body of insurgents, whom they routed, on the 22d June, near Ettlingen. The principal remains of their broken bands now took refuge, to the number of five thousand, in the fortress of Rastadt, which was immediately invested, while Carlsruhe was occupied by the troops of the Confederacy. The insurrection was finally extinguished by the surrender (June 23) of the troops in Rastadt; but Mieroslawski escaped to carry into other lands the standard of insurrection.

32. Taught by these events the impracticable nature of the constitution

which the democrats of Frankfort had proposed, the Cabinets of Berlin, Hanover, and Dresden had for some time been engaged in the formation of an Imperial Federal Constitution, which was finally agreed to and published on the 30th May. By this remarkable instrument the three Powers entered into a union, the object of which was mutual protection against external and internal enemies. They declared "the above-named Governments did not recognise the constitution drawn up by the Frankfort Assembly, because it went beyond the true and wholesome requirements of a powerful federal state, and in the form it received from the conflict and concessions of political parties, it did not contain those essential guarantees on which the legal and regular existence of every system of government reposes. But the united governments have never for a moment forgotten, that even for these reasons it became their double duty to co-operate in framing a constitution that has become an indispensable necessity for the whole of Germany. Such a constitution will secure for the nation what, for a long period, it has been so painfully deprived of—unity and strength in relation to foreign powers, and in its internal affairs, with the secured existence of each member of the union, a common development of general interests and national necessities. It is the guarantee of just freedom and legal order, which the German Constitution will have to grant to the governments and the people."

33. The Constitution, which was drawn up with great minuteness and precision, contained one hundred and ninety articles. By it the general government of the empire was vested in a President of the Empire, and a Council of Princes. The dignity of President of the Empire was united to the Crown of Prussia. The Council of Princes consisted of six members, one chosen by Prussia, one by Bavaria, and the remaining four to be chosen by the lesser states of the Confederacy collectively, in certain assigned clusters. The President and this Council

were to have the power of declaring peace and war, to conduct all negotiations with foreign powers, and conclude treaties with them. The Council of Princes had alone the right of proposing laws, the Diet could only deliberate on them. This Diet was to consist of two houses;—a Senate, consisting of one hundred and sixty-seven members, of which Prussia sent forty, chosen one-half by the government, the other half by the legislature in each state: the Lower House to be chosen by universal suffrage, every German voting who had attained the age of twenty-five, and had not been convicted of crime, and its members to be at least thirty years of age; these were to be chosen by a double election, and there was to be a representative for every 100,000 inhabitants. A Supreme Court of Appeal, "*Bundeschieds Gericht*," consisting of seven members, of whom Prussia was to appoint three, Saxony two, and Hanover two, was to decide all disputed matters between any members of the union. Personal freedom, freedom of religious worship, a free press, and universal education, to be provided at the public expense for the poor, were guaranteed to all the members of the union, as well as the right of meeting and petitioning, and establishing clubs. From this sketch of the constitution, which was called in derision by the extreme Liberals "the constitution of the three kings," it is evident that it contained all the elements of real freedom, and all the guarantees for its endurance which could be obtained, when the power of taking the initiative in legislative matters was as yet withheld from the people. It was based on the principle, that as long as the supreme direction of affairs was intrusted to the "Council of Princes," it was safe to admit even the representatives of universal suffrage to the privilege of stating their wishes and interests. But the constitution laboured under one defect fatal to its endurance; it wanted the concurrence of Austria and Bavaria, and without their adhesion there could be no general government of Germany. Any

union of the other states could be nothing but an extended Zollverein, binding on such sovereigns only as agreed to enter it, and destitute of the whole weight and grandeur which would belong to a united and universal German Empire.

34. Though the Prussian monarchy was thus acquiring the lead in Central and Northern Germany, it was not without difficulty that its Government could maintain the ascendancy of conservative principles in its own dominions. The elections for the new Chamber had not proceeded so favourably for Government as had been hoped; nearly the whole members of the extreme democratic party were re-elected, and the executive experienced no slight difficulty in moderating their fervour. The Chamber met on the 26th February; and the session proved a short and stormy one. The house cordially approved of the determination of the Frankfort Assembly to offer the crown of Germany to the King of Prussia; and a motion, praying the King to accept it, was rejected only by a majority of five, the numbers being 156 to 151. Shortly after, the Chamber resolved, by a majority of 179 to 159, to adopt the Frankfort constitution which had been condemned by the Government; and their next step was to petition the King to terminate the state of siege in Berlin, which was carried by 177 to 152. The Chamber had now unequivocally declared itself against the Government, in consequence of which it was suddenly dissolved on the 27th April; and the reasons which induced the King to take this step were stated in an address presented by the Ministry, which appeared in the *Berlin Gazette* the same evening. Shortly after, the Prussian Cabinet presented a note, addressed to the several German governments, explaining the views it entertained on public affairs. In this important paper it was stated: "Prussia engages to oppose the revolutionary agitation of the time with the utmost energy, and endeavour to furnish other governments with timely assistance for the same purpose. The danger is a common one, and Prussia

will not betray its mission to interfere in the hour of peril wherever and in any manner it may deem necessary. It is convinced that a *limit must be put to the revolution of Germany*. This cannot be effected by mere passive resistance; it must be done by active interference." Following this example, the Bavarian Chambers also were dissolved on the 11th June.

35. On 31st May the new electoral law, intended to be more conservative than the preceding, was promulgated in Prussia. By it the election of deputies, who were to be 359 in number, was to take place by a double method. Every independent Prussian who had attained his twenty-fourth year, and was not in receipt of public alms, had a vote if he had resided six months in the district in which his vote was tendered. The primary electors were to be divided into three classes, and each class had a vote in the choice of the representative. The first class consisted of those who paid the highest amount of taxes; the second, the next; the third, the lowest. Each class was to choose one-third of the electors who were to choose the representative. Every Prussian who had attained his thirtieth year was eligible as a deputy. This electoral law was accompanied by a strong declaration against secret voting, which was no longer to be allowed. "It stands in contradiction," said the declaration, "to every other branch of the system of government, in which publicity is with justice demanded; it conceals the important act of election under a veil, under which all proceedings that will not stand the light of day may be hidden; while the public mode of voting has this result, that the vote given can be considered as the result of an independent conviction."

36. Towards the end of July the aspect of affairs was so much more favourable at Berlin, that the Government deemed it safe to terminate the state of siege, and the elections went on under the new law. They almost all terminated in favour of the moderate constitutional party; so great was the change which the new system of

VOTING BY CLASSES had introduced into an Assembly even elected by universal suffrage. The house met on the 7th August, and the triumph of the conservatives was assured from the very first. The King said in the royal speech: "We have conceived it our duty to oppose with strength and vigour that domination of terror which a misguided party began to exercise over Prussia and Germany. We have sought to re-establish order and tranquillity, which have been so much disturbed. But we have laboured, on the other hand, with the same resolution, through recognition of the true needs and just demands of the nation, to lay the foundation of a lasting quiet, and in this way to deprive new attempts at revolution of all foundation and pretext. If the attempts to arrive at an understanding with the German National Assembly failed, to our great regret, it was in consequence of the turn which things took at Frankfort. But the Government of his Majesty has not acknowledged with the less candour the labours of that Assembly, and used them as the groundwork of their earnest endeavour to form a federal constitution which may be compatible with the benefit of the whole, and the rights of single parties. The unity of Germany, with a single executive power at its head, secured by a popular representation with legislative powers, was and is the object of our endeavour."

37. This terminated the revolution in Prussia, and in a way far more felicitous than at one period could possibly have been anticipated. The lesser states, for the most part, followed the example of that leading Power, and the simultaneous extinction of the Hungarian revolt by the arms of Russia deprived the disaffected of all hopes of success. Matters accordingly returned to their old state, though not so rapidly as they had become revolutionary when the troubles first broke out. The Cabinet of Vienna influenced the states of Bavaria and Würtemberg, and this formed a counterpoise to the northern league between Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony, which

delayed the adjustment of a federal constitution for some time, by the jealousy of those opposite powers as to the presidency. A proposal made by the Imperial Government, that Austria and Prussia should each nominate two commissioners, who should jointly execute the duties of regent, was rejected by the latter, from an apprehension of the influence of the Cabinet of Vienna; but meanwhile matters became pressing, and it was indispensable to come to some arrangement as to the Central Government; and on the 30th September the Austrian proposal, as an *interim* arrangement to last until the 1st May 1850, was finally agreed to. On the 2d July the Archduke John left Frankfort, and went to the baths, professedly for the re-establishment of his health—really to get quit of his irksome position, where he had the responsibility, and was without the reality, of power. He finally resigned his office on the 20th December, and the representatives of Austria and Prussia were installed in his stead.

38. The affairs of Germany were now virtually settled; but a variety of minor questions remained in its lesser states and general relations, which involved it in turmoil during the whole of 1850, and at one period assumed so serious an aspect that a general war seemed inevitable. Würtemberg was the chief seat of the disturbances, and the last theatre of the philosophical delusions under which the Confederacy had so long suffered. The King of that little state had resisted the efforts of his Liberal Ministry, with M. Römer at its head, to sacrifice his dominions to the supremacy of Prussia, and he remained attached to the Austrian party; but in the course of the struggle the revolutionists had gained all their points, and universal suffrage, without a separation of classes, had worked out its usual result of rendering rational government impossible. The Diet of the kingdom was opened on the 15th March, and in his speech the King had the courage to denounce the vision of unity, which had so long produced division in Germany, as its most dan-

gerous enemy.* Prussia took high offence at this speech, inasmuch that the Prussian ambassador was recalled from Würtemberg, and things wore a very threatening aspect. The better to improve his influence, and put matters in a train for realising his favourite project of becoming the head of the united German nation, the King of Prussia summoned a parliament of the princes to meet at Erfurth; but it was not attended so numerously as had been expected, and after sitting a short time it was adjourned, and a new congress of princes summoned to meet at Berlin on 9th May. This was at once throwing down the gauntlet to Austria; and accordingly, though twenty-two princes attended the summons, besides the representatives of the Hanse Towns, yet as Austria, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Saxony were not represented, their deliberations came to nothing, and the Assembly was dismissed after a few days' sitting. Austria, on its side, formed a confederacy which met at Munich (Feb. 14), and was soon joined by Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Würtemberg, and all the states of Southern Germany. Soon after the Cabinet of Vienna sent round a circular, calling on the different states to assemble at Frankfort on 6th May, to take into consideration a new organisation of the Diet, on a footing which, it was well understood, should give the house of Hapsburg the lead. Thus there were rival assemblies sitting at the same time in Germany, each summoned by a rival sovereign

* "Ever since March 1848 Germany has been a toy in the hands of party-spirit and ambition. The German unitarian state is a chimera, but the most dangerous of all chimeras for Germany, as well as for Europe. All the means which have been used for this end, all that are still likely to be used, produce an effect directly contrary to that which was intended—that is to say, a division and entire dissolution. The strength, harmony, civilisation, and liberty of the nation depend on our fostering and preserving the independence of its principal states. Their forcible fusion, any subjection of one state to another, must lead to internal dissolution, and annihilate our existence as a nation. For a lasting union of our common country, there is but one possible form—the federal."—*King of Würtemberg's Speech*, 15th March 1850; *Ann. Reg.* 1850, p. 315.

aiming at the exclusive supremacy of the empire—a mournful result to have followed the general and enthusiastic aspirations after unity of the preceding years, and illustrating the wisdom of the King of Würtemberg's words—"for a lasting union of our common country there is but one possible form—the federal."

39. The excitement in Germany was increased, shortly after, by an attempt, made by an assassin of unsound mind, to murder the King of Prussia, which, though it wounded the monarch, happily did not prove fatal. The interest excited by this barbarous attempt, however, was ere long superseded by a contest between the revolutionary and conservative parties in Hesse-Cassel, which rapidly assumed so serious a form as to threaten to involve all Germany in conflagration. This arose from a change of ministry by the Elector, who, finding himself hard pressed by the revolutionists in his dominions, had dismissed the Liberals, and appointed a new one—of which M. Hassonplug was head—in their stead. This appointment was very unpopular, as, independent of his known leaning to monarchical principles and the Austrian alliance, he was a man of bad character. The consequence was, that the Ministry having called on the Chambers (Aug. 23) to vote supplies before a regular budget was laid before them, they threw such obstacles in the way as amounted to a refusal, or at least was construed as such by the Government. The Chamber was immediately (Sept. 4) dissolved, and a proclamation issued, to the effect that, in the mean time, and until further notice, taxes would be levied by the sole authority of the Elector. This excited such a ferment that a decree was issued (Sept. 7) proclaiming martial law, and establishing a surveillance over the press. But the soldiers, as well as citizens, nearly all sympathised with the Liberals; the courts of law declared the proclamation of martial law illegal; an impeachment was preferred by the public prosecutor against M. Hassonplug; and at last (Sept. 13) the Elector and

his Ministry were obliged to fly from Cassel, and take up their abode in Wilhelmsbad, a suburb of Hanau, from whence a decree against the courts of law and other functionaries was issued. On their side, the standing committee of the Cassel Assembly issued an address to the Elector, condemning in the strongest terms the conduct of the Ministry, "who are so many serpents in your bosom." The German Diet, which was sitting at Frankfort at the time, resolved to support the Elector, and passed a decree (Sept. 18) directing him to be reinstated in his dominions, and pledging themselves to take all necessary steps for that purpose; and the Austrian Cabinet gave orders to move troops to the southern frontier of Cassel to enforce the resolution of the Diet. On the other hand, the Prussian Government took part with the Cassel Chamber, and, deeming the decree of the Frankfort Diet and the measures of Austria an infringement of the rights of the "Bund" to which Cassel belonged, and of which Prussia was the head, rapidly advanced troops on the opposite side, and took military possession of all the roads leading from Prussia into Hesse-Cassel. The Austrian Government, hearing of this, advanced troops with the utmost expedition to support the other side, deeming the time arrived when the supremacy in Germany was to be decided by force of arms. Matters looked to the last degree threatening: fifty thousand Austrians and as many Prussians were speedily in presence of each other on or near the Cassel territory; the military enthusiasm, both at Berlin and Vienna, rose to the highest pitch; and, to all appearance, a war as terrible as that between Wallenstein and Gustavus Adolphus, or Daun and the King of Prussia, was to form the last act of the drama of German unity.

40. War, indeed, would undoubtedly have ensued, had it not been for the intervention of that great power which had now become almost omnipotent in the east of Europe, and whose influence has as often been exerted to avert as to provoke hostilities in the adjoining states. Russia, flushed with

confidence from the success of her intervention in Hungary in the preceding year, to be immediately noticed, was no indifferent spectator of the approaching contest for supremacy in the great German Empire. Her Cabinet accordingly proposed a conference at Warsaw to settle the whole German question, and it was agreed to by both Austria and Prussia. The views of Russia, in this intervention, are fully developed in a treaty which was at the same time (Oct. 7) entered into at Bregentz between the Czar, the Emperor of Austria, and the Kings of Württemberg and Bavaria. By this treaty the contracting parties mutually bound themselves to bring 200,000 men into the field to resist the demands of Prussia, and reinstate the Elector of Cassel in his dominions; and the Czar further agreed to move a large force into Galicia and Hungary, in order to insure the tranquillity of these provinces, and set free the Austrian armies for operations in Central Germany. In the conferences which were immediately opened at Warsaw, the demands of Prussia, which were supported by Count Brandenburg, were,—the consent of Austria to free conferences for the remodelling of the German constitution; the admission of Prussia to an equal share with Austria in the future government of the Confederacy; the assent of Austria to a special commission, to meet at Hamburg or elsewhere, to settle the affairs of the Danish duchies. On the other hand, he offered to consent, on the part of Prussia, to postpone indefinitely any further meetings of the Erfurth Union; to consent that Austria should be ranked in the German Confederacy for her *whole dominions*, including Hungary and Lombardy, as well as her German provinces; and to exclude from the future Diet *all representation of the German people*. To these terms, with the exception of that regarding the equal authority in the Confederacy, the Austrians, after some hesitation, agreed. The better to favour a reconciliation between the contending parties, the Emperor Nicholas suggested a compromise, which was,

that the forces of Austria and Bavaria should enter Cassel, to reinstate the Elector in his dominions, and enforce obedience to the decree of the Frankfort Diet; and the Prussian troops should retain possession of all the roads leading from thence into their widely-scattered dominions. These proposals induced a schism in the Cabinet of Berlin: Count Radowitz, supported by the King, the Prince of Prussia, and two of the ministers, declared for war and a total disregard of the Frankfort decree; while Count Brandenburg and Baron Von Manteuffel strongly supported a pacific policy, and adoption of the proposals of the Emperor of Russia. The latter prevailed, and in consequence Count Radowitz resigned, to the great grief of the King, who wrote him a letter strongly expressing his regret and esteem;* and the agitation consequent on the crisis proved fatal to Count Brandenburg, who died, after a short illness, three days after his return from the Warsaw conferences.

41. Meanwhile matters had been every day becoming more ominous, and had all but reached a collision in the field. The Austrian and Bavarian troops, on 1st November, marched into Hanau, situated in the electorate, and next day a large Prussian force occupied Cassel, where they were received with the loudest acclamations by the whole people. Hostilities, however, did not actually ensue, though they were on the very point of doing so; and happily, at this critical juncture, the retirement of Count Radowitz and the influence of Russia led to the ascendant of pacific counsels. A new conference was held at Olmutz, under the immediate auspices of the Emperor

of Russia; and, on the 29th November, terms were agreed to by the plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia, which averted the dire alternative of war. By this convention Prussia consented to the federal troops entering the territory of Cassel—the capital being occupied by a battalion of Austrians and another of Prussians. Commissioners were to be sent into Holstein to desire the insurgents to withdraw behind the Eider, and the Danes to occupy Schleswig with such a body of troops only as was necessary for the public tranquillity. A congress was to be held at Dresden to settle finally the affairs of Germany, and especially Holstein and Cassel. This congress was held accordingly, and opened with great solemnity on the 23d December, when Prince Schwartzberg, on the part of Austria, and Baron Manteuffel on that of Prussia, delivered speeches explaining the views of their respective governments. “The incontestable advantages of the Confederation,” said the former, “are apparent from a review of the great blessings which Germany enjoyed under its protection, and of the present state of things, of which the development is owing to a time in which that protection could no longer be effectual and sufficient. That time, also, has become a lesson to us, and it has again served to warn us to make use of our dearly-bought experience. That experience has shown us the futility of all attempts to create an absolute novelty. It has shown that the foundations on which the Confederation rests are not only good and serviceable, but that they are the ones suitable for a fabric in which a community of states, such as Germany includes, can be expected to live in harmony and in a state of general prosperity. If we wish to avoid a return to those sad experiences, we ought to prove to the countries of Germany that their governments do not want the will, the intelligence, and the energy to remove existing grievances, and to create things good, true, and stable.”

42. When such sentiments were expressed by the representatives of the

* “You have only just left me, my dearest friend; but I seize my pen to send after you a word of grief, of confidence, and of hope. I have signed your dismissal from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, God knows, with a heavy heart; but, as a faithful friend, I have been forced to do so: and still more, I praised you before my assembled Council for the wish you expressed to retire from office. This tells the whole tale, and describes my position more clearly than volumes could do.”
—KING OF PRUSSIA TO COUNT RADOWITZ, Sans Souci, Nov. 5, 1860; *Ann. Reg.* 1860, p. 323.

great powers, the work of pacification seemed already done. But great difficulties were experienced in getting all differences smoothed over with the lesser powers; and after sitting some months, it was judged, and wisely, that without attempting to adjust all lesser points, the most advisable course was to adjourn the conferences *sine die*, and meanwhile to return to the whole arrangements as to mutual defence, and the quota of troops to be furnished by each state, which had been agreed to at the first confederation-treaty in 1815. This was accordingly done by a regular resolution on May 15, 1851; and the old Diet then met at Frankfurt precisely as it had done before the Revolution broke out. Thus, after three years of incessant riot, confusion, and bloodshed in Germany, and the endurance of a vast amount of public damage and private suffering, things returned to their old state, with no other lasting advantage but a general conviction that the new and much-desired state was, under existing circumstances, impossible.

43. To complete the picture of Central and Northern Germany during these eventful years, it only remains to notice the concluding events of the heroic contest which Denmark maintained, in defence of its just rights, against the encroachments of the Germanic Confederacy. The conditions of the armistice of Malmœ, already mentioned, which terminated the first act of that interesting drama, had been religiously observed by Denmark, which, as the weaker party, had no interest in violating them. But it was otherwise with the Germanic Confederacy, which, being impelled by the thirst for conquest and proselytism which is the invariable attendant on the extrication of the revolutionary passions, and not openly resisted by England, which sympathised with the advances of democracy in every part of the world, made such encroachments by advancing troops close to Jutland, the last refuge of Denmark on the continent, as rendered the resumption of hostilities on the part of its Government un-

avoidable. They commenced on the night of the 3d April 1849, when the Danish troops, advancing from Duppel towards Gravenstein, gained some success at land, and succeeded in driving back the nearest posts of the enemy; but this advantage was more than counterbalanced by a cruel catastrophe which at the same time (April 4) befell the Christian VIII., of seventy-four guns, and Gefion frigate, which, having imprudently advanced with two steamers too near the shore, in an attack on the batteries of Eckenforde, were unable to get back by a change of wind. The former in consequence blew up, while the latter was taken, with 640 men and 40 officers. No-wise discouraged by this disaster, the Danes laboured night and day to repair it, and fit out new vessels to support their troops in this amphibious warfare. But ere long the superior strength of the Confederation became apparent. On the 18th April their troops attacked Duppel, and, after a severe contest, carried the redoubts, and forced the Danes to retire into the island of Alsén. The next day they assailed the *île-du-pont* of Sundewitt, the only point in advance of Alsén, now held by the Danes on the mainland; but they were unsuccessful. But on the whole theatre of war their preponderance was decisive. The forces which the Germans brought into the field were nearly 100,000, of whom 5000 were cavalry, with 100 guns; while the Danes, at the very utmost, could only oppose to them 30,000, who had not the advantage of possessing any defensible military positions. The odds were too unequal. On the 20th April the Prussians invaded Jutland with 48 battalions, 48 guns, and 2000 horse; and the Danish generals, unable to make head against such a crusade, retired through the town of Kolding, which commanded an important bridge that was abandoned to the invaders. The Danes, however, returned on the 28d, and after a bloody combat dislodged the Prussians, but were finally obliged to evacuate it by the fire of the German mortars, which reduced the town to ashes.

44. On the 8d May the Danes had their revenge, in the defeat of a large body of the Schleswig insurgents by a Danish corps to the north of the fortress of Fredericia, near Aarhus, in Jutland, with the loss of 340 men. A more important advantage was gained by them on the 8th July over the German corps of General Bonin, 18,000 strong, which was besieging Fredericia. It was simultaneously attacked from within by a sally from the garrison, and from without by a large Danish force under General Rye, which, unknown to the enemy, had partly reinforced the garrison, and partly been concentrated in the adjacent forest by means of their superiority at sea. Both attacks, which were made at one in the morning, met with entire success. The surprise was complete, and after two hours of a confused nocturnal combat, the besiegers were routed at all points, driven from their intrenchments, and all their siege-artillery and equipage, with several of their field-guns, taken. While General Rye's corps was gaining these successes to the north and west of Fredericia, another Danish corps, under General Molke, attacked and put to the rout 8000 Germans, to the south of the fortress, and drove them back through Kolding. The loss of the Germans in this disastrous affair was 96 officers and 3250 men killed and wounded, with their whole siege-artillery and stores. These great advantages were dearly purchased by the Danes with the loss of General Rye, who had so ably planned the attack, and was slain early in the action. This brilliant victory was immediately followed by the retreat of the Germans from a great part of Jutland. A convention was soon after concluded at Berlin (July 10), which established an armistice for six months, and provided for the entire evacuation of that province by the German forces. In the mean time, the disputed province of Schleswig was to be governed, in the name of the King of Denmark, by a commission composed of one person named by him, one by the King of Prussia, and an arbiter appointed by England. These terms were extremely

favourable to the Danes, for they provided a separate government for Schleswig, whereas the commission which governed both duchies during the former armistice had been mainly in the interest of the insurgents, and had arrayed all they could of the strength of the northern province against the Danish crown. But they could not array the whole, for the majority of the inhabitants were against them; and it was observed in these combats, that none of the Danish troops evinced such animosity as those which had been drawn from the province of Schleswig. By a secret treaty signed at the same time with the public convention, it was provided that, in the event of the Schleswig-Holstein army declining to accept the armistice, the Danish Government was to be at liberty to employ all its forces against them, but not to call in the assistance of any foreign power; and that in that event the Prussian Government was to withdraw its forces, and leave the insurgents to their own resources.

45. Negotiations for a final treaty of peace now ensued, between plenipotentiaries appointed on both sides; and the King of Denmark said, in his address to the Chambers at Copenhagen, on January 10, 1850, "The war is not ended, but it is interrupted, and I am in hopes this will lead to the desired result, if my deluded subjects are not misled by the encouragement of a *great power*." The Emperor of Russia warmly supported the demands of Denmark, by whom the conditions of the armistice were faithfully observed, and in an energetic note enumerated the many and serious breaches of it by the Schleswig insurgents and the Prussian Government, by whom, during its continuance, arms and ammunition had been secretly sent into the duchies. The terms of this note left little room for doubt that, in the event of Prussia continuing this insidious policy, the Cabinet of St Petersburg would take a part in the conflict. Lord Palmerston, seeing matters becoming so serious, departed from his system of veiled support of the Schleswig insurrection, and proposed a conference in London

to adjust the matters in dispute; but Austria and Prussia declined to accede to it, as derogatory to the dignity of the Germanic Confederacy. The negotiations between the belligerent powers accordingly went on at Berlin, and terminated on 2d July, in the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the King of Denmark on the one side, and the King of Prussia and Germanic Confederacy on the other. By this treaty all former ones between Denmark and the German Confederacy were renewed; their mutual rights were re-established on the footing on which they had been before the war. The King of Denmark undertook to ratify this treaty, the King of Prussia not only to ratify it, but to do his best to procure the ratification of the Germanic Confederacy. The King of Denmark was authorised to employ his own forces in re-establishing his authority in Schleswig. As Duke of Holstein he was authorised to claim the support of the Confederacy in re-establishing his authority in that duchy, and if it was not accorded he might employ his own forces in doing so; and commissioners were to be appointed on each side to ascertain the boundaries of such parts of the Danish dominions as belonged to the German Confederacy. Within eleven days of the ratification of this treaty, the Prussian troops were to withdraw from Schleswig, and in eleven days more from Holstein. A protocol was, two days after the signature of this treaty, signed in London by the plenipotentiaries who were parties to the conference there, which provided for the maintenance of the possessions of the Crown of Denmark in their entire integrity, and that the question of the *succession to the Crown* should be settled with the same view. Austria acceded some time after to this protocol, but Prussia never did so. Soon after the conclusion of the treaty, the King of Denmark issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Schleswig, guaranteeing to the Germans settled there the same privileges as were enjoyed by the Danes, and renouncing all idea of in-

corporating the duchy with the kingdom of Denmark.

46. To all appearance the war was now ended, and on terms highly honourable to the Danes. In truth, it would have been terminated at this period, had it not been for the discreditable breach of faith on the part of Prussia, which, chagrined at the untoward result of the battle of Fredericia, sought to continue the contest, not openly with its own forces, but secretly, by encouraging the insurgents to persevere. A diplomatic agent from the duchies was tolerated at Berlin; furloughs were openly given at Hamburg to the troops of the Confederacy to enter their service in Holstein; an office for enrolling recruits for them was publicly established in the capital; finally, General Willisen, who commanded the insurgent army, was a Prussian, and half its officers were of German origin. In these circumstances the armistice turned entirely to the advantage of the insurgents, whose army was daily increasing in efficiency. The King of Denmark, therefore, who knew he could rely on the countenance of Russia, wisely resolved to recommence hostilities, and they began on the 15th July 1850. The insurgent army, thirty-two thousand strong, then occupied IDSTEDT and Wedelspang, on which two points their whole force was concentrated. The Danish general, on the other hand, took possession of Flensburg on the 17th, a few miles distant, with twenty-eight thousand men—veterans inured to war, having confidence in their officers as their officers had in them, and animated with the very highest military and patriotic spirit. The insurgent force was not less brave, but it was by no means equally organised, for its officers were for the most part young men from the universities, who had no military experience, were unacquainted with the troops, to the command of which they had been despatched by the democratic committee, and were neither qualified to feel confidence themselves nor to inspire it in their followers.

47. The attack of the Danes was postponed till the 25th, in order to give time for their right wing, which was intended to turn the enemy's left, to make a circuit through bogs and marshes, which required to be passed before it could be reached; but in the mean time the measures of General Von Kragh, the Danish commander, were made with great ability. The position of the insurgents was very strong, their troops being arranged in the form of a semicircle, supported by redoubts, with its convex side in front of the town of Idstedt, its right, covered by the Schlei, resting on the Eck-enfiorde and the ground between it and Schleswig, and its left on the marshes, generally impassable, which adjoined the river Troen. The battlefield was a wild moor, covered with tumuli, and already celebrated in Danish story, for it was there that the Emperor Otto had defeated Harold Blad Zahn (Blue Tooth), grandfather to Canute the Great, and forced him to sue for peace, and be baptised by Bishop Boppo. It was here again, after the lapse of a thousand years, that the German and Scandinavian races met in hostile array, and engaged in mortal combat on the graves of their fathers.

48. At three in the morning of the 25th the whole Danish columns were in motion, and ready for the attack; but it was delayed for some hours in consequence of a thick fog which over-spread the plain, and prevented the movements on the flanks from being seen. At length, at half-past ten, the sound of the cannonade on the flanks was heard, and the main body of the army advanced to attack the enemy's centre. It was strongly fortified with redoubts, and the approach to them was through a narrow defile between the Arnholzsee and the Langsee. The fire here was extremely warm; the Danish troops, notwithstanding the utmost efforts, were unable to force the intrenchments, and they sustained a very severe loss in an ambuscade skilfully laid for them in the village of Oberstolcke. The Germans had strongly occupied the houses with

musketeers, who were kept concealed till three or four battalions were passed, when they suddenly showed themselves at the windows and on the roofs, and opened a most destructive fire on those who followed. Several staff officers, who rode back to ascertain the cause of the tumult in the rear, were slain on the spot, and the whole column thrown into disorder. Seeing this, the Danish general ordered a feigned retreat, and drew back his forces nearly a league from the position they had attained, stationing at the same time a large body of infantry and cavalry in a masked position behind the village, the scene of such slaughter. A thousand of the enemy, who had been placed in the ambuscade, were slain on this occasion; but the Danish army, with the exception of those placed behind the village, were in full retreat.*

49. The Germans, deceived by this retrograde movement, and deeming the battle gained, issued in haste and somewhat disorderly array from their intrenchments, and commenced the pursuit. Von Kragh allowed them to advance till they had passed the defile and debouched on the plains beyond, and then suddenly halted his troops and faced about, while those behind the village, in great strength, and with a large force in artillery and cavalry, attacked them in flank and rear. The superior discipline and warlike experience of the royal army now prevailed over the more desultory efforts of the insurgents; the left wing of the Germans was cut off from the centre, driven back, the line of the Troen forced, and their left entirely uncovered; while on the right the Danish

* This was one of the first actions in which the Prussian needle-gun was used. "The enemy," says General Von Kragh, "under cover of a bridge, fired with pointed balls at a distance of 100 and 150 yards. It was in vain that two guns shelled the skirmishers at short ranges; it was in vain that our cavalry charged, and our infantry attempted to advance. In less than an hour we suffered great loss. The general-in-chief was struck down; the chief of his staff was wounded; the commandant of artillery was taken prisoner, after losing two of his pieces, and several other officers were killed and wounded."

troops were making rapid progress, and the sound of their artillery was heard in the direct rear on that side of the German position. Threatened in this manner on both flanks at once, Willisen could no longer maintain his ground in the centre, where the redoubts were still held, and vomited forth a tremendous fire. They were abandoned accordingly; the defile, the theatre of so bloody a conflict in the earlier part of the day, was passed at a run and with very little loss; the whole redoubts in front of Idstedt and Wedelspang were stormed, and the German army, in deep dejection but good order, retreated to Rendsburg on the Eider, abandoning to the victors the whole territory of Schleswig. The town of the same name was occupied by the Danish general at five in the evening, and headquarters were established there at midnight. It was not the least gratifying circumstance to the Danes, that in the harbour of Eckenfiorde, which fell into their hands a day or two after, they regained the frigate *Gefion*, which had fallen into the enemy's hands in the preceding year.

50. This battle, which General Willisen in his official despatch characterised as "the hardest fought of the age," was at the same time one of the most bloody. The loss on both sides amounted to nearly 8000 men, or about one in eight of the troops engaged; a prodigious slaughter, unexampled in European war since the battle of Waterloo. Of these, nearly 3000, including 85 officers, were killed or wounded on the side of the Danes, and 5000 on that of the insurgents, whose loss in officers was peculiarly severe. Two thousand wounded Germans fell into the hands of the victors in the town of Schleswig, besides those who were carried off or abandoned on the field. The Danes immediately took possession of the whole disputed territory of Schleswig, proclaimed martial law, and commenced in good earnest the reorganisation of their government. The insurgents, meanwhile, retired into Holstein, where they made the utmost efforts to recruit their army.

But though the press was loud in their support, and represented the duchy as animated with the utmost enthusiasm, the fire was burnt out; only seven hundred recruits came forward to repair the losses which had been sustained, and they were got only by a forced conscription, and bounty of ten dollars a-man. Having at length reorganised his army, Willisen, on the 12th September, moved forward to attack the Danish forces now concentrated in the strong position of the Danewirke. He first endeavoured to turn the left flank of their position by gaining possession of the boat bridge of Missunde over the Schlei; but all his efforts to carry the *tête-du-pont* which covered it failed. In the course of his advance on the 12th, the German general attacked Eckenfiorde, and after having become master of it, he was driven out by the fire of the Danish gunboats, which destroyed great part of the town. He next endeavoured to force the formidable position of Danewirke, which covered the town of Schleswig, but it proved impregnable. Finding his advance barred in every quarter, he fell back to Rendsburg, and ultimately moved to his left to attack Frederickstadt, a fortified town situated at the junction of the Treen and the Eider, surrounded by canals and marshes, and garrisoned by nine weak companies. Having sat down before it, he bombarded it without intermission from the 30th September till the 5th October, with no other result but the destruction of a large part of the town and a great number of the inhabitants. Twelve hundred men were lost by the invader in this abortive expedition. Having failed in this *coup-de-main*, the Germans retreated into Holstein, and Schleswig finally remained to the King of Denmark. This was the last flicker of that terrible flame which, two years and a half before, had burst forth with such violence in every part of Germany, and threatened at one time to involve the whole world in conflagration.

51. The King of Denmark made a noble use of his victory. Though mil-

itary law was proclaimed in Schleswig, no trials by military tribunals took place, and no executions sullied his triumph. One of the most terrible rebellions recorded in modern times was extinguished without one drop of blood shed on the scaffold. The severest punishment inflicted on the insurgent leaders was banishment for a limited number of years from Denmark; and even this was softened by permission to the persons sentenced to sell their effects and take the proceeds with them to the place of their retreat. The final pacification of the duchies was virtually effected at the Olmutz conference. Prussia was in consequence obliged to withdraw the underhand and insidious support which she had so long given to the insurgents; and the decision of the sovereigns and Diet having been communicated to the insurgents, they laid down their arms, and the Danish authorities re-entered without opposition into possession of the whole dominions of the Danish crown.*

52. In the year 1852 a treaty was concluded between the principal European powers, which, although beyond the limits in point of date assigned to this history, deserves to be noticed, from the important consequences with which it was attended in after times. Owing to its geographical position at the mouth of the Baltic, and commanding there what may be called the front gate of Russia, Denmark has long possessed a political importance far beyond what would otherwise have arisen from its strength and resources. Like Turkey, whose command of the Dardanelles renders her capital so great an object of interest to the Western Powers, Denmark, with the keys of the Sound in her hand, can never be an object of indif-

ference either to Russia, England, or France. Add to this, that the Czar had claims, through hereditary descent, to that portion of Schleswig in which the harbour of Kiel is situated; and as the possession of that seaport would for the first time give her a communication with the ocean out of the Sound, it was of the greatest moment to Russia that it should fall, if not into her own, at least into neutral hands. Impressed with these views, the whole European Powers had a conference on the subject of the Danish succession, which ended in a treaty, signed in London on the 24th May 1852, under the auspices of Lord Palmerston, which settled the matter. By it Austria, Russia, Great Britain, France, Sweden, Prussia, Saxony, and Hanover, recognised the integrity of the Danish dominions as they then stood, and acknowledged the present King of Denmark, father to the Princess of Wales, as heir to the whole possessions of the Danish crown. This treaty was not ratified by the Germanic Diet; and many of the lesser German powers never signed it. The treaty was unconditional, and the recognition absolute; but there had been prior engagements of Denmark as to giving constitutions to Holstein and Schleswig, which were parts of the German Confederation apart from Denmark proper, which were afterwards said by the German Diet, and Austria and Prussia, to give them a pretext for invading the Danish provinces, and threatening the entire destruction of Danish independence.*

* The obligations undertaken by Denmark at this time were never embodied in any formal treaty, but are to be found in three despatches—viz., one from the Danish Minister to Austria, on the 6th December 1851, containing the Danish proposals; another from the Austrian to the Danish Minister, on the 26th December 1851, giving the Austrian interpretation, in behalf of Germany, of these proposals; a third, containing the reply of Denmark accepting this interpretation, dated 29th January 1852.

In these, (1.) Denmark promises never to incorporate Schleswig, or take any steps to that end; (2.) Germany ceases to demand the reunion of Schleswig with Holstein; (3.) Denmark undertakes to establish a constitution for the whole monarchy, to be passed in

* The comparative value of Denmark Proper, Schleswig, and Holstein, is shown by the budget, 1st April 1858 to 1st April 1859—viz.:

	Income— Rix-dollars.	Expenditure— do. do.
Denmark Proper, . . .	6,043,800	5,518,847
Schleswig,	1,363,007	1,341,297
Holstein,	1,834,762	1,752,396
	<u>9,241,629</u>	<u>8,612,540</u>

53. Prince Leiningen, one of the ablest ministers of the Archduke John, and one of the most eloquent of the Liberal chiefs of Germany, published a memorial towards the end of the year, in which he admitted the total failure of the movement in favour of German liberty, and confesses that its only result had been, instead of one constitutional emperor, to give them two military despots. He ascribes this failure not to any external hostility or class resistance, but simply and exclusively to the inability of the German people to govern themselves. He confesses that the German people were unworthy of the freedom that they sought for; that the vision of unity was seen only by a comparatively few of the *illuminati*—kings, professors, and students—but that the bulk of the

a constitutional manner for common affairs, combined with "independent constitutional administrative institutions" in the different divisions of the kingdom—the whole to be so arranged that each division shall retain its position "as a member of the whole, in which no part is subordinated to another;" (4.) In the reorganisation of the monarchy Denmark is to abstain from an exclusive preference for her own existing democratic institutions.

The succession to the Danish monarchy was settled by the treaty of London, signed on the 24th May 1852. This stipulates that the Powers signing it will recognise Prince Christian of Glücksburg, and his male descendants, as successors, to succeed to the whole of the states then under the sceptre of the Danish king, in the event of that monarch having no direct heirs. This treaty was signed by the Emperor of Austria, Louis Napoleon, the Queen of England, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Sweden, and the King of Denmark. It was afterwards acceded to by Saxony and Hanover, but was not ratified by the German Diet, or agreed to by many of the lesser German powers.

Prince Christian was the heir by the female line, but the Duke of Augustenborg, being the nearest male heir, was, by the Salic law, entitled to succeed to the feudal duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. A part of these, however, was claimed, on similar grounds, by the reigning house of Russia, as descendants of the Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp. But previous to this treaty being signed, renunciations in favour of Prince Christian and his descendants were obtained from the Emperor of Russia and the Duke of Augustenborg. The latter, in the most formal manner, renounced all claims for himself and his family, and received in consideration of so doing, and in lieu of his forfeited estates, a sum of £400,000.

nation was indifferent to their projects, and sought only after the repose which they had disturbed. Making every allowance for the ulcerated feelings of one of the chief apostles of German freedom and unity, it is impossible to deny that there is much truth in these observations. But without settling in the melancholy belief that the Teutonic race, pre-eminent above all others for their love of freedom, is incapable of bearing its excitements, and is doomed to drag on a weary existence through ages of impatient servitude, it is more consonant, both to political justice and the real merits of that noble race of men, to say that the movement failed, not because the Germans were unworthy of liberty, but because they were misled in the effort to attain it. They thought they could alter the character of men by merely changing their institutions; and they did this in so violent a way as necessarily rendered the whole effort abortive. They moved too fast; they established self-government before men were prepared for it. They gave to a people, wholly unaccustomed to the exercise of political rights, universal suffrage; they conferred unlimited powers on their representatives; and, departing altogether from the old European principle of the representation of classes, they founded government everywhere on that of numbers. The consequence was, that the passion for liberty generally ran into that for licence, the generous feelings were supplanted by the selfish in nearly all the leaders; and such crimes were "committed in the name of liberty," in Madame Roland's words, as detached every right-thinking man from its side.

54. Such was the extravagance of the measures pursued, and the magnitude of the crimes committed, in the course of this frantic and headlong chase, that the cause of freedom would have been really lost, and probably for ever, in Germany, had it not been for a very singular circumstance, springing from the inherent probity and good faith of the nation, and which honourably distinguishes their revolution

from those of France. The army, generally speaking, was faithful; it was their fidelity and adherence to duty which extricated the German people from their greatest dangers. It was that which terminated the anarchy of Frankfort, restored lawful authority in Prague and Vienna, saved Austria in Italy, and crushed the hydra of revolution in Berlin and Baden. But for it the Assemblies of Germany, elected by universal suffrage, would have torn society in pieces, as they had done in France; and the Fatherland, instead of advancing steadily and securely in the paths of self-control and real freedom, would have been lured by the fallacious light of democracy into the depths, first of revolutionary, and then of imperial despotism. Freedom, at least in the popular sense of the word, is not as yet established in Germany, for the people have little direct share in the management of affairs; but the foundations of it have been safely laid, because this was done without the destruction of any of the classes of society. Freedom has been permanently destroyed in France, because in its first excesses all classes between the throne and the peasant were ruined. Amidst the acclamations of the multitude and universal enthusiasm, the revolt of the French Guards in May 1789 occasioned the overthrow, first of the throne, next of the tribune, and, in the end, of anything like freedom in the land. Amidst universal maledictions and the execrations of the whole Liberals of Europe, the fidelity of the Prussian troops preserved the fabric of society in Northern Germany, and has thereby in the end opened the gates, without destroying the bulwarks, of Teutonic liberty.

55. But the fidelity of the soldiers

could only present a temporary barrier against the inroads of democracy, and curb or punish its first excesses. It is in political institutions, founded on wisdom and adapted to necessities, that in an age of advancing intelligence the only lasting security against these, the most formidable enemies of real freedom, is to be found. This barrier was erected by Count Brandenburg's Administration, when they changed the principle of representation in Prussia, without disfranchising a human being, from the *election by head to the election by classes*, and with that modification left every man a vote for the representation in the National Assembly. The adoption of the principle which Mr Burke long ago described as the true and only safe foundation for popular representation, at once established a barrier against democratic despotism in Prussia, and to the security which it afforded, the subsequent internal peace and general prosperity which that country has enjoyed are mainly to be ascribed. It is a curious circumstance, illustrating the almost superhuman wisdom of the ancient conquerors of the world, and the slow progress of political knowledge in the great body of mankind, that the remedy against the dangers of democracy, which reflection only revealed to the greatest political philosophers of modern times in the close of the eighteenth century, and experience taught the most generally educated nation of Europe in the middle of the nineteenth, had been established in the very earliest days of the Roman Republic; and that in their "*Centuries*" has been left to the imitation of all future times an institution which secures for freedom all its blessings, and takes from democracy the worst of its dangers.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

AUSTRIA, FROM THE BREAKING OUT OF THE INSURRECTION IN MARCH 1848
TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE HUNGARIAN WAR.

1. THE intelligence of the Revolution in Paris reached Vienna on the 1st March, and the sensation produced in all classes by that stupendous event was immense. In the court and aristocratic circles the prevailing feeling was one of consternation, and almost despair; in the literary and artistic society, of boundless enthusiasm; in the bourgeois, of satisfaction and hope. The throne of Charles, defended by a mere handful of heroes, had not fallen till after three days' severe fighting with fifty thousand insurgents; that of Louis Philippe had succumbed, almost without resistance, before a trifling band of desperadoes, though guarded by sixty thousand soldiers. There was enough here to appal the most courageous on the one side; to encourage, on the other, the most timid. The chiefs of the secret societies, which there, as elsewhere, existed in great numbers, hidden in the obscurity of a large metropolis, instantly put themselves in motion; and the general fervour enabled them to work upon public opinion with almost instantaneous effect. Swift as the electric telegraph, the exciting news flew from city to city, from burgh to burgh, from village to village. The intelligence received from Italy and Northern and Central Germany soon heightened the excitement produced by the catastrophe in Paris; and it was next to impossible for Vienna to remain tranquil when Milan had chased the Imperial eagles from its streets, and Dresden, Berlin, Stuttgart, Baden, and Munich, were in a state of approaching or open insurrection.

2. The movement in the Imperial city began on the 6th March, in one of the meetings of the Industrial As-

sociation, which, undismayed by the presence of the Archduke Charles and Count Kollowrat, voted *unanimously* an address to the Emperor, in which they set forth, in the strongest terms, the shock given to credit, the stagnation of industry, and the danger of any longer continuance of such a state of things, aggravated so seriously as it recently had been by the important intelligence from Western Europe. In their simplicity, the Liberals of Vienna thought that a revolution was the only remedy for their peculiar evils; that it would at once restore credit and extinguish discontent. For several days after, the excitement went on increasing, and at length reached such a height as to be altogether unbearable without a channel for its expansion. This channel was found in a petition, drawn up by the professors of the University of Vienna, and signed by all the students, and a great proportion of the householders in the metropolis, which, after setting forth in general terms the necessity which existed for an "immediate advance in the path of progress tempered by wisdom," especially in consequence of the events which had recently convulsed society in the West, went on specifically to demand the immediate publication of the budget; the periodical convocation of the representative bodies, comprehending all classes and interests, and invested with the right to vote and control the supplies; freedom to the press, publicity in criminal proceedings, the erection of municipal and communal laws, and the representation, in the provincial assemblies, of the agricultural, commercial, industrial, and scientific interests. It was not presented to the Emperor, but was

addressed to the Provincial Estates of Lower Austria, the meeting of which stood fixed for the 13th March.

3. To the inhabitants of a free country there appears little objectionable in these demands; but they became eminently perilous from the manner in which they were urged upon the Government of Austria at this time. It was soon apparent that their acceptance was to be won, not by solicitation or representation, but force. On the morning of the 12th, the students of the university, who, with the professors, had erected themselves the day before into a deliberative body, assembled tumultuously in their great hall, and adopted a petition to the Emperor, containing the usual demands of the Liberal party. They next proceeded, followed by an immense mob in the highest state of excitement, and singing revolutionary songs, to the Imperial palace, where they were coldly received by the Archduke Louis and Count Kollowrat, who refused them admittance to the Emperor. Upon this they retired for the evening, but it was only after fixing a point of rendezvous for the day following, when (March 13) they returned in greater strength, and still greater determination in their hearts. Receiving an evasive answer from the Emperor to their petition of the previous day, they rushed in a tumultuous body from the hall of the University to the palace, where the Provincial Estates were now assembled. In the crowd which followed the professors and students were to be seen those strange visages, uncouth figures, and savage expressions which presage the moral convulsions of the world. The universal cry was for the liberty of the press, religious liberty, universal education, a general arming of the people, a constitution, and the unity of Germany. "Long live free and independent Germany!"—"Long live the Italians in arms!"—"Long live the Magyars!"—"Long live the patriots of Prague!" Such were the cries which rose from the crowd, and were no sooner heard than they were frantically cheered. Count Montecuculli,

recently appointed to the office of minister of state, to regulate the internal affairs of the Empire, appeared at a window when these petitioners made their appearance, and endeavoured to appease the tumult by proposing that the students should send twelve deputies to support the petition of the Estates. They immediately did so, and the twelve juvenile deputies were introduced. Before they had time, however, to commence the statement of their demands, a young man, with an inflamed visage and sparkling eyes, rushed into the court holding aloft a paper, and calling out, "The speech of Kossuth!" A thousand voices immediately exclaimed, "The speech of Kossuth!—Read! read!" He began to read, accordingly, an inflammatory address delivered on the 3d March to the Assembly at Pesth; and at one phrase in it—"I know that it is as difficult for an antiquated policy as for an old man to detach himself from the idea of a long life"—the applause was such that he was obliged to read it thrice over, followed on every occasion by frenzied applause; and the words "Metternich! Metternich!" resounded from thousands of lips.

4. The mass of the students now forced their way into the hall of the representatives, and concussed the members into the adoption of their petition to the Emperor. It was evident that, unless the Estates made an immediate effort to assert their authority, the lead of the movement would slip from their hands, and fall into those of the students and mob of Vienna; and they determined to repair at once in a body to the Imperial palace. The tumult amongst the people was at this time so violent, that all considerations of prudence and reason were swept away before it. An outrageous mob moved to the palace of the minister-in-chief, Prince Metternich, which they immediately broke into and sacked from top to bottom. His friends and servants in vain endeavoured to persuade the veteran statesman to close his doors against the intruders. "They will say that I

was afraid," said the brave old man, and he let them in. Meanwhile the Estates, followed by the students and a great crowd, proceeded to the Imperial palace. When they arrived in front of that edifice, the troops, who were drawn up to defend it, opened to let the members of the Estates pass, but closed with lowered bayonets to keep out their tumultuous followers. Advancing from the Imperial palace to that of the Estates, the military were received with storms of hisses, stones and other missiles were thrown at them, and an officer was wounded. Orders were now given to fire, and the troops afterwards charged with the bayonet, by which five persons were killed. The mob upon this dispersed, but it was only to scatter themselves over the city, and prepare everywhere a strenuous resistance. Gunsmiths' shops were broken into, arms began to be seen in the hands of the insurgents, and a house building in the square of Hof furnished an ample store of missiles with which to assault the arsenal of the city guard, the next object of attack. Several charges of cavalry took place, and blood began to flow. In this alarming state of affairs, a deputation of the officers of the civic guard repaired to the palace to explain the case to the Emperor Ferdinand I.; but his agitation was such that he could not receive them. They were admitted, however, to the Archduke Louis; but all their entreaties, joined to those of the deputation of the Estates, could not prevail on the Government to act decidedly against the insurgents. Encouraged by this weakness, the insurrection spread with terrible rapidity, and soon assumed the most alarming proportions. Deputation after deputation, from the students, the citizens, and the magistrates, succeeded each other at the palace with stunning rapidity, and few departed without obtaining the promise of some concession, the announcement of which, instead of quieting the mob, only excited them the more, and prompted others to press forward with still more dangerous demands. Important changes were already prepar-

ing, when the rector of the University Magnifique threw himself at the feet of the Archduke Louis, and, with tears in his eyes, extorted from him the promise that the students should be armed from the public arsenals at eight o'clock on the following morning. This was capitulating for the monarchy. The students were two thousand in number, sons of the most respectable citizens of Vienna, and the leaders of the insurrection.

5. The utmost agitation prevailed at the palace, when Prince Metternich arrived from the office of the chancery. He was received with groans and hisses from the mob, but succeeded in getting in without sustaining actual violence. Silence was at length restored, and, rising with inexpressible dignity, he said: "The object of my entire life is summed up in one word—devotion. I declare in this solemn moment before God, to whom my heart is open, before you who hear me, that in the course of my long career I have never had a thought but for the safety of the monarchy. If it is now thought that my presence at the head of affairs is inconsistent with that safety, I am ready to retire. In that case my retreat will not be a sacrifice, and from afar as near I shall never have a thought but for the happiness of my country." Then addressing the Archduke Louis, he said: "My lord, I resign my situation into your hands as into those of the Emperor; from this moment I re-enter private life. Gentlemen, I foresee that the report will speedily be spread, that in retiring from the ministry I have carried with me the monarchy. I protest solemnly and beforehand against such an assertion. No one in the world, more than myself, has shoulders broad enough to bear away a State. *If emperors disappear, it is never till they have come to despair of themselves.*" He then withdrew as a private individual into the circle, and conversed on the events of the day as if he had been a stranger to them, examining their character and foretelling their consequences with a sagacity which became prophetic.

6. All was accomplished by the retreat of the prime-minister. He soon after had an interview with the Emperor, when he said: "Sire! your Majesty has but one of two parts to take in resolving the problem which the revolt has now submitted to your determination—concession or resistance. Concession in presence of an insurrection is revolution; resistance is a struggle. If your Majesty decides for concession, my conscience imposes on me the duty of laying at your Majesty's feet my resignation. If you should decide for resistance, I am ready to follow you on a ground where success is now certain. In either case, I shall esteem myself fortunate to have an opportunity of giving to the monarchy the last proof of my devotion, by sacrificing myself for it." At the mention of resistance, the monarch, who was destitute of firmness, turned pale, as if he had seen a spectre. His expression and silence sufficiently proved that between concession and resistance his mind was made up. Metternich saw that it was all over, and, respectfully bowing, took his leave. He set out on the following day with the Princess Metternich for Feldsberg, the magnificent residence of the Prince of Lichtenstein. The public indignation, however, was so violent, that he was obliged to leave it, and he continued his journey with her to Dresden. The dangers which thickened around him, however, were such, that they were obliged to go on clandestinely under feigned names, and in perpetual danger of their lives, to Brunswick, Hanover, Minden, and Arnheim. At the last place he heard that a price had been put on his head, and five hundred ducats offered to whoever should produce it. He escaped all his dangers notwithstanding, and reached London in safety. An entire change after his departure immediately took place in the ministry at Vienna. M. Sedlnizki, the chief of police, retired with Metternich; and the Counts Kollowrat and Montecuculli were charged with the formation of a new ministry formed on the most Liberal principles. At the same time, a decree was issued

ordering the formation of a burgher guard in Vienna, the abolition of all restrictions on the press, and the convocation of the Estates in all the provinces of the monarchy. The revolution was complete and universal. A convulsion which brought Austria to the brink of ruin, all but swept it from the book of nations, and reduced it to the humiliation of invoking the perilous intervention of a foreign power, had been completed by two thousand students, headed by the most learned men in the State!—a memorable proof of the difference between literary and philosophical ability, and the necessity for practical acquaintance with affairs and the disposition of men, to qualify for the direction of mankind.

7. The concessions made by the Emperor, great as they were, and even the departure of their chief enemy, Metternich, were far from appeasing the revolutionists at Vienna. Deputation after deputation succeeded each other at the palace, all professing the utmost loyalty to the Emperor, but none departing without having more or less enlarged the breach in the bulwarks of the Empire. The abolition of the censorship of the press, which was at once conceded, was not enough; they insisted on its absolute and unqualified liberty, which was also granted. The workmen called out for a reduction in the price of all that was eat or drank, and an immediate abolition of all duties on articles of consumption. Suing the action to the word, they proceeded to break into and level with the ground the whole buildings, round the capital, where the *octroi* was collected. Their contents were distributed among the assailants. The students, who had received arms that very morning (14th March) on the promise that they would preserve the public peace, and had been organised in battalions with surprising rapidity, made no serious attempt to arrest these disorders. They concentrated all their efforts for the formation of a constitution which might unite everything they desired. So completely did they carry the sympathies of the citizens

with them in their demands, that the bankers, Sina and Rothschild, sent considerable sums to these juvenile revolutionists to enable them to complete their equipments. Pressed thus on all sides, the Emperor issued a proclamation, announcing an assembly of all the *Estates* of his kingdom at Vienna before the 3d July, and another on the day following (March 15), recommending abstinence from all insults to the military. To appease the public mind, and convince the people he had not fled from his capital, he drove on the 15th through the principal streets of Vienna in an open calèche, and was received with loud acclamations.

8. While these decisive events were passing in the metropolis, troubles of a still graver sort, and of more sinister augury, had broken out in Hungary and Bohemia. The intelligence from Paris was received at Presburg, when the Diet of the former kingdom was sitting; and the first use which Kossuth and the leaders of the Hungarian Liberals made of the intelligence was (March 3) to suspend their ordinary labours to discuss an address to the Emperor as King of Hungary, praying him to take measures suited to the gravity of existing circumstances. It was the reading of his speech on this occasion, and of the address itself, which produced so decisive an effect, as already recounted, at Vienna, on the 13th March. The address passed by a large majority, and it was ordered to be presented by the Archduke Stephen, the regent of the kingdom. At the same time troubles broke out in Bohemia, and Prague became the centre of an agitation as exclusively national as Pesth had become. As the object of the Hungarians was to obtain a separation of the kingdom of Hungary from the Austrian monarchy, so the design of the agitators in Bohemia was to effect a similar separation of Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia, and their erection into a distinct monarchy, governed by its own laws, legislature, and municipal institutions, and united with Austria only by the link of a common sovereign. Both the Hun-

garian and Bohemian petitions demanded, in addition, an enlargement of the base of the national representation, the election of municipal officers by the people, liberty of the press, publicity of criminal proceedings; the suppression of feudal rights, *corvées*, and exclusive privileges; security of personal freedom, the general arming of the people, and military service obligatory alike on all. Thus, while Central and Northern Germany were passionately striving for the unity of the Fatherland, the Austrian Empire was distracted with passions which threatened to break it up into separate states, of which Austria proper would be the most inconsiderable, and the hostility of races was bursting forth with unprecedented fury in all the eastern provinces of the confederacy.

9. Two days after the revolution of 13th March broke out at Vienna a deputation of a hundred and fifty persons from the Hungarian Diet at Presburg made their appearance in the capital, headed by Kossuth. Their demands were—the nomination of a ministry purely Hungarian, responsible to the Hungarian Diet alone for their actions; a new representation of the entire population, without distinction of rank or birth; the organisation of a national guard through the whole kingdom; the translation of the seat of the Diet from Presburg to Pesth; and the concession of similar liberties to all the other countries of the Empire, to which the petitioners declared their firm desire to remain united. Kossuth and the Count Bathiany, a Hungarian noble of high rank and ardent patriotic feelings, were at the head of this deputation; the Archduke Stephen, the Regent of Hungary, had preceded their arrival by a few days. The deputation received (March 15) the most flattering reception; an immense crowd filled the streets, which resounded with cries of “Vivat Kossuth! Vivat Bathiany!” the Hungarian arms floated in the air, and universal transports prevailed. The influence of these petitioners, whom the Government, in

their present state of weakness, had no means of resisting, speedily appeared in the appointment of the Archduke Stephen as Viceroy of Hungary, assisted by a council composed wholly of Hungarians, presided over by Count Bathiany. This was accompanied by a constitution, framed on such Liberal principles that it abolished at one blow the whole privileges of the nobility, and distinction between them and the peasants, and declared all equal in the eye of the law. These principles were to be the bases of the new constitution, and they were such as, carried into effect, amounted to a total social and national revolution.

10. The announcement of these as the principles of the future Hungarian constitution was soon after followed by a similar concession to the Bohemian States. On the 8th April a decree, framed by the new popular ministry, appeared, which was of so sweeping a character that it left nothing to be desired by the most ardent lovers of Slavonic freedom. The Emperor by it accorded the whole demands of the Bohemian patriots. The young prince, Francis Joseph, son of the Archduke Charles, and the heir-presumptive of the monarchy, was declared Viceroy. Bohemia, with Silesia and Moravia, were erected again into a separate monarchy, as before their incorporation with the Austrian Empire; all persons holding office were to be Slavonians, or "*Tschecks*," as they are there called, and capable of speaking both that language and German. In addition to this, judicial proceedings were all to be public; a separate and responsible "*Chancery*" or Government was to be established at Prague; the National Assembly was to sit alternately at Prague, and Brunn in Moravia; national guards were to be established, feudal rights and privileges abolished, religious and civil equality introduced. The legislature was to consist of a house of magnates, and one of popular deputies, chosen by universal suffrage.

11. Not content with these conces-

sions, the leaders of the Slavonic movement convoked a meeting of the whole Slaves of the Austrian Empire, to meet at Prague on the 31st May to consider what measures were necessary to secure the interests of the Slave race in the general transmuting of nations into empires according to their race, which was going forward. The resolution they came to bore—"The people of Europe are coming to a common understanding. The Germans are meeting in an Assembly at Frankfort, which will take from the Austrian Empire as much as is necessary to complete German nationality. Thus the Austrian Empire will be incorporated with Germany, and with it will be united the non-German provinces of that empire. In such a crisis the independence of the Slavonic races, united to Austria, runs the greatest possible risk of being destroyed. 'The most sacred right of man is to preserve his independence; the time has now arrived when we too, the Slaves, are called upon to take steps to act in common, and assert our rights.'" This address to the Slaves did not long remain a dead letter. The Congress opened on the 2d June, and sat only till the 12th of that month; but in that short time enough was done to show that the deputies assumed rights, and put forward pretensions, inconsistent not merely with the existence of the Austrian Empire, but of every empire whatever in which the Slave race existed, which was not based on their exclusive domination. Great unanimity prevailed in the Assembly. A provisional government was established at Prague, which published an address to all Europe, in which they declared their determination to obtain full justice for the Slavonic race, and oblige the whole of the east of Europe to make reparation for the wrongs they had inflicted on it. It was a remarkable circumstance, that all the debates in the Slave Assembly were conducted, and their addresses published, in the *German language*; the only one which was intelligible to all; an ominous circumstance to their

cause, and an insurmountable difficulty in the way of the construction of a united Slavonic Empire.

12. The Austrian Governor, Prince Windischgratz, now saw that it was high time to act, and that any farther dalliance with the Slave Congress would end in the dissolution of the monarchy. He accordingly concentrated a considerable force, occupied the principal military points in Prague, and, while taking up a strictly defensive attitude, showed that he was prepared, if necessary, to dissolve the Assembly. Upon this (June 12) the excitement at Prague became extreme, and the exasperation of the people, headed as usual by the students, was such, that they could not refrain from insulting Prince Windischgratz to his face. The pretext was, his refusal to give them the arms which he well knew they would immediately turn against him. The Princess Windischgratz, having appeared at the window to look at the crowd in the street, which had not yet proceeded to any act of violence, was shot dead by an assassin concealed behind a high bow-window. She belonged to a doomed race; she was the daughter of the Princess Schwartzemberg, who, to save her children, rushed into the flames and perished at Paris in 1809. Upon this catastrophe the prince, without ordering the troops, drawn up in front of the building, to fire, went down, and, calmly addressing the insurgents, said: "Gentlemen, if you wish to insult me because I am a nobleman, you may do so; go to the front of the palace, and you shall not be disturbed; I will even give you a guard to protect you from injury. But if you wish to insult me because I am Commandant of Prague, I give you fair warning that I will not permit it; I shall resist it with all the means in my power. My wife has just been killed; do not drive me into acts of rigour." So little were the mob impressed with this magnanimous conduct, that they rushed forward, and, seizing him, dragged the prince towards a lamp-post, intending to hang him on the spot. Some soldiers happily came up at the

moment, and extricated him from the hands of the assassins.

13. The combat now commenced, and so completely were the insurgents organised and prepared for action, that barricades were run up in all parts of the town, guarded by formidable masses of armed men. Prince Windischgratz acted with equal humanity and military skill. Abandoning those parts of the city which he could not hold without severe bloodshed, he withdrew to the heights which command it, and after arranging his great mortars in the most favourable position, he allowed the rebels twenty-four hours themselves to level the barricades, intimating at the same that, if this was not done he would at the expiry of that time commence the bombardment. The time elapsed without any submission being made, and after repeatedly prolonging it, Windischgratz at length reluctantly gave orders (June 16) for the fire to be commenced. The insurgents fought with the courage of despair, and all the energy which is inherent in the Slavonic race; but nothing could withstand the superiority of the Austrian guns. After six- and -thirty hours' bombardment, the mills of the Moldau, the strongest intrenched position of the rebels, were consumed; and at length they became sensible that the defence could no longer be maintained, and surrendered at discretion. By the night of the 17th the barricades were all abandoned, and the Slavonic Assembly dissolved.

14. Although the Slavonic revolution was in reality extinguished by this act of vigour, yet the remains of it still lingered in the Bohemian provinces. The insurrection and conflict in Prague were represented elsewhere as a victory, and immense efforts were everywhere made to rouse the rural population to fly to the defence of their endangered brethren there. Large bodies of men were roused by these means, and marched, with banners and military music at their head, towards that capital, where they learned the real state of affairs, and returned

mournful and downcast to their homes. Several weeks, however, elapsed before the agitation subsided, and enough transpired during that time to demonstrate how widespread had been the ramifications of the insurrection, and how vast the designs of the leaders for the establishment of a great empire, built up out of the fragments of the adjoining monarchies. This plan was to form a united Slave empire, embracing Croatia, Slavonia, Servia, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Livonia, and Galicia. The insurrection was to have broken out simultaneously in Agram, Prague, Cracow, and Presburg. Secret societies were established in all the Slavonic provinces, embracing a large portion of the inhabitants, and taking their orders from the ruling bodies in these four great towns. The design was to have moved the whole Slavonic race at once. The events in Western Europe precipitated the insurrection before the intended time, and thereby in effect rendered it abortive. The Emperor of Russia was looked to as the head of this Slavonic empire, which was to be entirely dis severed from Austria, and to consist of a strange mixture of imperial and republican institutions. A prayer, containing an impious parody on that of our Saviour, was disseminated among the Slaves in this separate dominion, and every morning and evening addressed to the Czar, as a heavenly being, by hundreds of thousands of the ardent and ignorant in various countries of Eastern Europe.*

15. While these important events were passing in the Slavonic provinces of the Austrian Empire, HUNGARY had become the theatre of a still more terrible revolt, which in its

* "Notre Père Russe qui êtes au nord, que votre nom soit sanctifié, que votre règne nous arrive, que votre volonté soit faite au nord comme chez nous.—Permettez-nous de manger notre pain quotidien sous votre protection,—pardonnez-nous nos hostilités contre vous, comme nous vous pardonnons les tourmens auxquels vous avez livré nos frères,—ne nous laissez pas succomber aux tentations qui conduisent en Sibérie, mais délivrez-nous bientôt de l'Autriche. Ainsi-soit-il."—BALLEDIER, il. 28.

ultimate results brought the House of Hapsburg to the very verge of ruin. The intelligence of the revolution at Paris excited a more immediate and alarming fermentation at Presburg than it had done at Vienna. Kossuth, and the other leaders of the united cause of Hungarian independence and liberty, had there been long engaged in preparations for the approaching movement, and the advices from Paris and Vienna did not occasion the insurrection, which, ere long, became so formidable; they only accelerated and determined the periods of its breaking out. At Pesth, the ancient capital of the Hungarians, and where the national feeling was most strong and undivided, the movement first began. On the 15th March a body of students surrounded and took possession of a printing-office in that town, where they immediately threw off a number of copies of a placard, containing what they designated as the demands of the Hungarian nation. In a few hours many thousand copies of this proclamation were sent off to every part of the country, where it excited a very general feeling of enthusiasm; and at one o'clock an immense crowd, with the tricolor flag at its head, came to the Hôtel de Ville to present these demands, reduced into the form of a petition, to the municipality. Partly by fear, partly by the force of sympathetic inclination, the magistrates unanimously signed the petition; and intelligence having at this moment arrived of the acceptance of the similar petition drawn up by Kossuth, by the Chamber of Magnates, then assembled in Presburg, the public enthusiasm rose to the highest point, and every one regarded the objects of general desire as already gained.

16. Overwhelmed by the simultaneous outbreak of revolutionary troubles at the same time in Vienna, Hungary, Lombardy, and Bohemia, the Imperial Government were not in a situation to contest these demands. They took the part, therefore, of concession, which, in fact, was the only one left to them.* On one point only they made a stand.

* See ante, § 9.

They insisted that the three Ministers of War, Finance, and Foreign Affairs, should be Imperial Ministers, residing at Vienna, and responsible, not to the Hungarian, but to the Imperial Parliament. But Count Bathiany and the majority of the Diet at Presburg finally rejected this proposal, and, after a visit from the Archduke Palatine to Vienna, the Imperial Government gave way, and conceded this fatal demand. They asked for an extension of the powers of the Imperial Palatine or Viceroy, which was immediately conceded by both Houses. In the transports of patriotic enthusiasm, the Hungarian nobles outstripped even the demands of the Liberal petitions, and made a voluntary surrender of some of their most ancient and highly-valued privileges. By a free gift they transmuted the "urbarial" tenure of lands, as it was called, under which they were held for certain feudal services, into an unrestricted tenure by freehold. By this great and voluntary concession, the property of 500,000 families, consisting of little estates varying from thirty to sixty acres each, and comprehending nearly a half of the kingdom, was at once converted from a feudal tenure, burdened with numerous duties, into absolute property—an immense and most salutary change, far exceeding in lasting importance any of the political alterations contended for at this period in Germany. In addition to this, the two Chambers unanimously decreed the usual objects of petition at this period in Europe—a perfect equality in civil rights, taxation, and religious toleration. The electoral right was extended to every person possessing property to the value of 750 francs, or an annual income of 250 francs a-year, or holding a degree of a university, or being a bound apprentice to an artisan. The representatives to be sent by Croatia were enlarged from three to eighteen, and the Government engaged to indemnify the proprietors deprived of their seigniorial rights by the abolition of the "urbarial" tenure. These concessions, however, were far from satisfying the Croats, who

loudly complained, in addition, that their language was to be superseded in their own country by that of the Magyars. Transylvania was by mutual consent united with Hungary in this constitution, and the whole received the assent of the Emperor in a solemn Diet held at Presburg on the 11th April. By the constitution, as thus arranged, Hungary, including Transylvania and Croatia, was erected into a separate kingdom, having its own sovereign, ministers, legislature, taxes, army, and civil and municipal affairs. The sole link which connected it with Austria was the Emperor, who was common to both.

17. These great concessions to the Hungarians were followed by a general constitution for the remainder of the Austrian Empire, embracing Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Galicia, Dalmatia, Illyria, Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Salzburg, and the Tyrol, but excluding Hungary and its dependencies. By this constitution the crown was secured to the House of Hapsburg, and the Emperor had the right of declaring peace and war, and concluding treaties with foreign powers; and he was invested with the right of choosing his ministers, preparing measures in parliament, sanctioning every law, and dissolving it at pleasure; but in that event a new parliament required to be convoked within twenty-eight days. The Houses were to meet at least once a-year. Entire liberty of the press, and of persons and property, was guaranteed to all, with entire equality in the eye of the law, trial by jury, and publicity in criminal proceedings. The parliament was to consist of two Houses; the first one of princes of the Imperial blood having attained the age of twenty-four; of persons nominated for life by the Emperor; and 150 other members, to be elected for the sitting of the session by the most considerable proprietors. The lower House was to consist of 383 members, elected on the joint basis of the numbers of the people and the representation of public interest; the mode of election to be fixed by a supplementary act. By

the supplementary decree, which followed in the beginning of May, the right of voting was conferred upon every male inhabitant who had attained the age of twenty-four, and was neither in receipt of public charity nor in domestic service. The Diet could be convoked only by the Emperor, and could concern itself with public business only during the session; its duties consisted in voting taxes, levies of troops, loans, provisions for the Imperial family. The Emperor alone had the right of proposing laws, but the two Houses might compel him to do so. A majority of two-thirds was necessary to alter any article of the constitution; everything else passed by a simple majority. Provincial Diets were to manage the local affairs of each province. A national guard was to be everywhere established, and both its members and the troops of the line were to take the oath to the Emperor and the constitution. This constitution solemnly received the sanction of the Emperor on the 25th April, amidst great pomp and general rejoicings.

18. In so far as it could be effected by constitutions on paper, the revolution in Austria seemed to have come to a very successful issue, and the Emperor might with reason congratulate himself upon having successfully weathered the most violent period of the storm. Possibly these disturbances might have terminated here, and the constitution of Austria, fixed on a reasonable basis, have secured for its inhabitants the inestimable blessing of regulated and balanced freedom, had it not been for the passions and animosities of RACE. The Magyars, 4,500,000 strong, who formed the ruling and most powerful body in central Hungary, had no intention of sharing the power they had acquired with the Slaves. Exceedingly democratic in a question with the Emperor and the Austrian employes, the Magyars were the greatest tyrants in their hearts to the alien and far more numerous race of Slavonians, which they had for long held in subjection. What in their hearts they desired to establish was, not a real republic, em-

bracing the whole people, but an aristocratic commonwealth like Sparta, in which every freeman had three or four helots in a state of domestic servitude. Like many others, it was the right to tyrannise over others which they desired to conquer.

19. As a natural consequence of this state of general feeling, the Magyar race were animated by the most inveterate hatred against the Austrian Government, whose ruling principle was the direct reverse, or thorough centralisation, and the dependence of all on the Imperial crown. Thus, the two most powerful principles which can stir the human mind—the passions of race and the desire of independence—came to impel in the same direction, and their combined influence inflamed them with the most violent hostility against the Austrian rule. From the beginning of April this appeared in the most decided manner. The language and acts of the Hungarian parliament from that period savoured more of open hostility than the affectionate loyalty due by subjects to their sovereign. Their object was, not to obtain redress of their many and acknowledged grievances, but to detach themselves entirely from the Austrian connection. They sent ambassadors to Vienna, and subsequently to Frankfort, as from one independent power to another. They asserted their right to levy troops and dispose of them at their own pleasure, and irrespective altogether of the wishes or commands of the Cabinet of Vienna. The army was to be bound only by the Hungarian oath of fidelity to the Emperor and the Hungarian constitution. The Magyar chiefs did everything in their power to weaken the strong bond of loyalty which bound the brave Hungarian soldiers to their beloved Kaiser, and their ancient and time-honoured standards. They loudly and uniformly expressed their sympathy with the Italian insurgents, and in the hour of its greatest need not only recalled the Hungarian regiments from Radetsky's army in Italy, but positively refused to contribute a man or a shilling to the expenses of the

war, the common charges of the Empire, or the interest of the national debt.

20. The Imperial Government had no resource but in conciliatory measures. They were resorted to accordingly, but they were of so abject and sweeping a character as to appear rather a capitulation than the conciliatory measures adopted by a paternal government with its subjects. Proclamations were issued promising liberal measures, and an amnesty (March 21) published embracing all political offenders in the kingdom of Galicia, including the city of Cracow and the whole Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. By a later decree (April 5) all political offenders, wherever detained, and wherever the offence with which they were charged had been committed, were ordered to be liberated. When a government, assailed by high treason in all directions, in this manner capitulates with its rebellious subjects, it need not be said that all its real power has passed away, and that it is only a question of time when it is either to abdicate or be forcibly dispossessed of its entire functions.

21. Ruin, universal and irrevocable, would now have undoubtedly overtaken the entire Austrian Empire, had it not found a support in a quarter where it was least expected, and from the intensity of the very feelings from which its danger had arisen. United, by the Hungarian constitution, with that kingdom, the *Croatians*, Slavonians by descent, perceived only a fatal deterioration of their position by the predominance of the Magyar magnates and race in the National Assembly at Pesth. The ancient hatred of the Slavonian at the Magyar broke forth with unextinguishable fury at this prospect. Too weak to contend, either in the field or the Assembly, with the Hungarian power, the *Croatians* saw no prospect of protection but in the German race and the shield of the Emperor. "The Emperor, and the unity of the Empire," became naturally, in this manner, the war-cry

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of the *Croatians*, as that of "the unity and independence of Hungary" was of the *Magyars*. No sooner, accordingly, did it distinctly appear what turn affairs were taking, and the pretensions of the *Magyars* were openly declared, than a deputation from Croatia set out for Vienna, to lay before the Emperor the assurances of their devotion and the expression of their apprehensions. They were willing to spend the last drop of their blood in behalf of the Imperial crown, and to preserve the integrity of the Empire; but they could not hope for success unless he placed at their head a chief in whom they had confidence. JELLACHICH alone was this man. The deputation met with the most favourable reception; mutual confidence was at once established from the perception of common danger. Jellachich was immediately elevated to the rank of *Ban*, or Governor of Croatia, and shortly afterwards created field-marshal, councillor of the Empire, colonel-commandant of two regiments, and commander-in-chief of the provinces of Bannat, Warasdin, and Carlsbadt, in the Illyrian districts.

22. While the Austrian provinces were in this manner breaking off into separate dominions in every direction, the Liberals of Vienna only became more urgent in the prosecution of their favourite ideas of democratic government. The constitution published by the Emperor, liberal as it was, fell far short of the expectation of the ardent patriots, and the agitation in the capital had daily increased since it was promulgated. On the 15th May a petition was presented by the students, in which they loudly complained of the property qualifications required for the election of members to the Upper House, and of *any* qualification for electors for the Lower House, of the legislature, and demanded:—1. A single chamber instead of two houses. 2. Universal suffrage. 3. The intrusting of the peace of the capital to the National Guard alone. 4. Adhesion to the great principle of German unity. 5. Removal of all property qualifica-

tions for deputies. 6. An engagement not to employ the troops but on the requisition of the National Guard. 7. The National Guard to perform the service of the Imperial palace along with the line troops. The regular soldiers had all been sent out of the town to appease the people, and no armed force existed to repel the petitioners, who were all armed, and came to the palace with their muskets loaded, surrounded with a tumultuous mob, with iron bars, scythes, and pickaxes in their hands. In the first moments of alarm, and with the dagger at their throats, the Government promised to consider everything that was demanded; and it was under the pressure of this necessity that a decree was issued next day (May 16) establishing universal suffrage as the basis of the popular representation, a single chamber for the legislature, and conceding all the other demands of the people. But this rude onslaught and open preparation for violence revealed to the Government their real situation, which was that of absolute impotence at the mercy of an armed mob, acting on the impulse of unscrupulous leaders ruling the people by means of a licentious press. It was resolved accordingly, in a secret cabinet council, held in the palace on the evening of the 16th, to extricate the Government from this state of thralldom; and the Emperor, having secretly made his preparations, set out at six from the palace in a carriage drawn by a pair of horses, and attended only by a single servant, for Schoenbrunn. The rest of the royal family departed a few minutes after in similar privacy, and both vehicles took the route of the Tyrol, by Lintz, Salzburg, and Reichenhall. They arrived in safety at Innspruck, to the infinite joy of the inhabitants of that simple and loyal province, who hastened in crowds from their mountains and valleys to protect their beloved Kaiser; while the minister Pillersdorf, who had previously resigned, but resumed office at the earnest solicitation of the students, announced the departure of the Emperor and Imperial family, as the pro-

clamations alleged, for the benefit of change of air.

23. The flight of the Imperial family to Innspruck excited an immense sensation at Vienna and over Europe. It was an open declaration, on the part of the Emperor, of war against the revolution, and distrust of its leaders, an appeal to the well-known loyalty of a faithful province from the treason and iniquitous ambition of a rebellious capital. As such, it first brought to light a division in the ranks of the Liberals, who, though hitherto united to appearance under the same banner, were in reality far from being at one as to ulterior measures. The extreme leaders of the movement, with the professors and students of the university, were prepared to go the whole length of revolution. This system was the same as that usually pursued by Jacobin leaders in similar circumstances—viz., to discredit Government, and bring it into contempt, by rendering its rule impossible, and having done so, to overturn it as a useless and expensive encumbrance, and install themselves in its stead. But the shopkeepers and artisans of the metropolis, who depended mainly on the expenditure of the great, and the concourse of strangers to its hotels, were by no means inclined to go this length. They had concurred in the movement of the 13th March, and formed the main strength of the urban guard, to which the peace of the metropolis had since been intrusted, from the natural desire which prosperous and affluent citizens have to share in the government of their country, and correct the abuses of its administration; but they had no wish to see their Emperor dethroned, or the nobles of the empire banished from their hereditary palaces within the walls of the capital. The flight to Innspruck brought the reality of the danger instantly and vividly before their eyes; they saw at once in what the visions of the students would ere long land all the great interests of the Empire. Already their sales had almost disappeared, from the cessation of all purchases, save for articles of absolute necessity, by the affluent classes;

while the streets were, from the same cause, choked by crowds of unemployed workmen clamouring for bread, and for whose relief the *Ateliers Nationaux*, which, in imitation of those at Paris, had been opened in various quarters, afforded no adequate means of subsistence. Pressed in this manner at once by a fearful diminution of their incomes and as alarming an increase of the demands upon them, they became alive to the perilous nature of the descent on which they were placed. Numerous and urgent petitions to the Emperor to return, and promising him their energetic support, were despatched to Innsbruck from the shopkeepers and burgher guard of the metropolis, but he returned only evasive answers; and it was not till another revolution had occurred in Vienna, and restored military authority in its distracted crowds, that he left the calm security of his mountain retreat for the stormy scenes of the capital.

24. Regardless altogether of the imminent danger of the Empire, the revolutionists of Vienna only advanced at an accelerated pace. The students of the university, now incorporated into the "University Legion," were at the head of the movement, the press universally and powerfully seconded their efforts, and the capital, during the week which followed the departure of the Emperor, was in a state of absolute and frantic anarchy. Conscious that their conduct had now reached those limits where forgiveness had become impossible, the leaders sought only to push matters to such an extreme point that all must see retreat was out of the question, and their only chance of safety was to advance still farther in the career of revolution. To accomplish this they took the most effectual of all methods,—they worked upon their fears. The whole of the 24th May was employed by the popular orators in haranguing the people on the danger of a reaction and the return of the troops to extinguish their liberties; and on the day following, the "University Legion" was in such a state of disorder that Count Montecuculli, the military commander, pub-

lished an ordinance, dissolving it as a separate corps, and incorporating its members in the legions of the National Guard. This was the signal for an open revolt. The students refused to obey the order; barricades were erected around the university, where they were assembled in strength; the National Guard took part with the insurgents; and some regular troops, which the Government brought up, could effect nothing, and, being left without orders, withdrew. The insurgents now demanded the revocation of the ordinance dissolving the University Legion, the return of the Emperor to Vienna, the sitting of the Diet there, the confirmation of all that had been conceded on the 15th May, and the taking of hostages from the noblesse no longer to oppose revolution. Destitute of all means of resistance by the absence of the troops and defection of the National Guard, the nominal Government at Vienna promised everything which was demanded except the return of the Emperor, which it was beyond their power to grant; but M. Pillersdorf engaged to write to the Emperor, urging him to return; and in the mean time a "Committee of Public Safety" was appointed, composed of students and burghers, to watch over the interests of the people, and provide food for the multitudes who were perishing, amidst the general anarchy, of want.

25. Meanwhile the Emperor at Innsbruck published (May 21) a proclamation, in which he vindicated the step he had taken of leaving the capital on the ground of the undisguised violence to which he had been subjected. He added: "No alternative was left to me but to recur to measures of hostility, or to withdraw for the moment to one of my provinces. Its inhabitants, God be thanked! have remained faithful to their monarch. I will not grant anything to the forcible exactions of unauthorised and armed individuals. My departure from Vienna was intended to impress this upon my painfully-excited people, and likewise to remind them of the paternal love with which I am ever ready to receive my sons, even though they

be prodigal ones." The reasons were perfectly sufficient to justify the steps taken, but it was unnecessary to adduce them. The revolutionists at Vienna afforded a better vindication of it than anything that could be said from Innspruck.

26. Austria was lost had its safety rested on the good sense or loyalty of the people. It would have been dismembered, not like Poland, by three conquering powers, but three rebellious provinces; and Hungary, Lombardy, and Bohemia would have effected its destruction as completely as Russia, Prussia, and Austria had done with the Sarmatian commonwealth. But in this extremity, unparalleled perhaps in all history for difficulty and peril, it found salvation in the restored fortitude of the Government, and the unshaken fidelity of the Army. That noble body of men, on this as on many former occasions, proved the salvation of the Empire. They encouraged the Emperor to resist, by showing him that he had at length found a basis on which he could rest.

27. When the Magyars undertook to set up for themselves and establish a separate nationality in Hungary, independent of Austria, and connected with it only by the feeble bond of a common sovereign, they had no intention of emancipating the subject-dominions of the kingdom, or allowing the Croats the same independent existence which they claimed for themselves. Accordingly the latter, encouraged by the appointment of their popular and eloquent leader Jellachich as their Ban, and assured in secret of the support of the Emperor, made preparations openly to resist the threatened separation of Hungary from Austria, and adhere to the connection with their beloved Kaisers. On the 10th April, Jellachich made his public and solemn entry as Ban into Agram, the capital of the province, where he was received with loud acclamations by the whole inhabitants. He immediately (April 19) published a proclamation, in which he declared that he and his faithful Croats would never consent to the projected separation of Hungary

from the Imperial crown. At the same time he proclaimed martial law, and denounced the penalties of high treason against any one who should venture to revolt against their king, their country, and their oaths. The intelligence of these decisive measures excited the most unbounded indignation at Pesth, which was speedily turned into a warlike fury when it was heard that a Magyar emissary had been arrested in Croatia by orders of the Ban; that four of the frontier regiments had been directed, by the same authority, into the district of Turapoyla to disarm some tribes in the Magyar interest; in fine, that 30,000 Bosniaks, perfectly armed and equipped, were ready to penetrate into Croatia, to lend a hand to an equal number of Croats, whom he was raising to support the Emperor's cause. Deeming themselves not in sufficient strength to make head against so many enemies, the Magyar leaders despatched a deputation to the Emperor to implore his assistance to preserve the integrity of the Hungarian dominions: thus deprecating, when applied to themselves, that very severance according to race which they were at the same moment endeavouring to effect against the Austrians. The deputation arrived at Vienna; and so thoroughly was the Government there prostrated by the democratic faction, that they were obliged to disavow the acts of their own governor in their own favour, and engage to do everything in their power to preserve the integrity of the Hungarian dominions. A letter to this effect was despatched by the Emperor to the Archduke Stephen, his viceroy at Pesth, on the 7th May.

28. In pursuance of the orders thus received, the Archduke Stephen issued (May 10) a proclamation, in which he disavowed the conduct of the Ban, who was on the 29th May recalled to Innspruck by an order from the Emperor himself; and, on the 10th June, suspended from his functions by an Imperial decree. But Jellachich paid no regard to these commands, and continued his preparations in the most open manner, alleging that he was

acting according to the real wishes of the Emperor, from whom the orders to a contrary effect had been extorted by violence and intimidation.* So evident was it to all the world that this was the case, that the preparations for war with the Magyars, not only in Croatia, but amongst the Razen all along the Serbian frontier, and on the Lower Danube, were openly made; and hostilities actually commenced at many points both in the interior and along the frontier of Hungary. It was in the midst of these disorders, and with the fires of burning villages illuminating the sky by night, and their smoke obscuring it by day, that the Hungarian deputies met in assembly at Pesth, on the 5th July. The Archduke Stephen upon this occasion addressed to the deputies a speech, in which he condemned the Croatian insurrection, and gave assurances of the support of the Emperor to the Magyars, in such strong terms that it would be well for the honour of the House of Hapsburg if it could clear itself of the charge of double-dealing on the occasion.† But the Ban and his faithful Croats were nothing daunted by the real or feigned desertion of their sovereign and natural protector, and loudly asserted their

* About the 20th June he went to Innspruck to present a petition containing the demands of the Croat Assembly, but returned with an evasive answer from the Emperor.

† "La Croatie est exposée à une révolte ouverte: dans les contrées du bas Danube des bandes armées ont troublé la paix publique. Sa Majesté a vu avec une profonde douleur, après avoir sanctionné spontanément les lois votées par la dernière Diète, comme devant favoriser le développement de la prospérité du pays, que les agitateurs, surtout en Croatie et les contrées du bas Danube, avaient excité, les uns contre les autres, les habitants de croyances et de langues différentes, par des faux bruits et de vaines alarmes, et les avaient poussés à résister aux lois et à l'autorité législative, en leur disant qu'elles n'étaient pas l'expression libre de la volonté de Sa Majesté. En conséquence, pour tranquilliser les habitants de ce pays de toute langue et de toute religion, je déclare au nom de Sa Majesté notre maître et roi, que Sa Majesté est parfaitement résolue à protéger l'unité et l'inviolabilité de la couronne royale de Hongrie, contre toute attaque au dehors et contre toute scission à l'intérieur."—*Ann. Hist.* 1848, pp. 431, 432.

determination, though abandoned by all the world, to assert their independence, and emancipate themselves from the domination of the Magyars. "Emperor!" said the Croats proudly, in their manifesto, "if you reject our supplications, we shall know how to conquer our liberties without your aid; and we would rather die heroically, as becomes a Slavonian family, than bear any longer the oppression of an Asiatic horde, from whom we have nothing either to receive or to learn, but who have imposed on us a yoke which it is impossible any longer to bear. If it comes to the worst, *we would prefer the knout of the Russians to the insolence of the Magyars.* Emperor! do not abandon us, for we will not, in any event, fall again under the dominion of the Magyars. Recollect, that if Croatia forms only a thirty-fifth part of your monarchy, her soldiers compose a third of your entire infantry."

29. To their honour be it spoken, the first acts of the Hungarian parliament evinced a sincere love of freedom, and a desire to remove those antiquated restrictions which had so long proved an impediment to their industry. Practical improvements, in the first instance at least, exclusively occupied their attention, and demonstrated the existence of numerous evils, which, in the first moments of emancipation, the nation sought to remove. Tithes were directed to be redeemed, under compensation to the clergy; *corvées* abolished; taxes imposed universally in proportion to fortune, without distinction of race, caste, or religion; the right of suffrage given to all inhabitants of free towns. Such was the programme of their measures, and such was in part carried into effect. So far the improvements were practical, and such as commanded the assent of every true friend to his country. But ere long the true revolutionary spirit appeared, and it became evident that democracy unrestrained was panting for power, and would here, as elsewhere, inaugurate its reign by acts of injustice. The abolition of tithes was agreed to, but compensa-

tion to the clergy denied; thus they were exposed to a spoliation as complete as they had undergone in France. A new electoral law was voted, which fixed the qualification at the possession of a capital of 300 florins (£30). It was evident that this would throw the representation entirely into the hands of the towns, for very few of the newly emancipated peasants possessed as yet at least a capital of half that amount. The measure was directed against the magnates, and could not have failed in a short time to destroy their influence.

30. It was in the midst of these distractions, social, political, and national, that on the 22d July the Constituent Assembly of Austria met.* It could hardly be said to be a *national* Assembly, for its authority scarcely extended over more than Upper and Lower Austria. Lombardy and the Venetian territory were in open revolt, and it was more than doubtful whether the Imperial dominion would ever be restored over them. Hungary, with Transylvania, had recently detached itself from the Empire, and no longer recognised the authority of any assembly sitting at Vienna. The revolt of the Slave population of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, had only been suppressed by the cannon of Windischgratz; and the known discontents of the inhabitants of Galicia were kept down by the dread of the Muscovite masses rapidly accumulating in the neighbouring territories of Russian Poland. Such as it was, the Assembly at Vienna exhibited no real representation of the great interests even of that small fragment of the Empire which still recognised its authority. Elected in the first fervour of the revolution, and under what was practically universal suffrage, it was composed, like the National Assembly of

France in 1789, for the most part of attorneys, physicians, professors, doctors, shopkeepers, with a few bankers and merchants. There were scarce any representatives of the landed interest, though they constituted nine-tenths of the property of the country; nor of the commercial aristocracy, though they comprehended nearly the whole of its moneyed wealth. Nothing, either practically beneficial or having a chance even of being durable, could be expected from an Assembly so constituted in such a one, or indeed in any country. All parties in it concurred in praying the Emperor to return, though from very different motives. The few Conservatives desired it, because they hoped his presence would prove, in some degree, a check on the extreme Liberals; the revolutionists were equally sincere, and with more reason, in desiring it, because they thought it would bring him entirely under their control.

31. Like Paris at this period, and animated with equal fervour, Vienna had its patriotic demonstrations, its democratic promenades, its forced illuminations, its female parades, its *Ateliers Nationaux*, its banquets, and its suffering crowds, starving amidst the compulsory assertion of universal felicity. Grave doubts, accordingly, were felt at the Emperor's headquarters at Innsbruck, as to the propriety of again returning to the theatre of so much disorder, and putting himself in the power of the armed students and vacillating burgher guard, whose treacherous conduct had rendered his former evasion necessary. But many circumstances concurred at this time to recommend the trying of the experiment, how hazardous soever it might appear. The earnestness and apparent sincerity with which the students and burghers of the capital implored his return, the unanimity of the constituent assembly on the same subject, seemed to promise an ovation strewed only with flowers. External events recommended the same course. In Italy, the battle of Custoza had again restored the Austrian affairs. Windischgratz had conquered rebellion in

* Shortly before (July 19) the ministry of Baron Pillersdorf fell before an adverse vote of the self-constituted "Committee of Safety;" and was succeeded by a new administration, in which Baron Wessenberg was Minister of Foreign Affairs, and President of the Council; Baron Dobbihoff, of the Interior; Dr Bach, of Justice; Baron Krans, of Finance; and Count Latour, of War.

Prague; Hungary was not yet in revolt; the fidelity of Croatia was secured; and the recent intelligence of the election of the Archduke John as Vicar of the Empire, had been hailed with the utmost enthusiasm, both as a check to Prussia and as an earnest of the continued possession of the Imperial dignity by the House of Hapsburg. It was resolved, accordingly, to make the experiment; and the Imperial family left (Aug. 8) their mountain retreat, and returned to Vienna, where they were received (Aug. 12) with every demonstration of loyalty. But before they had been ten days in the capital, events occurred which forcibly demonstrated the feeble tenure by which they held the people's affections. A tumult arose on the 21st August, originating in the same cause which had produced the terrible insurrection in Paris in the June preceding. The numerous workmen out of employment proved too heavy a burden, as their labour was valueless, and the finances neither of the Government or the municipality could stand the strain. A reduction of the wages paid, therefore, was indispensable, and they were lowered twenty-two centimes on the 19th. Disturbances immediately arose; a violent mob collected round an effigy representing M. Schwarzer, the Minister of Public Works, by whom the reduction had been effected, which was publicly burnt; and to such a length did the disorders proceed that they were only suppressed by a great display of military strength on the part of the National Guard, and after many lives had been lost.

32. These disturbances were but the prelude to the commencement of a far more serious and enduring strife in Hungary. It began with an Imperial edict of the 4th, which appeared in the *Agram Zeitung* of the 5th September, reinstating Jellachich in his commands and dignities, as a reward "for his wise and patriotic services," and publicly apologising for the former decrees which had deprived him of them. This edict was not countersigned by any Hungarian minister, and was issued

by the Emperor of his own authority—a proceeding which was contrary to the Hungarian constitution, and excited universal apprehension as well as unbounded irritation in that country. To endeavour to accommodate matters, a deputation proceeded from Pesth to Vienna, which requested an audience of the Emperor.* It was granted (Sept. 9), but the members were coldly received, and given distinctly to understand that no adjustment of differences was possible until Kossuth was removed from the ministry. The Hungarian chiefs yielded this point; the great democratic leader resigned, and he was succeeded by Count Bathiany, who was the head of the aristocratic section of the patriots of the country. But the Court of Vienna gained no real advantage by the change; the spirit and influence of Kossuth survived his fall; the ardour of Hungarian independence was undiminished; and the Archduke Stephen himself found he was unable to moderate the general fervour. But the Court of Vienna was not less determined to resist the movement, which they plainly saw would lead to the dismemberment of the monarchy; the moment seemed favourable for checking it, for the principal Hungarian regiments were absent with Radetsky in Italy; the recent successes of Windischgratz had greatly elevated the spirits of the friends of the monarchy in the German provinces; and Jellachich was at the head of a gallant army thirty thousand strong, composed, in part at least, of old troops warmly attached to the Imperial colours. Encouraged by these circumstances, the Cabinet of Vienna deemed the moment for action had arrived, and Jellachich received orders to cross the Drave, the frontier river of Hungary. He did so at Zegrad, on the 11th September, and moved by the southern shore of the Balaton Lake straight on the capital.

33. Before this decisive step—equivalent to a declaration of war—was taken, a conference, memorable from the actors engaged and the interests

* See the edict in BALLEYDIER, ii. 152.

involved in it, took place (July 29) at Vienna. "M. Bach, the Minister of Justice, and Baron Jellachich, supported it on the one side; Count Louis Bathiany and Prince Esterhazy on the other. It began in a solemn manner, and with measured expressions on both sides; but ere long the intensity of feeling broke through their courtly restraints, and the debate became animated and violent in the highest degree. "Between the cabinets of Pesth and Vienna," said Count Bathiany, "there is now an insurmountable barrier."—"Which you have raised up yourselves," replied Bach. — "Take care, Count, there is behind that barrier on your side an abyss, the name of which is Revolution."—"And who has dug that abyss?"—"You know better than we do—ask Kossuth. Meanwhile, I will tell you what will fill it up—oceans of blood, thousands of corpses; perhaps your own, Count." Before separating, Count Bathiany approached Jellachich, and taking him by the hand, said, "For the last time, do you wish peace or war?"—"We wish for peace," replied the Ban, "if the Magyars, better inspired than they now are, are willing to render to Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar, and to Austria what belongs to Austria; but if they persist in wishing to shiver to pieces the fundamental laws of the Empire, then we are for war."—"May God protect the right," replied Bathiany; "the sabre must now decide betwixt us. Adieu, Baron; I assign a rendezvous on the banks of the Drave."—"We shall meet before on those of the Danube," replied Jellachich; and he was as good as his word. With these words they separated, and both sides prepared for war.

34. No proper idea of the great and most interesting contest which ensued can be formed, unless the state of feeling in Hungary throughout its continuance be taken into consideration. There were two parties in that country, which, although united at first in the common cause of resisting the Austrian rule, and asserting the independence of Hungary, rested, in reality, on

different principles, and came at last to be as much opposed to each other as both at first were to the Imperial domination. The one was composed of the high Magyar aristocracy—as proud and chivalrous a body of nobles as any in the world—which aspired after the independence of Hungary, because it would place them in possession of its government, and liberate them from the German yoke, which had so long chafed their lofty and aspiring dispositions. With them the quarrel was national, not political; it resembled the contest of Wallace or Bruce with the Plantagenet rulers of England in former days, and had nothing in common with the social struggles going on in Europe in the present. Passionately desirous of emancipating their country and race from Austrian thralldom, they had no intention whatever of delivering their people from their own. Though hurried along, in the first instance, by the universal transports into Liberal measures, it was with the *arrière pensée* to make use of them as a means only to an end, and that end was to establish a highly aristocratic government in Hungary, of which the Emperor, as king of the realm, was to be the nominal head, and they themselves, as his ministers and counsellors, the real rulers. It was with this view that, in the outset of the contest, when the Cabinet of Vienna had no means of resisting their demands, they had succeeded in extorting from it not only a separate legislature and army, but a national exchequer and cabinet, without the intervention of a single functionary of German blood. At the head of this party was Count Louis Bathiany, a noble of ancient family, heroic disposition, but little prudence or worldly wisdom. He had all the virtues and failings of the Magyar character. Bold, chivalrous, and enthusiastic, but headstrong and rash, he devoted himself heart and soul to the cause of his country, and suffered death in the end on the scaffold on its behalf, with the same resolution as his ancestors had charged the Ottoman squadrons on the ancient fields of Hungarian fame.

35. The second party in Hungary was composed of men who, though united at the moment with the Magyar magnates in the effort to throw off the German yoke, were in reality not less hostile to them than the Vienna aristocracy, and foresaw a contest with their present allies even more terrible than they were now to wage together with the Austrian battalions. This party comprehended all who were smitten with the political and social passions of the time, and seized the opportunity of its embarrassments not only to destroy the authority of the House of Hapsburg, but to establish republican institutions in its stead. It consisted almost entirely of the inhabitants of towns and the students at the universities and academies, who sincerely desired the amelioration of their country, or who, carried away by the warm views of their eloquent teachers, were ready to go any length against the aristocratic pretensions even of their own families. It may readily be believed that this party had little at bottom in common with the haughty Magyar nobles, who aspired to the government of the state, and the exclusive vesting of it in themselves: unquestionably a victory to their united forces could have had no other effect but that of opening the portals to a still more desperate civil war between the rival aspirants to the rule of the Hungarian commonwealth. So deeply, however, is the love of equality in Hungary, as in Poland, implanted in the minds even of the nobles, that many of them were foremost in the republican party, and ardent in support of a cause which could have led, if successful, to no other result but ruin as complete as, from its triumph on the Vistula, had overtaken the Sarmatian commonwealth. Unmarked at first amidst the enthusiasm of Hungarian nationality, the division between the two parties was, in reality, complete and irreconcilable; and it is to its influence, more even than the intervention of the Muscovite battalions, that the ultimate failure of their united effort for independence is to be ascribed.

36. Though Count Louis Bathiany was the political head of the aristocratic portion of the Magyar party, yet when war began, his ascendancy yielded to that of GEORGEY, to whom the command of the army was intrusted. This very eminent warrior must receive a prominent place in that age of glory, and be placed alongside of Radetsky in the archives of military fame. He was one of those men who, born with military genius of the very highest kind, wanted only a greater theatre whereon to exert his talents, to have attained the most exalted reputation. When called to the command of the Hungarian army, and opposed to the soldiers of Jellachich and Windischgrätz, he had a very difficult task to accomplish. Though the Hungarian soldiers are second to none in the world in native hardihood and valour, and they had always been regarded as the *élite* of the Imperial infantry and light-horse, yet, like all other young troops, their new levies were little able to withstand the shock of the Imperial veterans. Although the general enthusiasm was sufficient to cause all the recruits after that occasion to join the national ranks, and the depot battalions stationed in Hungary did the same, yet the veterans were mostly in Lombardy serving under Radetsky; and his influence, joined to the strong instinct of military discipline, was adequate to retain them with the Imperial standards even when most strongly urged by their countrymen to go over to the other side. Thus, when hostilities began, the Hungarians had the most difficult of all tasks to perform—that of combating with new levies, veteran troops in a flat country, with no natural advantages except the possession of the fortresses to counterbalance those of discipline and military experience on the other side. The ability with which Georgey did this, and the success with which for long his efforts were attended, forms one of the most instructive chapters in military history, and has deservedly given immortality to his name. His merit was the greater that, though bred a soldier, he had only

served a short time in the Austrian army as lieutenant before the war broke out; and when aroused, as he himself tells us, by the cry, "The country is in danger!" he was living a quiet country life on the estate of a female relative in the north of Hungary, and entered one of the battalions of the Honved, or local militia, with the rank only of captain.

37. His very interesting military memoirs are full of complaints against the unsteadiness of the new Hungarian levies, and the manner in which they melted away when first brought under fire, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of their officers to retain them to their colours. Probably, if they have "writ their artnals true," the historians of most other young troops would have similar tales to recount; but in the Hungarian war there was this peculiar difficulty wherewith the Magyar generals had to contend, that their troops were *almost all* new levies. They had a comparatively small body of old soldiers on whom to fall back, or to bring up in the decisive moment, either to improve success or avert disasters. This was a difficulty of the most serious kind—so great, indeed, that if the Austrian generals had evinced the same vigour in following up their victories that their troops had displayed in gaining them, the Hungarian insurrection must have been crushed in the outset, and the Imperial Government spared the humiliation of invoking the Muscovite aid for its final suppression. In combating these early successes of his enemies, Georgey displayed military abilities of the very highest kind. By his indefatigable efforts, inexhaustible resources, and indomitable spirit, the contest was prolonged amidst multiplied disasters, until the young soldiers had acquired by practice the steadiness of veterans. Like Washington, he made such skilful use of the mattock and the spade, he moved his troops with such rapidity, and took such advantage of his interior line of communications, that he succeeded in baffling all the efforts of his experienced antagonists, and had the glory, with his raw levies, of at length

reducing the Imperial army to such straits, that beyond all question, but for the intervention of the Muscovites, Vienna would have fallen before the Hungarian arms. The necessity of capitulating at length to the Russians, has exposed his memory to severe obloquy, especially from his own countrymen; but his actions will speak for themselves—they require no eulogy; and he has recounted them with the calm dignity of one who can trust to time to vindicate his reputation.

38. The leader of the other party was KOSSUTH, and though a far less immaculate character than Georgey, he possessed all the qualities requisite for the lead of the democratic body, of which he was the head. Bold, unscrupulous, and determined, he was a true tribune of the people. Born in the humbler ranks of society, he not only shared none of the Magyar pride, but their haughtiness was his aversion; and he was resolute to vindicate both the independence of his country and the dignity of human nature, by organising a revolutionary movement which should at once, as he thought, secure the first and assert the second. The powers he had received from nature were eminently calculated to achieve these objects. His oratorical talents were of the very highest kind. He could declaim with equal facility in Hungarian, Latin, German, French, or English; and he has repeatedly charmed audiences of these different nations, by speeches delivered with the ease and accent of a well-educated native. To this facility in speaking he joined the rarer faculty of seizing the spirit of the persons whom he addressed, and selecting the images, allusions, and topics most likely to mould them according to his will. His information was vast, but it was more superficial than profound, multifarious than accurate. His only thorough acquaintance was with the human heart, and that he knew to the bottom. His industry was prodigious, his energy indomitable; and hence the influence he acquired in Hungary was unbounded; and to his exertions the rapid and extraordinary development

of its military resources is mainly to be ascribed. But his influence proved as fatal to its independence in the end as it had been serviceable to it in the beginning; for "his inmost soul," as Gibbon said of Mr Fox, "was tinged with democracy," and the ascendancy of this feeling impelled him into several measures which excited the jealousy of the Magyar nobility, and produced a division in their councils which ultimately proved fatal to the independence of the country.

39. To meet this array of military and civil talent, the main reliance of the Imperial Government was on JEL-LACHICH, Ban of Croatia. The situation to which he had been raised was a very important one; it was the third in point of dignity in the whole Empire. He was every way worthy to hold it. Born on the 16th October 1801, he was the son of Field-Marshal Baron Jellachich, and inherited from him the love of arms. This disposition was so strongly marked in early childhood, that the Emperor Francis used to call him his "dear little Jellachich," and foretold he would one day make a figure in the state. At the age of eight he was sent to the Military Academy of Maria-Theresa, in Vienna, where the vivacity of his disposition and precocity of his mind early attracted notice. In 1829 he entered the army as cornet in a regiment of dragoons, of which, in 1848, he had risen to be colonel. His elevation to the high rank of Ban of Croatia was considered by all as the harbinger of success; for he was at once respected by the generals, popular with the officers, and adored by the soldiers, in all the grades through which he had passed. Blessed by nature with robust health, and a constitution which nothing could shake, he had at the same time the self-confidence which inspires trust in others, and the gaiety and cheerfulness of temper which awakens affection. At once a soldier and a poet, he was qualified alike to win the laurels of war and conquer the hearts of women. Under this gay and joyous temperament, however, he veiled a mind set on great things, an observant disposition, a military *coup-d'œil*,

and unbounded energy and application to business. His practised eye early discerned that it was in the military spirit of the Croats, and their hereditary animosity against the Magyars, that the foundation must be laid of a successful resistance to the Hungarian revolt; and long before he was called to lead the armies, he had studied the theatre of war both on the Drave and the Danube, and was prepared with a detailed plan of a campaign when the proper moment arrived for raising the ancient war-cry of the Croats, "Death to the Magyars!"

40. Without the military abilities which rendered Jellachich so famous, and so great an acquisition to the Imperial cause, PRINCE WINDISCHGRATZ sustained too important a part in the contest to be passed over in the gallery of contemporary portraits. He was born at Brussels on the 11th April 1787, of one of the most illustrious houses in Germany. Like Jellachich, he showed from his earliest years a decided turn for arms. He entered the service as lieutenant of lancers in 1804, and took part in the great battles between France and Austria in the succeeding year, as well as in 1809 and in 1813. In 1814 he was already a colonel of cuirassiers, and a lieutenant-general in 1833, which indicated distinguished services in a country in which promotion, regulated by seniority, is extremely slow. He was a model of the military German prince of the old school. A noble figure, striking even in advanced years; a breast covered with military insignia; a mild but yet expressive countenance; an exterior, calm but dignified, concealed a soul of fire, a heart responsive to every generous sentiment. He was the type of the ancient chivalrous character, such as it is depicted in the poems and romances of the olden time, but probably never existed in real life. Accessible to pity from all other quarters, he was immovably firm in questions of duty; for treachery or defection he had no forgiveness; the words pronounced by him on a solemn occasion, when he saved the Austrian monarchy, "With rebels I treat only

with the sword," expressed the ruling principle of his public career. When summoned by the students of Prague, before the insurrection in that city, to give them two thousand muskets and eight thousand cartridges, with a battery of cannon, and to disarm the batteries planted against the town, he replied: "Your demands in the name of the people are concisely expressed; I answer them, in the name of the Emperor in the same style: I need my muskets for my soldiers; I shall keep them: guns are not made for students; I retain them: the position of my batteries seems advantageous; I shall maintain it." With this mingled firmness and gentleness of character, he would have risen to the very highest political as well as military eminence, had his abilities as a general been equal to his knightly qualities. But in that respect he was inferior both to Georgey and Jellachich. He had the glory by his firmness of twice saving his country—once under the walls of Prague, and again under those of Vienna; but he did not improve his successes with the same vigour as he commenced them; and had his first victories over the Hungarians been followed up with proper rapidity, the war might have been terminated in the first campaign, and Austria saved from the humiliating necessity of owing its ultimate salvation to the Muscovite arms.

41. PRINCE SCHWARTZENBERG was later brought on the field than either of the other paladins of the Empire; but when he did appear, he rendered services of the highest kind. Felix, Prince of Schwartzberg, the son of the generalissimo of the Austrian armies in the war of liberation, was born at Krumau, in Bohemia, on the 20th of October 1800; so at this period he was forty-eight years of age. At once a soldier and a diplomatist, he buckled on his sabre first in 1818, in the cuirassier regiment of Constantine, and made his *début* in the diplomatic service in 1824 at St Petersburg. His advancement was extremely rapid; and with a breast covered with crosses and decorations,

he had already served in the diplomatic career at St Petersburg, Rio Janeiro, London, Lisbon, Madrid, Paris, Berlin, Turin, Parma, and Naples, when, in 1848, he again put on his armour, and entered the army of Marshal Radetsky. He then served as general of brigade in the division of Marshal Count Nugent, and gave proofs of the same talent and energy in military command which he had formerly evinced in his diplomatic career. Though wounded in a previous encounter, he insisted on resuming his command at the battle of Custoza, and bore a distinguished part in that decisive victory, which terminated the first Italian campaign. His moral and political were equal to his personal courage; and he was alike qualified to prosecute advantages on the field of battle, and to maintain the cause of his country in the intricacies of diplomacy. With the utmost refinement of chivalrous manner, he united, like Metternich, brilliant powers of conversation. His known abilities in the conduct of public affairs, and widespread personal influence, designed him as the fitting successor of Metternich in the direction of the Austrian Government, when, in the close of 1848, the victories of Jellachich and Windischgratz restored the authority of the Emperor in the capital; and his appointment as prime-minister diffused universal satisfaction, and contributed much to the glorious stand which the German portion of the Empire made against dismemberment and ruin.

42. Before the great contest arose in which these paladins were brought into collision, a fearful war, attended with the most frightful features of civil dissension, had broken out in the south and south-east of Hungary. The Servians, or RAZEN as they are there called, inhabit the Hungarian counties on the Lower Danube, the Banat, the eastern part of Slavonia, and some districts of the Croatian borders. They are a branch of the great Slovak nation, and in number about 800,000. They belonged originally to the Greek Independent Church,

at the head of which is the Archbishop of Carlowitz, in whose appointment, though nominally vested in seventy-five electors, the Emperor of Austria has a preponderating influence. Like the Vendéans, they were entirely led by their clergy; and they were strongly attached to the Austrian Government from animosity at the Magyars, who had intruded into their country, and of whom they had for ages been the hereditary foes. So strongly were they imbued with these feelings, that from the very first they repudiated the tempting offers of the Hungarian Parliament, and a participation in the privileges which they had obtained from the Government. They sent a deputation to Pesth in May 1848, to lay before the Diet their demands, which were partly of a territorial, partly of a national and religious nature. With the characteristic haughtiness of their race, the Magyars refused to come to any accommodation, or even enter into any discussion or explanation with them. This, which their able general, Klapka, admits was a "grievous fault," at once led to a rupture. Disgusted with the insolence with which they had been received, the Razen deputies returned home, and immediately made preparations for war, even before the Government at Vienna had thrown off the mask, and when the Austrian troops were still in appearance making common cause with the Hungarian nation. Hostilities began early in June; and with such vigour were they conducted on the part of the Razen, that though at first they had to contend, in addition to the Magyars, with a considerable body of regular Austrian troops, they were generally successful; and after bloody battles had been fought, the insurgents had not only maintained their ground, but wrested a large tract of country, including several strong positions along the old Roman intrenchments, from the Hungarians. The war, which on both sides was conducted with savage ferocity, was still raging when, on the 11th September, Jellachich crossed the Drave, and entered Hungary.

Thus, within six months of the breaking out of a revolution of which "German unity" was the principle, not only was Prussia at variance with Southern Germany, but Bohemia was alienated from Austria, Hungary from both, and in the latter country itself a frightful war had arisen between the Razen and the Croats against the domineering insolence of the Magyars.

43. Aware of the strife which was inevitably approaching, both parties had, for a considerable time before it commenced, been making preparations for it. On the 5th August the Hungarian Government commenced the issue of a national paper, bearing a forced circulation: a perilous expedient, which carried them through the contest, but landed the nation in a debt of 110,000,000 florins (£11,000,000) in ten months. At the same time, the "Honved," or local militia, was called out; a force which amounted to 150,000 men, and formed the basis of the army which afterwards did such wonders in the cause of Hungarian independence. But being ill-disciplined and without confidence in its officers, it was exposed in the first instance to numerous reverses. Moreover, being not bound to serve beyond the frontier often prevented them from following up their most brilliant successes. On their side the Austrian Government made every preparation which their straitened circumstances would admit for the contest. The troops on the frontier were reinforced by every disposable man; and the almost superhuman activity of Count Latour, the minister of war, pushed forward the levying and recruiting of new troops in the provinces which could be relied on with extraordinary vigour. As a last resource, the ultimatum of the Cabinet of Vienna, which was that the ministries of war, finance, and foreign affairs in Hungary should be united to those of Vienna, an entire community of right be established between all the inhabitants of Austria and Hungary respectively, and the demands of the Razen nation be conceded, was published in a manifesto at Agram on the 6th August by Jellachich. To

this the president of the Magyar Cabinet replied, refusing the terms: and in a proclamation to the Hungarian nation, he said: "Dangers are hourly thickening around our country. An infamous party, of which Jellachich is the blind instrument, again raises its head. In presence of the Archduke John, Jellachich promised me that he would withdraw his army from the Croat^e frontier on condition that the Hungarians should do the same. In defiance of his pledged word, he is at this moment concentrating a large force in Croatia, and especially in the environs of Warasdin, although, in conformity with our engagement, we have withdrawn a considerable portion of our troops from the Croat frontier to the neighbourhood of the Danube. As we may every moment expect to be attacked, I conjure, in this decisive moment, the officers of the menaced frontier to redouble their vigilance. We will attack no one, but we shall watch over the reactionists, and be ready to defend ourselves, our rights, and country to the last drop of our blood."

44. The plan of the Austrians, devised by Count Latour, in the furtherance of which Jellachich was the principal agent, was that on a certain day the whole fortresses in which their partisans were in the majority, were to hoist the Imperial colours, proclaim a state of siege to the neighbouring cities and territory, oppose the orders of the Hungarian Government, and take their commands from the War Office of Vienna. At the same time, Jellachich was to invade Hungary from Warasdin in Croatia, General Rott from Slavonia. Colonel Mayerhofer was to lead in the Razen levies in the Bats and Banat country, and in conjunction with the troops in the fortresses of Arad and Temesvar, which were in the Austrian interest, to subjugate the countries of the Lower Danube. Puchner was to march in from the side of Transylvania, Simonich from Galicia; and a helping hand was to be everywhere given to the Servians, Slovaks, Wallachians, and others, who stood on the Austrian side. In addition to this, a

powerful army of reserve was forming under Windischgratz, in the neighbourhood of Vienna, which was to march direct on Pesth, the seat of government and the centre of Hungarian power. It seemed next to impossible that the Magyars could successfully resist so formidable a combination, for the regular troops at their disposal did not exceed 25,000 men, scattered over an immense surface; and little reliance, as the event proved, could be placed on the Honved and volunteers, who had never been in action, or seen real service.

45. The plan of the campaign on the part of the insurgents was based on different principles. They had only one real advantage, in a military point of view, in their contest with Austria,—and that was, in the possession of the greater part of the fortresses and the whole arsenals of the kingdom, which being entirely in the hands of the national troops, at once hoisted the national colours. This gave them ample supplies of arms, ammunition, and artillery, and rendered the war not one with an insurgent domestic population, but of one foreign nation with another. But as the greater part of the old Hungarian regiments were absent with Radetsky in Italy, and the depot battalions only at home, they resolved, in the first instance at least, and till the Honved became inured to war, to remain on the defensive in Hungary. They gained a great advantage, before hostilities began, by the acceptance of the command of the fortress of Peterwaradin by General Blagowich from the Hungarian Government. He was a brave man and excellent officer, who, distracted between the orders of his kaiser and the calls of his country, decided for the latter. The Hungarians had no army capable as yet of combating in the open field the regular troops of Windischgratz in the neighbourhood of Vienna; but this circumstance gave them little disquiet, as they were in communication with the revolutionists in that capital. By these a great insurrection was preparing, which soon after broke out, and which, it was expected, would give

the Bohemian general ample employment at home without aiding in the operations against Hungary.

46. The Hungarian Government made the most herculean efforts to raise and organise troops; and these were admirably seconded by the enthusiasm and spirit of the Magyars. They were quite unanimous, and to the last degree ardent in the cause. The division between the aristocratic and democratic parties, inevitable in the end, in such convulsions, was unknown in its commencement. The cause was national, not social, at least in the estimation of the immense majority of its supporters; and this, among a people eminently attached to their country, and justly proud of its historic renown and martial fame, excited universal enthusiasm. Kossuth was the soul of the movement. At the first intelligence of the Ban having crossed the Drave, he flew to Pesth, boasting that he would not return till he had organised a levy of 70,000 fresh men. He was as good as his word. At his powerful voice ringing on the already vibrating chords of Hungarian nationality, the whole Magyar race flew to arms; 300,000 in a few days came forward demanding arms to defend their country, and 100,000 were ere long enrolled. But this ardour was confined to the Magyar race, numbering little more than a third of the inhabitants of Hungary. The Slaves were arrayed on the other side, either in active or passive resistance; the Croats, Razen, and Wallachians were engaged in a desperate and bloody contest with them.

47. The first operations of Jellachich, contrary to expectation, proved unfortunate. Detached columns of his troops, after the crossing of the Drave, were worsted in several lesser encounters, which added immensely to the enthusiasm of the Magyars; but his main body advanced steadily by the southern shore of the Balaton Lake to Stuhlweissenberg, within a few stages of Pesth, which it reached on the 27th September. The Court of Vienna now saw that the time had arrived when it was necessary to act with vigour. Ac-

cordingly, on the 25th of September a decree appeared appointing General Count Lamberg to the command-in-chief of the army in Hungary, and ordering a suspension of hostilities between the two armies. He immediately set out for Pesth, without an escort, to enter on the duties of his office. Kossuth and the national party in Hungary, two days after, met this by a counter-proclamation, in which the nomination of the Count was declared illegal, and not entitled to obedience in Hungary, as wanting the counter-signature of the Hungarian minister, in terms of the constitution. By the same proclamation, all who obeyed him were declared guilty of high treason, and since the Hungarian cabinet had resigned, and the Emperor had not approved of their successors, it was announced that, as the Archduke Stephen could not act alone, Kossuth and Szemere would remain in office, and provisionally carry on the government. Matters had now come to a crisis which necessarily rendered war inevitable, and it was hastened by a shocking crime, which at once precipitated hostilities, and was the main cause of the ulcerated feelings and deeds of cruelty which disgraced both sides during the continuance of the contest.

48. Count Lamberg was still alone, travelling without an escort, attended only by a single aide-de-camp and servant when he approached Pesth. He had set out at a moment's warning from Vienna to enter on his perilous mission: he had little hopes of success, none of surviving. "You will set out this evening," said the minister to him, when he announced his appointment. "This moment," said he. "*Au revoir, general!*" answered the minister. "No!" answered Lamberg; "my days are numbered: we shall never meet again. I recommend my children to you." Unhappily Pesth at this time (Sept. 28) was in a state of the most violent excitement, and the streets filled with crowds of men and women almost frantic with passion. He arrived, however, without experiencing any actual violence, at the headquarters of the general commandant of the

town of Buda, on the western side of the river, Hrabovski, by whom he was coldly received. Hearing a noise, every moment increasing, in the streets, he asked its cause. "It is the people," said Hrabovski, "coming to pay you a visit." "Let them come, then," said the old general, rising up with inexpressible dignity. "What are you going to do?" asked the Hungarian. "My duty," replied Lamberg. "I shall go to Pesth first, to the President of the Council, to obtain his counter-signature to the royal rescripts; then to the Diet, to announce the object of my mission. Will you accompany me?" "I am at your service," replied Hrabovski's aide-de-camp; but, as they set out, the latter made some pretext to slip away, leaving the Count to proceed alone. Meanwhile the streets which they had to pass were crowded, and the cry "Death to Lamberg!" was heard on all sides. One young man, pale with excitement, lifted up on a cart, said, "Citizens! do you know why Lamberg has come amongst us? He has come to extinguish our nationality, and absorb it in the despotism of Austria: he has come to substitute its abhorred colours for our glorious standards: he has come to extinguish in the blood of the Hungarian people the sacred fire of the Magyars: he has come to rivet on our hands the chains of the most odious slavery. The time presses, citizens! The moment of action has arisen: choose between independence and slavery." "Death to Lamberg!" was the cry on all sides;—"To arms!" "Why arms?" cried the orator: "it is under strokes of clubs that the dog-traitor Lamberg should perish." It was under the excitement produced by these and similar words that Count Lamberg entered the crowd collected on the bridge uniting Buda with Pesth on his way to the Diet; and some brave national guards, seeing his danger, came up at the moment and surrounded the carriage. "Your devotion, gentlemen," said he, with a calm voice, "will not save me; but I die without fear, for my conscience has nothing to reproach me. Yet it is sad for a soldier to die

in a riot, and not by a cannon-ball in the field of battle." In vain the national guard strove to protect him; a furious mob broke in on all sides, and instantly despatched him by blows with bludgeons and cuts with scythes. His body was pierced by forty-three wounds; his clothes were torn in pieces and distributed as trophies to his assassins; a cord was put round his neck, and, after the body had been mutilated, it was dragged along the streets in the midst of a crowd of fifteen thousand persons uttering frightful yells. The Diet evinced the usual weakness of popular leaders in presence of a revolt; warned of the danger, they did nothing to arrest it; and he was massacred under the eyes of several of the deputies.

49. A few days after this hideous murder was committed, another tragic event occurred, attended with still more mournful consequences. Count Eugene Zichy, a young man of one of the first families in Hungary, of the most noble character and unwearied beneficence, had been on an errand of mercy with the Ban to obtain some protection for the miserable inhabitants of the invaded country in which his estates lay, against the devastations of the Croats, when he was arrested at the village of Soponya, on the 30th September, by a tenant whose family had been loaded with benefits by that of Zichy, bound, garotted, and conducted with the most savage cruelty to the Isle of Czeszel, where he was delivered over to a council of war presided over by Georgey, then a captain in the Honved, by whom he was immediately put on his trial for high treason. The only evidence against him consisted of a safe-conduct from Jellachich, from whom he was returning, and some copies of an address by the Emperor to the Hungarian nation and the troops in south Hungary, calculated to encourage them to revolt against the Diet at Pesth, found in his portmanteau. The Count said that they had been put there by his valet without his knowledge or consent—a statement which, although possible, is not very probable. But the material

thing is, that it was not pretended even that any of these proclamations had been circulated by himself or others, or that the contemplated rising had taken place. At the worst, therefore, it was only a preparation for treason. There was no overt act to which it could attach. Even if it had been otherwise, and the proclamations had been published, Zichy, in forwarding their publication, was only obeying the commands of his lawful Emperor; and were the Hungarians entitled to apply the law of high treason to one obeying the orders of his sovereign, and thus stain, in its outset, a contest which in reality was a national one, with the odious features of civil warfare? These considerations were wholly lost, on Georgey, who signed the fatal warrant condemning Zichy to be hanged. His last words were—"I die innocent; and may God grant that I may be the last victim; and may He protect my country, and save it from judges such as mine have been. Long live Hungary; long live the King!" In a few minutes all was over; the mob cut down the body, divided the garments as trophies, and after subjecting it to every indignity, threw it on a dunghill on the banks of the Danube. It was half devoured by wild animals, when a young Greek priest gave what remained a humble sepulture; and, a year after, it was removed to the family vault in the church of Kalos.

50. Indignant at these atrocities, the Emperor launched forth a decree against the Hungarians, dissolving the Diet of Pesth, declaring all its acts and ordinances illegal, constituting Jellachich commander-in-chief in Hungary and Transylvania, with unlimited powers, placing all Hungary in a state of siege, and appointing a new ministry, with Count Recsey at its head. This was immediately met by a counter-proclamation from Kossuth, asserting the entire independence of Hungary, and declaring Jellachich and Recsey traitors, and guilty of high treason. The transports with which this declaration was received at Pesth, were much increased when intelligence next

day arrived there that the Austrian army, under Jellachich, had met (Sept. 29) with a serious check in attempting to storm the Hungarians intrenched in a strong position at Valencz, and a considerable convoy of ammunition and provisions had been cut off. This success was immediately after followed by the capture of General Rott, with six thousand men and twelve guns, who was coming up from Sclavonia to reinforce Jellachich, and fell into an ambuscade skilfully laid by the Hungarian generals Georgey and Peroyel. This disaster was so serious that the Cabinet of Vienna directed the immediate march of fifteen thousand men from the capital and its environs to reinforce the army of the Ban, who was now urgently pressing for reinforcements. The attempt to carry out this order brought to a head, somewhat sooner than had been intended, the insurrection at Vienna, which opened a new phase in the revolution, and induced events of the very utmost importance.

51. As, in the exhausted state of the national resources, it was no easy matter to know where to find these troops, Count Latour, the minister-at-war, had fixed (Oct. 4) upon the grenadiers of Richter to form part of the reinforcements. This corps for fourteen years had formed part of the garrison of the capital, and, as a necessary consequence, had become deeply imbued with its passions and its vices, and come to reflect all the political feelings with which its inhabitants were animated. No sooner, therefore, did they hear of an intention to transport them to the seat of war in Hungary, than they evinced unequivocal symptoms of a mutinous spirit, and determination to resist. This was done, as well from a reluctance to leave the pleasures of Vienna, as from the contagion of the revolutionary principles with which so many of its citizens were affected. The minister-at-war, however, was firm, and persisted in his order that the regiment should march, and their departure was directed to take place on the 6th October. This threw them into

the utmost state of agitation, and the revolutionary leaders hailed with transport such an opportunity of engrafting a military revolt on a civil movement. They then hoped, by means of the armed force in the capital, at once to overturn the Imperial Government, and give the most effectual aid to the Magyars in the dismemberment of the Empire. To effect this, however, it was indispensable to get rid of Count Latour, whose known firmness of character threatened to be the most serious impediment to their designs; and to arrange the mode of accomplishing this object, a meeting of the chiefs of the secret societies was held on the night of the 4th October.

52. The conspirators met accordingly in a secret chamber of the building called the Auld, at Vienna, with the greatest precautions against discovery, or the admission of any one who did not belong to the affiliated societies. The chairman then introduced the subject:—"We have received information from one of our associates in the war-office, that on the day after to-morrow the traitor Latour is about to execute a *coup-de-main*; but we shall be beforehand with him. What say you, brethren?"—"Yes, yes," arose on all sides. "It is well," replied the president: "a revolution is a fine thing, brethren; but to render it profitable, it must be really one, and not a mere caricature. What we require is a revolution of the people with bared arms, locks tossed by the winds, wrath in their eyes, and the musket in their hands." "And not a riot," added another; "what we require is a revolution with barricades and war in the streets."—"And not a bourgeois manifestation with rosewater and sugar-candy."—"A revolution like that of Danton and Robespierre."—"And not a parody, as that of Louis Blanc and Lamartine."—"In fine, a revolution of Titans and men."—"And not a caprice of pigmies, or a phantasy of poets."—"What we require, in fine," said the president, with an earnest and solemn voice, "is a revolution with corpses enough to satisfy the vengeance of the people, and a victim elevated

enough to compromise the people, and render a retreat impossible. Do you understand me, brethren?"—"Yes, yes," arose on all sides. "We demand justice."—"Against whom?"—"Latour."—"Agreed, agreed; justice to the people, death to Latour, life and independence to Germany." The conspirators then took a solemn oath to execute the enterprise; and the nocturnal meeting, which had been prolonged till seven in the morning, broke up.

53. While this dramatic scene was being acted in a den of darkness in Vienna, Latour, in the church of the Jesuits, in the same city, was celebrating a solemn funeral-service for the soul of Count Lamberg. Having taken their resolution, the conspirators were not slow in putting their designs into execution, and they carried them out with much ability. A general insurrection, aided by the mutinous regiment of Richter, supported by the students, the Burgher and National Guards, was organised, and a certain number of desperadoes were fixed on to single out Count Latour, and despatch him during the strife. Meanwhile petitions were addressed to the war-minister by the armed students and the Burgher Guard, entreating him to suspend the order for the march of the mutinous grenadiers, on whose co-operation they relied; and they, in their determination to resist, sent to sound the University Legion, whom they found in the best disposition. Latour was firm, though he clearly foresaw the crisis which was approaching. "Bred a soldier," said the brave old man, "I consider obedience as the first of military duties. A minister-at-war at the close of my career, I will not betray the convictions of my whole life. A revocation of the order I gave yesterday would be not merely an act of cowardice—it would be a crime." The conspirators next sent a similar petition to Count Auersperg, the commander of the garrison, but met with the same answer. Meanwhile active preparations were everywhere made for the immediate commencement of hostilities; the clubs

declared their sittings permanent, and were indefatigable in their efforts to rouse the people into rebellion; the Constituent Assembly sat in permanence, and already barricades were beginning to be run up in the central parts of the city. Early in the morning an anonymous letter was brought to Latour, requiring him instantly to revoke the order for the march of the troops, and threatening that if this was not done, and the hôtel of the war-minister evacuated, the minister himself, Bach the minister of justice, and the Archduchess Sophia, would be hanged facing each other before noon on the following day. "It was no soldier who wrote that letter," said Latour; "he desires me to desert my post." The order, accordingly, was not recalled; and the rebellious regiment, escorted by faithful cavalry, set out on the morning of the 6th, on their march to the railway station, surrounded by an immense crowd, and approached the bridge of Tabor, where the National Guard and University Legion were ranged in order of battle. The two parties were then in presence; a frightful combat seemed instant and inevitable.

54. The mutinous regiment, setting at defiance the cavalry who escorted them, refused to cross the bridge, and immediately fraternised with the insurgents, crying "Long live Hungary!" Upon this the regiment of Nassau and a pioneer detachment were brought up, with some pieces of cannon, and the insurgents were summoned to surrender. This they refused to do, upon which General Bredy, the commanding officer, gave the word of command to the gunners, "Fire!" with a loud voice: but hardly were the words out of his mouth, when he fell dead from a discharge of musketry from the other side. Though shaken for a moment by the volley of grape, the insurgents quickly rallied, and by a sudden rush made themselves masters of the guns, and drove back the Nassau infantry, who were foremost on the Emperor's side. The action now continued with regular firing between the troops and the revolted

grenadiers for some time, and the insurgents were at first driven back by the steady volleys of the regular infantry; but being strongly reinforced, and having rallied behind some barricades, they brought their opponents to a stand, and at length forced them to retreat in their turn. This was the signal for a general outbreak in all quarters. The insurgents, now reinforced by the greater part of the National Guard, entered the city; the gates were intrusted to detachments of the National Guard and the students; the tocsin sounded from all the churches; barricades were everywhere run up; a central committee appointed for military operations, and every preparation made for vigorous hostilities. A fierce contest took place in the Place of St Stephen, close to the noble edifice there, where a party of loyal National Guards were attacked by the insurgents, and, after a short combat, defeated and driven into the cathedral, where their commander was slain on the steps of the high altar. Nearly the whole of the town proper had now fallen into the hands of the rebels. As a last resource, three companies of sappers and miners, with four guns, his sole remaining reserve, were sent by Latour, to endeavour to extricate those who had been driven into the cathedral; but they were unable to reach their destination. Stopped by formidable barricades in front, and assailed by a plunging fire from the windows on either side, they were nearly all struck down, and the few survivors made prisoners and confined in the university buildings, the whole approaches of which were crossed by formidable barricades. One gate only, that of the Scotch, remained in the hands of the royal troops. Through this the battalion of Nassau entered the town and endeavoured to disengage the sappers; but they were received by so heavy a fire from the barricades that they had to fall back in disorder.

55. The only post, except the barracks, in the city now occupied by the royal troops was the hôtel of the minister of war. A council of war was

there held, under the presidency of Count Latour, to deliberate on what should be done. They were guarded only by 176 men, of whom twelve were mounted, and a single gun; several thousands of the insurgents thronged round the gates. The most alarming accounts were brought in every instant of the progress of the insurrection, and the defection of the whole National Guard and a part of the troops of the line. Opinions were divided as to the course which should be pursued. The majority thought further resistance hopeless and inexpedient, as likely to compromise the Imperial family. The intrepid Bach, minister of justice, strongly supported the opposite opinion. "Concessions at this stage, gentlemen," cried he, "would be worse than cowardice: it would be the consecration of revolt. Besides, it would not save you. Listen to the cries below the windows! They are the voice of the people demanding victims to be thrown to the wild beasts, or rather the howling of wild beasts for their prey. Let us have no concessions! A good cause is never lost by resistance; it is concession which ruins it. What is required for the monarchy and the capital is, to declare the metropolis in a state of siege, to give orders to General Auersperg to resume the offensive at all points, and to oppose to the daggers of the revolution the swords of the faithful Austrians." But the proverb held good: the council of war did not fight. Reluctantly Count Latour yielded to the opinion of the majority, and signed the fatal order, "The firing is everywhere to cease." But M. Bach was right in his anticipations: though it prostrated the monarchy, it did not save those who, at the eleventh hour, had capitulated for it. The announcement of the order was received with loud cheers by the insurgents, and, emboldened by their success, they instantly pressed on, and made prisoners the military guard, now deprived of all means of resistance by the order which had been issued. From thence they rushed into the building, and surrounded Count

Latour. He offered, if the Emperor gave his consent, and it would appease the tumult, to resign his situation; but nothing could satisfy the rage of the people but his blood. The midnight conspirators checked every symptom of returning humanity. After several efforts of some of the National Guard to save him, and a protracted resistance by the bravest of their number, he was seized by the infuriated rabble, and after being buffeted and maltreated in the cruellest manner, he was dragged down to the courtyard and hanged to the lamp, after having been almost despatched by blows of sledge-hammers, scythes, and axes. His body hung for twenty-four hours where it had been suspended, during which the National Guard amused themselves by firing at the lifeless remains. His garments were cut in pieces, and his orders torn off and divided among his murderers as trophies. A neighbouring clock struck four and three-quarters as he breathed his last. "That clock," said one who heard it, "sounds at once the agony of Count Latour, and of the Revolution of Vienna."

56. The prediction ere long was verified; but, in the first instance, it seemed as if it would fall out far otherwise. Success, decisive so far as the defence of the capital was concerned, immediately followed the murder of the war-minister. From the hôtel where the hideous crime had been committed, the mob, now numbering fifteen thousand men, with a strong body of National Guards, proceeded to the arsenal, which they summoned to surrender. It had been hastily occupied by two companies of grenadiers and some loyal National Guards, a force by no means adequate to the defence of a post of so much importance, against the formidable and excited multitude by whom it was now assailed. The troops inside, however, made a gallant defence. Throwing open the gate, they ran a 24-pounder out, loaded with canister and grape, and discharged it right into the crowd, which caused an immediate recoil, and no small panic among the unruly as-

sailants. But the revolted regiment and the artillery of the National Guard were now brought up, and a heavy and sustained fire was kept up on the gate and building from the roofs and windows of the adjoining houses by which they were commanded. Before long, part of the arsenal took fire, and the building in which it broke out was totally consumed. Alarmed by this, and dreading an explosion of the powder-magazine in the building, the garrison capitulated at six next morning; and this immense arsenal, with all the arms and military stores it contained, fell into the hands of the insurgents. They immediately broke in, and, spreading through all the rooms, seized the whole firearms and such guns as they could drag away, and distributed them among their comrades. The ancient arms and armour, the trophies of the monarchy, were not respected, and became the prey of the vilest of the populace. The swords of Scanderbeg and Prince Eugene were seen in the hands of common mechanics; the helmet of Charles V.; that of Francis I., taken at the battle of Pavia; the arms of Wallenstein and Daun, were tossed from hand to hand, and lost amidst an ignorant and brutal mob.

57. The conduct of the Constituent Assembly during this eventful day exhibited that mixture of pusillanimity and ambition which invariably characterises the first leaders of a revolutionary movement, when they are passed in the career by others more reckless or determined than themselves. Instead of doing anything to moderate the excesses of the populace, they appointed a "committee of public safety" to conduct the affairs of the Government, and addressed a petition to the Emperor, in which they demanded the dismissal of the ministers and the formation of a new and popular cabinet; the removal of Jellachich from the command in Hungary; the revocation of the last proclamation against the Hungarians; and a general amnesty for all offences committed in the course of the insurrection. The Emperor who was in no condition to re-

fuse anything that might be demanded of him, agreed to change his ministers, and to appoint M. Doblhoff and Hornbostl, two popular members of the Assembly, to the new ministry. This, however, did not satisfy the democrats, who next insisted that the Committee of Public Safety should immediately assume the government; that instructions should be despatched to Count Auersperg to obey no commands but such as came from them; and that orders should forthwith be sent to Olmütz and Bruun, and to the directors of the southern railway, to send no more troops to Vienna. At the same time they addressed a proclamation to the insurgents, who had just murdered Count Latour, in which they said—"People of Austria! Europe regards you with admiration, and history will place our elevation to freedom as one of its most illustrious exploits."

58. Seeing himself now virtually dethroned, and all real authority passed away, the Emperor resolved to leave Vienna, where his life was no longer in safety. Accordingly, on the morning of the 7th October, before day-break, he set out from Schönbrunn, where the whole Imperial family was assembled, taking them all with him, and took the road to Olmütz, escorted by three thousand five hundred troops whom Count Auersperg, though sorely pressed for men, detached for that service. The Emperor left behind him an Address to the Assembly, in which he said: "I have endeavoured to satisfy all the demands of my people; I have joyfully exhausted everything which a sovereign can give to his people in mark of confidence; I have sought to augment by a constitution the independence, the force, and the wellbeing of the nation. Though the revolt of the 13th May drove me from the palace of my ancestors, I was not weary of concession. A parliament was convoked on the widest electoral basis, to settle, in concert with me, the constitution. I returned to my capital with no other safeguard but the justice and gratitude of my people. But a small band of misled men threaten to destroy the hopes of every

true patriot. Anarchy is at its height: Vienna is teeming with murders and conflagrations. My minister, whose age, were it nothing else, might have protected him, has expired under the strokes of assassins. I trust in God, in my just rights, and I have left the capital to bring succour to my oppressed people. The time has come when every one who loves Austria, who loves liberty, should range himself around the standard of the Emperor."

59. The conduct of Count Auersperg and the military chiefs, during these trying times, was in the highest degree skilful and praiseworthy. The troops under his command were about twenty thousand, amply sufficient to have re-established the authority of the Emperor in the capital, although, as the National Guards and insurgents were three times as numerous, it could only have been accomplished at a fearful expenditure of human life. But the fatal order of the Council "to cease firing at all points," entirely paralysed his operations, and rendered retreat a matter of necessity. He wisely, therefore, availed himself of the night to withdraw his troops entirely from their barracks in the town, and stationed them in the gardens of the palace of Prince Schwartzemberg, and in the vicinity of the Belvidere palace, on heights which commanded the city. Headquarters were subsequently established at Enzersdorf, already rendered famous in the wars of Napoleon, in order to be at hand for any eventualities. He then quietly awaited the issue of events; nor was it long before they arose in such quarters, and from such men, as promised a very different future to the Austrian Empire from what present events in the capital might seem to prognosticate. From Radetsky and the Italian army, adorned with the laurels of Custoza, addresses were shortly received, breathing the warmest spirit of loyalty and devotion to the Emperor; and even from Prague, so recently the seat of insurrection, came an address, containing the severest condemnation of the Vienna revolutionists, and

the strongest determination to uphold "Austria one and indivisible."

60. But the succour thus announced was as yet far distant; and, meanwhile, immediate reinforcements were required to regain possession of the capital, now wholly in the hands of the insurgents. Fortunately for the cause of freedom throughout the world, and the salvation of Austria, this succour was found in Jellachich, who was near enough to the scene of action to intervene immediately, and sufficiently powerful to do so with decisive effect. No sooner did the Ban hear of the events of the 6th October in Vienna, than he took his determination. Imitating the decision of Blucher, who, when he heard the cannonade at Waterloo, relinquished his separate line of operations to take part in the strife at the decisive point, he instantly concluded a truce for three days with the Hungarians, abandoned his base, and advancing towards Pesth, moved up by forced marches to the capital. The southern railway gave him the means of doing so with great celerity; and on the 9th October, three days after the insurrection, his advanced posts were at Klein-Neusiedel and Mödling, within two hours' march of Vienna. The motives which led to this able and decisive movement are thus explained by Jellachich himself, in a letter written at the time to the Slavonians of Bohemia: "It was my duty, as a faithful and sincere Slavonian, to oppose in Pesth the anti-Austrian party, which rose in arms against Slavonianism. But as I approached Pesth, that nest of the Magyar aristocracy, our common enemies arose; and had they conquered in Vienna, my victory in Pesth would have been incomplete, and the mainstay of our enemies would have been Vienna. Therefore I turned with the whole of my troops to Vienna, in order to chastise the enemies of Slavonianism in the Austrian capital. I was led solely by the conviction that in approaching Vienna I was advancing against the enemies of Slavonianism."

61. Great was the dismay in the

Austrian capital when the advance of the Ban was announced, and still greater when intelligence arrived that he had ordered rations for sixty thousand men, a number treble his real force, but purposely done to augment the terrors of his approach. Crowds thronged the steeples, and especially the lofty spire of St Stephen, one of the highest in Europe, anxiously gazing to the south to descry the first approach of the avenging hosts coming to inflict punishment on them for their crimes. They were not long of appearing, and in such numbers and variety of costume as bespoke rather the multifarious array of Eastern pride than the more sober garb of European war. First came the Illyrians with their red caps, the Seressanes wrapped in their scarlet mantles, the Croats with their grey broad-brimmed hats, with no uniform but a blouse and a fusil and dagger. With these were mingled large bodies of Austrian cavalry and artillery, clad in the Imperial uniform. Farther off to the east, clouds of cavalry and the neighing of steeds, heard even at so great a distance, seemed to announce the approach of the Magyar horse and the army of Hungary intended to co-operate with the insurgents. It seemed as if all the forces of the monarchy were assembling at a rendezvous under the walls of Vienna for a grand military tournament. On the evening of the 12th, Jellachich effected his junction with Auersperg in the gardens of the Belvidere, and their united forces amounted to forty thousand combatants.

62. The preceding night had been one of extreme anxiety in Vienna, for the insurgents were in hourly expectation of an attack from the now vastly increased forces of their enemies. It has been thus described by an eyewitness: "The silence of the night was interrupted at intervals by the sound of firearms, especially in the direction of the Wieden and highroad, where Auersperg's headquarters were established. On the summit of the barricades, and beyond them, men were sleeping in blouses, armed to the

teeth; women and girls, not of the most respectable appearance, were mingled amongst them, some talking and laughing, others, like the men, asleep upon heaps of stones. The walls and battlements of the city offered a most animated appearance. One line of watch-fires stretched as far as the eye could reach, each surrounded by students, men in blouses, artisans with their sleeves tucked up to their elbows, and National Guards having more the appearance of regular soldiers. Above the gates, guns were pointed so as to sweep the approaches to the fortified parts of the city; artillerymen, students, or workmen, were on duty near them, with lighted matches. Patrols of every description paraded the walls in regular parties. There was not less than ten thousand men on the ramparts." During the whole night and preceding day, the Parliament and Committee of Public Safety made repeated attempts to ascertain the side which Jellachich was to take, and ordered him not to approach the walls; but in vain: he steadily advanced and joined Auersperg.* On their side, the insurgents made the most vigorous efforts, by completing and strengthening the barricades, to prepare for their defence, and the clubs, as well as the assembly, sat in permanence. To their honour be it spoken, during the days that the insurgents had the command of the city, no acts of robbery or spoliation sullied the Austrian character.

63. In the mean time, important events had taken place in Prague, which brought a new and important actor, and an additional army, on the theatre. The magistrates and people of that city, seeing the turn events were taking at Vienna, and that the

* "My sole object is the maintenance of the monarchy on the base of an equality of rights and fidelity to the sovereign. It is for this reason that I have no doubt whom I should obey. The maintenance of the troops whom I have the honour to command will be provided for, and the cost will not fall as a burden on the inhabitants, as my army will bivouac. I am not pursued by any Magyar army; if I were so, I would oppose force to force."—JELLACHICH to the DIET OF VIENNA, October 12, 1848; *BALLEYDIER*, ii. 288.

contest had run into one between the Slavonic and Magyar races, took part, as bound alike by duty and inclination, with the former. The municipal authorities there issued a strong proclamation, condemning the conduct of the Vienna insurgents, and declaring "Bohemia can only prosper when Austria is independent." Windischgratz brought considerable reinforcements with him from Bohemia and Moravia, raising the royal army before Vienna to sixty thousand men—a force about equal to the armed men within the walls. But the great reliance of the insurgents was on the Hungarians, whose approach was anxiously looked for from the steeples, and repeatedly, though falsely, announced to the people. Their light cavalry, indeed, swarmed along the frontier, and their main body came up to its very edge, but did not pass over into the German soil.* The revolutionists, however, received a very important accession of strength at this critical moment by the arrival of a number of cosmopolitan democrats from various countries, especially Poland, the ardent exiled sons of which hastened from all quarters to the Austrian capital, and brought with them their enthusiastic zeal, buoyant courage, and military experience.

64. Among these was General BEM, a Polish officer who had acquired great distinction in the war in Poland. By a happy inspiration, he had saved the Polish army from destruction on the field of Ostrolenka in 1831. He immediately received an important command in the city, and by his courage and resolution proved himself worthy of the trust. His mind was cast in the mould of great captains, and if he had been employed in a more fortunate cause, he would probably have acquired deathless renown. Ardent, enterprising, and impassioned, like most of his countrymen, he united

* "The Hungarian leaders were anxious, before advancing on Vienna, to receive a formal and solemn invitation from the Austrian Assembly; but the Slavonic representatives in that body would never, in spite of the pressure of the students and the populace, consent to vote this."—KLAPKA, I., *Int.* 73-75.

with these qualities the *sang froid*, presence of mind, and coolness in danger, which are essential to a consummate general. The greater part of his life, from the misfortunes of his country, had been spent in exile, and he there acquired the restless activity and instability of purpose by which refugees are in general characterised. It had been early prophesied of him that he would rise to great distinction, and be rarely fortunate, but that he would incur no personal danger till the year 1850. The prophecy, which was fully credited by him, led him to despise dangers in his previous career; but it was at length fatally accomplished in that year, when he died, having, in despair of his fortunes in Europe, embraced the creed of Mahomet.

65. The arrangements for the attack of the capital having been made, Windischgratz, who, on his arrival, had assumed the command, summoned the city (Oct. 23). The terms proposed were, that within forty-eight hours it should be surrendered, and all arms given up; the armed corporations and University Legion dissolved, and twelve students delivered up as hostages, and certain individuals named. The Diet replied that these terms were illegal and unconstitutional; to which Windischgratz rejoined that he could not negotiate with the Diet, and that the only authority he could recognise was the Municipal Council of Vienna. Repeated sallies were now made from the town, which were all repulsed. Windischgratz, having, on the 27th, given the besieged twenty-four hours more to accede to his proposal, commenced the bombardment on the morning of the 28th. Before this took place, the spirits of the besieged had been somewhat raised by the arrival of Blum, Hartmann, and Froebel, as a deputation from the Assembly at Frankfurt, to congratulate the Viennese on their glorious revolution, and encourage them to persevere in their defence. These enthusiastic Liberals did not confine themselves to congratulatory words, but proceeded to deeds, and took an active part in encouraging

and organising the means of resistance, which led to a sad but not unmerited tragedy 'with one of their number. Meanwhile the clubs and revolutionary authorities redoubled their activity, and so formidable were their preparations in barricades, artillery, and troops to guard them, that it was evident nothing but a most sanguinary struggle could effect their reduction.

66. Windischgratz directed his principal attack against the suburbs of Leopoldstadt and Landstrasse, where the defences of the besieged were the least formidable, and the insurgents in most strength were grouped around their several standards to await the assault. The crisis was solemn and awful; profound silence, interrupted only by the rolling of artillery and ammunition-waggon, prevailed all the morning; every one felt that the decisive moment had arrived which was to determine the contest between the revolutionists and the Emperor. At ten o'clock the tocsin suddenly rang from all the churches, the *générale* beat in all the streets, and the combatants were everywhere seen hurrying to their several rallying-points. The assailants were not less determined; the regiment of the late Count Latour was in an especial manner excited, and loudly proclaimed their determination to take a signal vengeance on his murderers. At half-past eleven a signal-gun was discharged by the assailants, followed by a loud roar from all their batteries, and immediately the firing became general on both sides.

67. The first barricade on the Prater was carried, without much difficulty, by the effect of a heavy fire of musketry from the Croats and Chasseurs stationed in the houses and woods of the Prater adjoining; but at the second barricade, which was mounted with cannon, and where Beni, with the University Legion, commanded in person, a much more formidable resistance was experienced, and the contest was obstinate and bloody in the extreme. Three separate assaults by the Imperialists were

repulsed with great slaughter, and the shouts of victory were already raised by the defenders, when a loud cry was heard behind them, followed by triumphant cheers. It was the Croats of Jellachich, who, having penetrated into the suburb of Leopoldstadt by the Landstrasse and the avenue of the Emperor Francis, had now made their way into the rear of the barricade of the Prater, which had been so obstinately contested, and rendered its farther maintenance impracticable. This success was decisive; the rebels, attacked both in front and rear, and exposed to a fire from the adjoining houses, which were all occupied, were obliged to evacuate their formidable position, which, with all the guns mounted on it, fell into the hands of the Imperialists. Later in the evening, the railway station of Gloggnitz and the whole of the Belvidere were taken after a desperate fight, in which the students who defended them were slain to the last man. The suburbs of Leopoldstadt and Landstrasse, the gardens of the palace of Prince Schwartzberg, the Hôtel of the Invalides, and the Veterinary School, were in the hands of the Imperialists before night. The surrender of the city was now only a question of time, and could not apparently be delayed beyond a few hours.

68. The day had been terrible, but the night which followed was more terrible still. The town was on fire in six-and-twenty different places. The whole houses adjoining the double barricade of the Prater, the scene of so desperate a conflict on the preceding day, the Theatre of the Odeon, the Street of Francis, the baths of Schüttel, the railway station of Bruck, the houses in the faubourg of Matzleinsdorf and the street of the Jägerzeil had become the prey of the flames. Scarce an eye was closed in Vienna on that dreadful night. With speechless agony the people watched the columns of flame which in every direction rose into the heavens, and the path of the projectiles which streaked the firmament, and cast a lurid light over the vast expanse of the city. The dead

bodies of men and horses lying about wherever the contest had been severe, the pools of blood, and the horrid stench arising from the half-consumed bodies in the burnt houses, exhibited a picture of war in its most terrible form. Half of the houses in the assaulted suburbs had been burnt down — the remainder were riddled with round-shot and shells. On every side were to be seen weeping wives, sisters, and daughters, searching among the ruins, or pulling out of the rubbish the half-consumed bodies of their relatives. The Revolutionists had determined on having a revolution “à la Robespierre,” and they had got it; but they did not intend, what had now come to pass, that its terrors were to fall on themselves.

69. The morning of the 29th commenced with the interment of the dead slain in the conflict of the preceding day. Their number astonished those engaged in the melancholy ceremony, and diffused a general sadness, which was the farther increased by the sight of the wide chasm in the ranks of the survivors. This was occasioned not only by those slain or wounded in the fight, but by the still greater number who, despairing of success, had left their ranks, thrown away their arms, and exchanged their brilliant uniforms for the sober garb of citizens. Others, again, among whom were nearly the whole students and Poles, with mournful resolution still gallantly held out, and repaired to their several rallying-points on the bastions and in the barricades; but the generals of the insurgents took a calmer view of their chances of success, and in the course of the forenoon declared to the Committee of Public Safety that it was impossible to prolong the defence. Windischgratz humanely suspended his fire to give the insurgents an opportunity of coming to an accommodation, and the municipality sent a deputation to him to endeavour to effect some alleviation in the conditions of capitulation. But the Imperial general was inflexible, and insisted on his original conditions; he agreed, however, to suspend hostilities till midnight, in order to give the

insurgents time to consider his proposals. The deputation returned to the committee with heavy hearts, and they, in their turn, sent for the heads of the sections to consider what was to be done under the circumstances. “The surrender of the town,” cried Bem, “as we now stand, would be a monstrous act of cowardice, while our defeat on the ruins of Vienna would be a passport to immortality. From the top of St Stephen’s the advanced posts of the Magyars are already seen, and their guns ready to pour grape on our enemies. Yes! the ruins of Vienna would be a tomb worthy of the giants of Poland and Austria.” “One may easily see,” replied the commander-in-chief Messenhauser, “that you are not a Viennese; you mistake the epoch. The ruins of Vienna would not be your tomb, for if such a misfortune was reserved for the capital of the monarchy through your fault, you would be buried in it under the curses and the opprobrium of the universe.” The National Guard loudly applauded these words; the Poles and refugees alone remained silent. It was at length agreed, by a large majority, to accept the terms offered by Windischgratz; and before midnight a deputation with this answer was despatched to the Imperial headquarters.

70. The terms of the capitulation were forthwith carried into execution. Already the chief members of the Central Committee of the Clubs and of the Committee of Public Safety had disappeared, the university was dissolved, the disarming of the National Guard had in great part been carried into effect, and waggons of arms were every hour brought into the depôts appointed for their reception. Suddenly, at a quarter past eleven on the morning of the 30th, a great stir was observed in the crowd which thronged round the foot of St Stephen’s steeple, anxious to hear if there were any symptoms of the approach of the Hungarians, when a student standing on a chair read the following billet, signed by Messenhauser: “From the summit of the

tower of St Stephen's they see distinctly a combat commencing behind Kaiser-Ebersdorf, without being able to distinguish the troops engaged, or the course of the action." This announcement was like the cry of pardon to a convict on the verge of execution; the whole insurgents felt as if relieved from instant death. Instantly the cry arose, "Long live the Hungarians! all is over; here are the Magyars—to arms, to arms! forward to meet the enemy!" The transports were indescribable: in the twinkling of an eye crowds of armed men were seen on the ramparts; every one was hurrying to and fro in the streets; artillery was dragged forward to the barricades; all thoughts of the capitulation were at an end. The universal enthusiasm was increased by a second bulletin issued at one o'clock, which announced that "the battle was moving on towards Oberlaa and Inzersdorf, and that the Hungarians appeared to be advancing victoriously." The transports now became universal and indescribable; from all the steeples, roofs, and towers of the city, the insurgents were firing guns and waving flags in the belief of victory; while the increasing roar of the cannon, the sharp rattle of the musketry, and at length the crash of cannon-balls, told distinctly that the battle was rolling nearer, and relief approaching. But these joyous tidings soon yielded to more gloomy presentiments, when it was announced, in a third bulletin from the summit of St Stephen's, that the battle was drawing nearer in the centre, but that it was concentrated to the left of Schwechat, between Kaiser-Obersdorf and Maunsworth. As this announcement indicated a retreat on the part of the Hungarians on that side, the cry arose that Messenhauser was a traitor, and bands of frantic rebels marched through the streets calling on every one to take up arms, murdering not a few. The most desperate projects were discussed in the clubs. During the next twenty-four hours all authority was at an end; Vienna was at the mercy of bands of insurgents traversing the city in every direction, and insulting or massacring

all whom they suspected of a leaning to the enemy; while, on the outside, the loud cheers of the Imperialists announced their victory over the Hungarians, and the final defeat of the last hopes of the insurrection.

71. In effect, the Hungarian army under General Moga, after great indecision on the part of the troops as to whether they would cross the Austrian frontier, as that was a direct act of revolt against the Government, were at length induced, by the urgent representations of the inhabitants of Vienna, to pass that dreaded line, and advance into Austria. This was done on the 28th, and the invading force was 25,000 strong, of whom, however, 10,000 were young troops, upon whom, as the event proved, little reliance could be placed. On the 31st they approached the Austrian position, which extended over the villages of SCHWECHAT, Maunsworth, and Kaiser-Ebersdorf. Windischgratz had occupied these villages with his best infantry, and stationed Prince Lichtenstein with the greater part of the cavalry on his right wing. The Imperialists on the field were not much superior in number to the Hungarians, but they had greatly the advantage in the quality and experience of their troops. The battle commenced at eleven o'clock on the 30th, with a brisk attack on the Imperial left, in Maunsworth, by some Hungarian national guards under Count Guyon, who conducted themselves very bravely, and gradually forced back the Austrian tirailleurs. The contest there was still undecided, when Georgey was ordered to attack the village of Schwechat, on the Austrian right, with a brigade of which he had received the command. When he arrived at the point of attack, he found the enemy's centre drawn back out of the reach of shot: but owing to the undiscipline of part of the Hungarian force, which was composed of new levies, the centre now found itself a mile and a half distant from the left wing. This rendered a halt necessary, and Georgey hastened to Kossuth, who was with the general-in-chief, to explain the dangerous state of the army, with its centre in this

manner entirely severed from the left, and the latter left alone on the field of battle. The general refused to alter his dispositions, and said, "I stand where I can survey the whole: do you in silence obey what I order."

72. Windischgratz at once discerned the fatal mistake which had been committed. He pushed forward some horse-artillery, which opened a heavy fire on Georgey's unsupported battalions, who instantly took to flight, "rushing headlong," says that general, "over one another." Notwithstanding the heroic efforts of Count Ernest Almassy and thirty or forty of his bravest followers, the panic spread, and soon the rout became universal. "Out of nearly 5000 men of those National Guards," says Georgey, "about whose valour I had already heard so many tirades—who, as themselves had repeatedly asserted, were burning with desire to measure themselves with an enemy whom they never mentioned but with the greatest contempt—there remained to me, after a short cannonade, *a single man*, and that an elderly invalided soldier. The whole of our force from Schwechat to Mauts worth had been swept away. The other brigades, incredible as it may seem, had taken to their heels even before mine. Like a scared flock, the main body of the army was hastening in the greatest disorder towards the Fischa for safety." Vain were all Georgey's efforts, with a small rear-guard of about a thousand men, whom he hastily got together, to stop the rout. The army fled in utter confusion, and only got off from the pursuit with the loss of 3000 killed, wounded, and prisoners. Had the pursuit by the thirty-five squadrons of Prince Lichtenstein on the left been more vigorous, hardly any of the Hungarians would have escaped. Kossuth was one of the first who took to flight; which, however, could not be urged as a fault, as his post was at the council-board, not in the front with the grenadiers.

73. After this decisive defeat, there remained, of course, no alternative to the rebels in Vienna but surrender at discretion, and the Imperial general

sternly refused to accede to any other terms. The surrender was going on when the tocsin, in violation of the orders of the Committee of Students, suddenly sounded from the tower of St Stephen's. Crowds of ardent republicans immediately hastened to their rallying-points on the bastions and the barricades, and the firing on their side recommenced at all points with as much vigour as ever. It was not any deliberate act of treachery on the part of the insurgents, but an unauthorised burst arising from uncontrollable excitement among the people, in whose ranks the cry of "Treason, we are betrayed!" was constantly heard. It was, however, speedily and terribly revenged. Windischgratz immediately brought up fresh troops, which penetrated into and made themselves masters of the whole suburbs, and he established batteries in the gardens of Schwartzenberg and in the Imperial stables, which opened fire on the city. The fiery projectiles sweeping through the air, the hissing of the rockets which searched out every part of the buildings which they penetrated, diffused universal consternation. Before one o'clock the town was on fire in several places, and white flags were displayed from all the bastions. A deputation of the magistrates went out to the glacis, and formally surrendered the keys of the city to the Imperial general; and this time the surrender, which was unconditional, was its own guarantee, for the victorious troops took military possession of the whole city. The prophecy was already accomplished: the agony of Count Latour had proved that also of the Vienna revolution.

74. The victorious Imperialists were received with transports of joy by the vast majority of the respectable inhabitants of the capital, with sullen but impotent indignation by the students and republican sections of the community. The disarming of the National Guard went on quietly and without opposition. The Imperial Government made a humane use of their victory. Though the city had in reality been carried by assault, and the infamous

murder of Count Latour had justly exasperated the soldiery in the highest degree, its inhabitants underwent none of the horrors usually experienced on such occasions. No pillage or wilful conflagration took place; the troops, on the contrary, were active in extinguishing the fires which had been raised during the bombardment. Few executions, and those only of leaders deeply implicated, ensued; and although it is deeply to be regretted that any should have tarnished the lustre of so glorious a victory, yet it is to be recollected that the insurgents had brought severity upon themselves: by the murder of Count Lamberg and Count Latour, they had put themselves out of the pale of humanity, and they could not complain if the ruthless maxim *Vix victis*, which they had applied to others, now recoiled upon themselves. Among those executed was Robert Blum, the deputy from Frankfort, who was tried by a court-martial on the 8th instant, and next day shot. He was convicted, on his own admission, of having instigated the rebellion by his seditious speeches, and taken an active part by combating with the insurgents against the Imperial troops in the defence of Vienna. He died with unshaken fortitude. His execution, as already mentioned, excited a great sensation in Germany, and by many is still regarded as a political fault, chiefly as being a defiance thrown down by Austria to the central government in the German Confederacy, as he was a member of the national parliament. Yet is this view clearly erroneous: for it never was supposed that a member of the legislature in one country was at liberty to commit high treason, or aid in its commission, with impunity in another; or that even in the same state a member of parliament is at liberty to rise in rebellion against his sovereign.* Messenhausen, com-

* When sentence of death was pronounced against Blum, he said, without exhibiting the least fear, "I fully expected it; the sentence was not unforeseen." He entreated, as a last favour, that he might be permitted to write a letter to his wife, which was agreed to, and it concluded with these words: "Let not my fate discourage you; but bring up our chil-

drren so that they may not bring disgrace on my name." "Now I am ready," said he, addressing the officers of justice, when the letter was done. Arrived at the place of execution, he said to one of the cuirassiers of his escort, "Here, then, we are come to the last stage of my journey." He desired not to have his eyes bandaged; and this being refused, lest his unsteadiness should cause the men to miss their aim, he blindfolded himself, and knelt down with manly courage. He fell pierced by three balls, and died instantly.—*BALLEYDIER*, ii. 366, 367.

75. The restoration of the Imperial authority in Vienna was immediately followed, as was to be expected, by an entire change of ministry. Prince Felix of Schwarzenberg was, with the cordial concurrence of the Imperial party, placed at the head of the Government, and Count Francis Stadion was made minister of the interior and of public instruction; Krauss, finance minister; Baron Cordon, of war; Bach, of justice; Chevalier Bruck, of commerce and public works; the Chevalier Thienfeld, of agriculture. The character of all the persons composing this cabinet, especially of its very eminent chief and of M. Bach, the minister of justice, were a guarantee for its due discharge of the arduous duty with which it was intrusted, of reconstructing the monarchy out of the scattered fragments into which it had been broken. And in truth this duty was more arduous in reality than it seemed in appearance; for the coalition of forces by which the insurrection had been conquered in Vienna, so far from being thoroughly united, itself laboured under secret but most serious causes

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of division. Austria, in its last extremity, had been saved by the fidelity of the army, and the heroic devotion of the Slave population, numbering nearly half the inhabitants of the Empire. But out of the victory of their united forces arose, as is so often the case with successful coalitions, a new cause of discord—who was to lead the combined forces, and what interest was to predominate in the government which they had re-established? Windischgratz had the command, and directed the army which was to act against Hungary; but Windischgratz had conquered at Prague as well as at Vienna; his cannon had dissolved the Slave congress, and the Croatsians beheld with jealousy their beloved Ban, whom they regarded with justice as the saviour of the Empire, obeying the orders of a German prince who had proved himself the worst enemy of their race.

76. The thorns with which his crown was still beset, and the dreadful scenes which he had been compelled to witness in his capital, induced the Emperor finally to relinquish the sceptre, which he felt he could no longer wield with comfort to himself or advantage to his country. On the 2d December he came with the Empress into the saloon of audience of the Archbishop at Olmutz, where the whole Imperial

family, and the Prince Windischgratz, Baron Jellachich, and the chief dignitaries of the Empire, were assembled, and announced his irrevocable determination to resign the crown in favour of the young Archduke Francis Joseph, the next heir to it, after his father the Archduke Francis Charles, whom similar reasons had determined to waive his right to the succession. Having said these words, the Emperor took the oath of fealty to, and conferred his benediction on, the young Emperor, called at so early an age to wield the destinies of the ancient and time-honoured Empire of Austria. The President of the Council then read aloud the formal act of abdication and renunciation of the Emperor and the Archduke Francis Charles, which was immediately signed by both princes, Prince Schwartzberg, and the other dignitaries present. The *ci-devant* Emperor and Empress set off the same day, in a private carriage, for Prague, which he had fixed on as his future residence. The new Emperor was only eighteen years of age when he entered on his arduous duties: but he at once evinced a courage and sagacity above his years, and to his energy and determination the salvation of the monarchy, amidst the perils by which it was still beset, is in a great measure to be ascribed.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

THE WAR IN HUNGARY, TO THE RUSSIAN INTERVENTION IN AUGUST 1849.

1. On the 5th December the new Emperor issued a proclamation, in which he said: "We are convinced of the necessity and value of free institutions, and enter with confidence on the path of a prosperous restoration of the monarchy. On the basis of true liberty, on the basis of the equality of rights of all our people, and the equality of

all citizens before the law, and on the basis of their *equally partaking in the representation and legislation*, the country will rise to its ancient grandeur; it will acquire new strength to resist the storm of the time; it will be a hall to shelter the tribes of many tongues, united under the sceptre of our fathers. Jealous of the glory of the crown, and

resolved to preserve the monarchy uncurtailed, but ready to share our privileges with the representatives of the people, we hope, by the assistance of God, and with the co-operation of our people, to succeed in uniting all the countries and tribes of the monarchy into one integral state. We have had many trials; tranquillity and order have been disturbed in various quarters of the Empire. A civil war is even now raging in one part of the monarchy. Preparations have been made to restore legal order everywhere. The conquest over rebellion, and the return of domestic peace, are the first conditions of the great work which we take in hand. We confidently rely on the sensible and candid co-operation of the nation through its representatives. Austria at the close of this memorable year might proudly claim for its motto, '*Mergens profundo pulchrior evenit.*' It has crushed the rebellion in Lombardy, driven back the Piedmontese into their own territory, planted the Austrian flag again in triumph on the walls of Milan, which had for centuries been a fief of the house of Hapsburg. Compelled in self-defence to assault his own capital, the Emperor has found his troops as loyal as they were brave, and the cannon of Windischgratz and Jellachich have effectually silenced the voice of insurrection. In Hungary the Imperial arms have been uniformly successful, and there is every reason to expect a victorious issue to the campaign. And now fresh and healthy blood has been poured into the veins of the monarchy by the elevation to the throne of a young Emperor whose disposition and character are of the happiest augury, and who is surrounded by ministers determined to pursue a course of constitutional policy, and abandon the Metternich system of despotism and exclusion."

2. The acts of the young Emperor and his cabinet did not belie these liberal professions. The committee appointed by the Diet to draw up a constitution had prefaced their report by a preamble to this effect: "All the powers of the State proceed from

the people alone." When the matter came to be discussed in the Diet in the beginning of January 1849, Count Stadion, the Minister of the Interior, moved, on the part of the Government, that these words should be omitted. M. Pinkar, on the part of the Opposition, moved a declaration condemnatory of the counter-revolution; and Count Stadion moved an amendment, which substantially approved of it. The debate was conducted with as much freedom as any in the House of Commons; and M. Pinkar's motion was carried by a majority of 196 to 99—a result which sufficiently proved the democratic character of the great majority of the assembly. Having gained this victory, the Opposition, fearful of a dissolution, which, in the altered temper of men's minds since the former elections had taken place, would probably have thrown them into a minority, did not press the retention of the article, and the consideration of it was of consent postponed. The other articles of the report were then considered *seriatim*, and the constitution was finally approved of and signed by the Emperor at Olmutz on the 4th of March. Certainly the friends of freedom had no reason to complain of its provisions. It provided, in the first instance, for the *unity* of the Austrian Empire, a condition obviously essential to its independence, and which all the Liberals in the Empire, if they had been actuated by public spirit, and not private ambition, should have been the first to support. Entire freedom in religion, and universal education by public institutions, were established; "the instruction in religious matters in the public schools being intrusted to the respective churches or religious institutions." Freedom of the press without the censorship was guaranteed in the most unlimited extent, as was the right of petitioning, meeting and forming associations, if not opposed to the law or dangerous to the State. Individual liberty was secured, as was the sanctity of private domiciles, and all persons apprehended were to be liberated in forty-eight hours, if not de-

livered over in that time to the judge of the district. The Emperor was to take the oath to the constitution when he was crowned; he was irresponsible, decided on peace and war, concluded treaties with foreign powers, and published decrees, the same being countersigned by a responsible minister. He appointed the ministers and dismissed them, and appointed to all offices, civil and military. Equality of all citizens before the law was established. The legislature was to consist of two houses, both elective; the members for the upper house were chosen by the provincial diets; those for the lower by the direct election of the people in the proportion of one deputy for every 180,000 souls. The elective franchise was extended to all the citizens paying the statutory amount of direct taxes, which was only a few florins. The members of the lower house were elected for five years, those of the upper for ten. Laws required to be passed by both houses, and have the Emperor's consent, to become valid; and either the Emperor or either house might propose laws. The Emperor had the power of dissolution; and the public accounts were to be annually brought forward in a budget submitted to both houses.

3. This constitution was much more democratic than that enjoyed by Great Britain at this time; for it established household suffrage, all but universal equality in all matters civil and religious, a free press, the right of meeting and petitioning; and universal education, detached from sectarian divisions, at the public expense. It was at least as liberal a constitution as Austria, yet in popularity in the ways of freedom, could bear. It was far, however, from meeting the views of the Hungarian insurgents, who desired a virtual *severance of Hungary from Germany*, in order that they might obtain a monopoly of officers, honours, and emoluments to themselves. How they were to maintain their ground against Russia and France and Germany, in a state of isolation, was a question which never

entered into their consideration, though Georgey confesses that the difficulty of doing so would probably have proved insurmountable.* In truth, matters had gone too far between the two powers, before the new constitution was promulgated, to admit of a compromise. But in the other provinces of the Austrian Empire, the new constitution, save to the revolutionists of Vienna, gave general satisfaction, and contributed much to the unanimity with which its inhabitants prosecuted the war against the Hungarian insurgents.

4. The kingdom of HUNGARY consists of 133,000 square English miles, or about a tenth more than Great Britain and Ireland. It forms an irregular parallelogram, stretching about 400 miles in each direction. It is bounded on the north by Moravia and Galicia; on the south by Croatia, Slavonia, and the Banat; on the east by Transylvania and Bukovina; on the west by Lower Austria and Styria. Thus it is entirely surrounded by the other provinces of the Austrian Empire, and, if detached from them, would form a separate state, like one composed of the midland counties in the centre of England, and would entirely isolate several of its most important provinces from the dominion of the house of Hapsburg. It was this circumstance which rendered resistance to the severance a question of life or death to the Austrian monarchy. The Danube, which flows from north-west to south-east through its whole extent, is the great artery of the country and the principal channel for the exportation of its produce. It enters the Hungarian

* "Whether the Austrian monarchy could pursue its former importance as a great European power after the isolation of the Hungarian Ministries (chiefly of war and finance) from the governing power constituted in Vienna for the other provinces, and whether Hungary, recognising the guarantees of Austria's influence as the main condition of its own existence, would not have to sacrifice to the consolidation of collective Austria a part of its newly acquired advantages, were questions, the answers to which lay beyond my sphere, nay, which I never put to myself."—GEORGEY, i. 6.

plains at Presburg, at a short distance from Vienna, and flows due east till it reaches Waitzen, when it makes a sudden and sharp bend to the south, and continues this course till it reaches the borders of Slavonia, where it is joined by another great river, the Drave, and their united waters, turning again to the east, flow in a vast volume to the Euxine. The other main river of Hungary is the Theiss, which runs in the north-east of the country, and flows nearly due south till it joins the Danube between Peterwaradein and Belgrade, on the confines of Slavonia. Pesth is the capital of Hungary, but it is a place of no great strength, and is completely commanded by its suburb Buda, a citadel strongly fortified, and which in every age has formed a position of vital importance in Hungarian wars, besides being associated in the minds of the people with many of their most interesting historical recollections. The other fortified places in Hungary are Raab, Leopoldstadt, Eszsek, and Komorn, the last of which was extremely strong, and had acquired the name of the Maiden, from its never having been taken. Peterwaradein, on the Slavonian frontier, is also a place of great strength. Arad and Temesvar, in the south-east, were fortresses of considerable strength, but their garrison had declared for the Imperialists. From the nature of their country, its central position in the heart of the Austrian Empire, and the barrier which the Danube and Theiss opposed to an invading army, as well as the number and strength of its fortresses, all of which, except the two above mentioned, with the arsenal, were in their hands, the Magyars entered upon the war with very great advantages.

5. It was not till the 9th December that Prince Windischgratz, who had the command of the principal army destined to act against the Hungarians, was in a condition to commence operations. His force, with the reserve which was forming under Prince Serbeloni, numbered on paper

49,000 infantry, 7236 cavalry—in all, 65,000 men, with 280 guns; but he had not more than 50,000 present under arms under his immediate command. A second corps of 20,000 was stationed, under Count Nugent, on the frontiers of Styria and Croatia, to operate on the banks of the Drave, serve as a reserve for the main army, and act as circumstances might require. A third force of 14,000 men, under General Schlick, was to descend from Galicia, on the north-east of Hungary; 5000 men were in the Banat; and 16,000 men in the Bukowina and Transylvania, under the orders of Colonel Urban and General Pückner, were to make head against the insurgents there, who, under General Bem—who had escaped from Vienna—were acquiring a formidable consistency. Thus the entire forces of the Imperialists were very considerable, but they were detached from each other, and the Hungarians occupied a central position between them. The troops of the insurgents, however, were much less numerous, and, being for the most part new levies, were still more deficient in discipline, experience, and warlike and mutual confidence. The regular troops of the Austrian army who had gone over to them amounted to 21,000 infantry, and 7198 cavalry, and they had 2402 guns, including those in the forts and arsenals. Those in the field were harnessed by splendid horses furnished to them by the Magyar nobles. Besides this, the levies ordered in the preceding year had amounted to 200,000 men, and actually brought 150,000 into the field. Their main army was on the Danube, opposed to Windischgratz, under the orders of Georgey, whose military abilities had become known, and who had succeeded to the command after Moga had resigned in consequence of his defeat. It consisted nominally of 30,000 men, but he never had more than 20,000 around his banners, and those for the most part young recruits, half-disciplined, deeply depressed by their rout at Schwechat, and wholly unable to face

the enemy in the field. To reinforce it, 10,000 men, under Perczel, were hastening up from the banks of the Drave. A second army, much more efficient for military operations, lay in the Bats country, which had been trained to war in the conflicts with the Razen, and consisted of 24,000 combatants. In addition to these, various small corps were in the course of formation in Upper Hungary and Transylvania, which might amount in all to 18,000 or 20,000 men. These forces were much inferior, at all points, to the Imperialists opposed to them; but they had the advantage of a central position and strong fortresses, and the assistance, active or passive, of the whole inhabitants of the country, who, in the Magyar district of central Hungary, were all enthusiastic in the national cause of the insurrection.

6. The Austrian plan of operations was for Windischgratz to advance with the mass of his army on the high road to Pesth; while to the north, on the opposite bank of the Danube, Count Simonich was to move with his division on the line of the Waag and secure the fortress of Leopoldstadt. Everything seemed to promise an early victory to Windischgratz, who was marching on Raab in the last week of December. He had an engagement with the Hungarian rear-guard on the 18th, in which the latter were worsted, after a severe contest, by his advanced-guard under Jellachich, and continuing his advance, arrived on the 26th of that month within half a league of that town, and had already begun his movements with a view to cut off the retreat of the enemy from it, when he found that it was evacuated by the Hungarians, who continued their retrograde movement towards Komorn and Pesth. The object of Georgey was not to fight, which he well knew he could not do with advantage with the raw troops under his command, but to gain time for the formation of armaments in the interior. This he did effectually by the show made of defending Raab, which gained for him a delay of eight days. During the retreat to Pesth, which was carried on in

the worst weather, and over execrable roads, he was attacked at Babolna on the 28th by General Ottinger, and lost 700 prisoners in the encounter. This loss, however, was likely to be more than compensated by a reinforcement of 10,000 men and 24 guns under General Perczel, who was awaiting his arrival at Mour. But the Ban, who was detached to the southward to intercept him, fell on Perczel's corps two days after (Dec. 30), and defeated it with such ease, that the greater part was dispersed, and 2000 prisoners made, by two brigades only of Jellachich's army. Had Windischgratz pursued Georgey vigorously, he might have prevented him from effecting a junction with Perczel, and destroyed them separately; but the old Austrian fault of slowness in movement here interposed, and reft from Jellachich all the fruits of his victory. By changing the direction of his march, and falling back straight on Buda, where he had designed to give battle, Georgey succeeded, some days later, in effecting a junction with Perczel's corps. But the consternation produced by these repeated defeats was so extreme at Pesth, that even the most zealous supporters of Hungarian independence began to despair of maintaining it against the overwhelming force of the Imperialists.

*7. In the course of the advance from Raab to Komorn, the usual and deplorable horrors of civil war began to appear. The Magyars, who were incensed in the highest degree at the retreat of their army and the bad success of their arms, murdered fifty-three Croats who had fallen into their hands, and were even accused of having poisoned wells on the line of advance of the Imperial troops. Windischgratz replied by a stern proclamation, in which he declared that "any inhabitant who is taken with any weapon of any description in his hands, shall be immediately shot, and any village whose inhabitants shall attack any single officer or courier shall be instantly levelled with the ground." Meanwhile the Imperial army advanced to Komorn, which they reached

on the 30th, and summoned to surrender. The place, however, which was one of the strongest in Europe, and amply supplied with artillery and provisions, as well as defended by a large garrison, refused to listen to terms. Upon that Windischgratz, leaving a division with the siege-train to commence operations against it in force, continued his advance to Buda-Pesth. He reached it on the 4th January 1849, and, while making preparations to attack the place, it was discovered that the Government and Diet had evacuated it, carrying with them the regalia of Hungary and the treasure, and retired to Debreczin, which thereafter became the headquarters of the insurgents during the remainder of the war. Kossuth delayed his departure till five minutes past twelve on the night of the 31st, and then drank a toast "To the first year of Hungarian independence."

8. Upon leaving Pesth, the insurgents, instead of retiring in one body, divided into two parts—the one moved northwards towards Waitzen, the other eastward to Debreczin behind the Theiss. The first was commanded by Georgey, the last by Perczel. Their plan was, by retreating from the capital, and by withdrawing the troops in the Banat and the Bats country up to the line of the Maros, to concentrate the whole force of the Magyars behind the Theiss, and defend that river to the last extremity. The movement of Georgey to the north was intended to deceive Windischgratz as to their intentions, and divert his attention from the Theiss. Georgey exerted himself to the utmost to draw the attention of the enemy upon himself, and he did this with such success that the column which retired to Debreczin was merely observed by a small Austrian corps under General Ottinger. The retreat to Debreczin was conducted under the most disastrous circumstances, the weather being dreadful, the cold at five degrees above zero of Fahrenheit, and the army encumbered by an immense multitude of old men, women, and children, in the last stages of starva-

tion and suffering. They at length reached the Theiss, however, and got to their journey's end at Debreczin, where Kossuth addressed an animated proclamation to the people, calling on them to rise, and, "like an avalanche which rolls down the sides of a mountain, crush their enemies without leaving a man to carry back tidings of the disaster." While the eloquent tribune was thus electrifying the inhabitants of central Hungary on the banks of the Theiss, Georgey retired beyond Waitzen, by Ipolsagh, towards Leva, where he collected a very considerable body of men from the whole north of Hungary, about 20,000 strong. His line of march was thus directed towards the north-west, in such a manner as to threaten the communications of Windischgratz with Vienna and his base of operations. This movement alarmed the Austrians, always nervous about their communications, and the consequence was, that the main Hungarian army was allowed to retire unmolested, and remain six weeks recruiting its losses and filling up its ranks behind the Theiss; while General Csorich, with 10 battalions, 10 squadrons, and 48 guns, was detached in pursuit of Georgey. Meanwhile Windischgratz, deeming the war ended, and deterred from moving by the excessive severity of the weather, remained with the main body of his army for seven weeks in a state of inactivity at Pesth. In truth he had some grounds for his fancied security. Leopoldstadt and Esseck, two of the chief fortresses of western Hungary, had surrendered—the first to Marshal Simonich on 2d February; the latter, with 614 guns, on the 14th to Count Nugent; and Komorn and Peterwaradein, the two remaining strongholds of the insurgents, were closely blockaded.

9. The war, meanwhile, in Transylvania was gradually assuming great proportions, under the able and energetic direction of General Bem. The Imperialists were there completely overmatched, and reduced, in consequence, to a painful and losing defensive. Bem had succeeded, amidst its

warlike and enthusiastic inhabitants, inured to a military life by their constant contests with the Turks, in collecting thirty thousand men, principally Szecklers, round his standards, who had already acquired somewhat of the consistency of old soldiers. Against these formidable forces General Pückner, who commanded the Imperialists in that quarter, could only oppose six regular battalions, eight squadrons, and forty guns. He had, it is true, a much larger irregular force under his orders, but they were new levies, ill disciplined, and worse affected, upon whose fidelity or steadiness in the field little reliance could be placed. Colonel Urban, with a force of four thousand men, had maintained the contest in the north of that province with much difficulty ever since the war broke out; but after having gained considerable successes in the outset, he had been attacked by such superior numbers that he was forced to retire, with severe loss, evacuate Clausenberg, and fall back into the Bukowina (January 3). The Magyars, meanwhile, had concentrated a force of thirty thousand men in the Banat, in the neighbourhood of Temesvar, the original cradle of the Slave insurrection, and had laid siege to that town. Arad, a strong fortress in central Hungary, was at the same time besieged by a portion of the same force, and was defended with heroic courage by General Berger. Five hundred soldiers, of whom three hundred only were fit for duty, and very badly supplied with ammunition and provisions, defended that fortress with thirty-nine guns, during two months, against the assault of fifteen thousand insurgents, when at length they were relieved from the south, and its communication with Temesvar restored, by General Count Leiningen. But in other quarters the Imperialists were not equally successful. After various alternations of success, Bem finally established himself in southern Transylvania, and drove the Austrians, under Pückner, back upon Hermanstadt in the south-west corner of that province.

10. While these affairs were passing in eastern and southern Hungary, Georgey, in the north, was pursuing that able campaign which has secured him a lasting place in the archives of military glory. The spirit of his troops had been extremely depressed by their numerous disasters in the retreat to Pesth, and their number did not exceed sixteen thousand men when they reached Waitzen. Already, too, the seeds of divisions between him and Kossuth had become serious and prolific of evil. The dispositions of the latter were entirely democratic, whereas Georgey was decidedly monarchial; and he had recently published a proclamation to the effect that his army "would obey no orders but those prescribed by law through the responsible royal minister-at-war, and would oppose itself to all those who may attempt, by *republican intrigues* in the interior of the country, to overthrow the constitutional monarchy."* Kossuth's instructions were "to act on the offensive against the corps of Marshal Simonich, and relieve the fort of Leopoldstadt, blockaded

* At Waitzen, in the beginning of January, Georgey issued the following proclamation in the name of his corps, which is of the utmost importance in the political history of this war, as embodying the views of the old soldiers in the Hungarian army and the conservative party in that country, of which he was the head:—

"1. The corps d'armée of the Upper Danube remains faithful to its oath, to fight resolutely against every external enemy for the maintenance of the constitution of the kingdom of Hungary sanctioned by King Ferdinand V.

"2. With the same resolution the corps d'armée will oppose itself to all those who may attempt to overthrow the constitutional monarchy by untimely republican intrigues in the interior of the country.

"3. It is a natural consequence of the right understanding of constitutional monarchy that the corps d'armée can obey only those orders which are forwarded to it, in the prescribed form, through the responsible royal Hungarian minister of war.

"4. The corps d'armée declares finally that it will adhere to the result of any convention made with the enemy only if it guarantees, on the one hand, the integrity of the constitution of Hungary, and on the other, if it is not inimical to the military honour of the corps."—Georgey's *Mémoires*, i. pp. 167, 168.

by him, in order by this diversion to withdraw the main hostile forces from the Theiss, and render possible the organisation of new troops behind that river." But when he reached Léva, Georgey found that his forces were not adequate to *both* these objects, and therefore he wisely renounced all thoughts of relieving Leopoldstadt; and, abandoning that fortress to its fate, he resolved to retreat "sideways," as he himself says, "into the district of the mountain towns." By this district was meant the tract of land containing the towns of Kremnitz, Schemnitz, and Neusohl, in the valley of the river Gran, which flows in a south-westerly direction from the lower spurs of the Carpathian range into the great valley of the Danube. This route had the double advantage of leading the enemy into the rocky and inhospitable region of the mountains, and of affording the Hungarian corps the means of uniting with the reorganised and recruited army which was collecting behind the Theiss.

11. But the difficulties of the march at this rigorous season were immense, and such as would have deterred any less energetic general and army from attempting it; for the troops had to force their way through roads covered with ice, and to cut through deep wreaths of snow in narrow valleys overhung by precipices on either side, down which avalanches were falling. The passes in the mountains in his front were occupied by Austrian detachments, under General Schlick, who had come down with twelve thousand men from Galicia to act against the main Hungarian army on the upper Theiss; while his rear was pressed by the hostile columns of Simonich and Csorich; and his flank was threatened from the north by that of General Gotz. Georgey, on one occasion, took five guns and two hundred prisoners. He says, in a bitter spirit, that no one could have believed, seeing how badly his troops fought, that a Russian intervention could ever become necessary. To add to their difficulties, the frost, which had been so

severe, suddenly broke up on the 20th January, and was succeeded by a thaw which produced such floods as rendered it almost a matter of impossibility to stem them in the narrow and steep valleys up which the Hungarians were toiling their arduous way. On one occasion Count Guyon's corps met so formidable a *débâcle* that the troops recoiled before it, and were only turned, and in a manner forced through, up to their middles in floating ice, by the still more formidable cry in their rear, "The enemy are coming!" Georgey, after surmounting with heroic constancy incredible difficulties, at length forced the barriers at the summit of the mountain ridge, and descended in two columns by Poprad and Iglo, down the valleys, the waters of which ~~flowed~~ ^{flashed} into the Theiss. He there encountered General Schlick, who had come down from Eperies to Kaschau, and had for some weeks been operating against the Hungarian forces in the direction of Tokay. After several bloody combats, particularly one at the pass of the Braniczo, in which the élite of the regular Hungarian troops were brought into action, he at length succeeded in forcing back the Imperialists, who, abandoning Eperies and Kaschau, retired towards Rima, Szombat, and their main army. Wary, dejected, and destitute of everything, the troops of the Hungarian general, more like a crowd of beggars than a military array, reached Kaschau on the 10th February, where they effected a junction with the corps under the command of Colonel Klapka, which raised the united forces to about twenty-one thousand men.

12. While Georgey was thus with consummate skill forcing his way through the defiles of the Carpathian Mountains, and drawing the attention of such numerous bodies of Windischgratz's army upon his track, as rendered any advance against the main body of the army which had retired behind the Theiss impossible, Kossuth and the other members of the Government who had reached Debreczin were equally energetic in the exercise of

their great talents to reorganise and recruit the dejected and disorganised force, which, encumbered with sick women and children, had contrived to escape behind the barrier of that river. The measures of Kossuth at this critical moment were as skilful as his conduct and language were energetic. He made full use of the unlimited issue of paper money which the decree of the Diet had put at his disposal, and which, as it passed current at full value in every part of Hungary, put ample funds for the prosecution of the war at his disposal. By a skilful device he declared Austrian paper not a current medium of exchange in Hungary, while at the same time he offered, on the part of the Government, to take it for full value in exchange for Hungarian notes. Large quantities of Vienna paper currency in consequence came into the public treasury, and gave the minister the means of purchasing arms and ammunition in sufficient quantities in England and Belgium. Artillery in abundance was at their disposal in the different fortresses in their hands, and all the foundries and manufactories of powder and arms in the kingdom were in activity to furnish more. Meanwhile proclamations of the most animating kind were addressed in profusion, by the Government to the people. They appealed to their national feelings, their love of independence, their ancient glories, their martial fame; the name of the King was freely used to secure the loyal—the ambition of democracy appealed to to win the republican. Every success, however trifling, was magnified by Kossuth into an important victory; every tradition, how old soever, referred to as an incitement to fresh exertions. Immense was the success of these persevering efforts in drawing forth the military strength of the ancient and warlike Hungarian nation. Armed bands sprang up, as if by magic, from their mother earth; old weapons, which had hung undisturbed for centuries since the Turkish wars, were taken down and furbished up; and the spectacle was exhibited

of an entire nation taking up arms to combat, as they thought, for their King, their freedom, and their independence.

13. While these active measures were in progress for the future prosecution of the war, a mournful tragedy was passing at Pesth under the orders of Prince Windischgratz. By a strange infatuation Count Bathiany, instead of retiring with the Diet to Debreczin, and disregarding a positive injunction by Prince Windischgratz not to appear before him, presented himself on the 3d January, at the head of a deputation, to the Imperial general as he approached Buda. He was immediately arrested, for the Government were extremely incensed at him as the first leader and supposed author of the insurrection. After a long confinement, first in Buda and afterwards in Laybach, he was, when the war ended, brought back to Pesth, tried by court-martial there, condemned, and on the 6th October executed. He was apprehensive of being sentenced to be hanged, and uttered a cry of joy when he heard he was to be shot. Like so many other leaders on both sides in this melancholy war, he died with heroic courage. History must ever mourn the death on the scaffold of any man of noble character combating for what in sincerity he believed to be the cause of duty; and it will be a blessed time when more humane maxims obtain in civil, as it is the glory of modern civilisation to have effected in national conflicts. But, in vindication of the Austrian Government, it must be recollected they were only retaliating upon their enemies what they had suffered at their hands. The Hungarians began by murdering Count Lamberg; they had judicially massacred Count Zichy; and they had advanced to the relief of Vienna when its insurgents were reeking with the blood of Count Latour. When in their turn defeated, they could not complain if they underwent the severe but just law of an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.

14. From the beginning of January,

when he arrived in Pesth, to the 20th February, Windischgratz remained stationary in that capital. This delay is usually considered as a serious fault in a military point of view, and as the main cause of the disasters which afterwards befell the Imperial arms. But before concurrence is expressed in this disapprobation, it is to be recollected with how small a force, comparatively speaking, he was intrusted, considering the arduous task which lay before him of invading a martial nation in arms. The fifty thousand men with whom he started from Vienna in the middle of December had melted away under the hardships of a winter campaign, in a marshy and unhealthy country, to less than forty thousand effective soldiers when he reached Pesth; and with these he not only had to garrison that capital and its citadel Buda, but to detach largely to the right to aid Nugent for the siege of Esseck and to keep up the communication with Croatia, and on the left, towards Waitzen, to support Simonich in the siege of Leopoldstadt, and pursue Georgey in the Carpathian defiles. In these circumstances, to have advanced with the centre towards Debreczin through a difficult and marshy country in the depth of winter, would have been an extremely hazardous operation, which might have caused, earlier than they actually occurred, the disasters which ensued. And if it be said the weather and the bad roads were as severe upon the Hungarians in retreat as on the Austrians in advance, the answer is, that that is no doubt true; but the former were every day drawing nearer to their resources and getting reinforcements from the rear, while the Austrians were moving farther from theirs, and becoming more weakened by being obliged to leave detachments to keep up their communications.

15. At length, Buda having been put in a proper state of defence, and garrisoned by two battalions, and Esseck on the right, and Leopoldstadt on the left, having been taken, Windischgratz moved forward towards De-

breczin. He had given orders for the concentration of all the disposable force at his command, but it did not exceed twenty thousand men, and they were widely scattered, so great had been the losses from fatigue, sickness, and the sword during this winter campaign. The Imperial general moved forward from Pesth in the end of January, and several inconsiderable actions took place during the first three weeks of February, while he was advancing towards the Theiss. Schlick, too, whom he had summoned to join his standards, had a rude encounter to sustain as he was marching to effect the desired junction, in a defile of the Carpathian Mountains, which was occupied by Georgey's troops; but he had now reached Petervasar, and was in communication with the Imperial headquarters. At length, having got all his troops in hand, Windischgratz advanced to deliver a decisive battle to the combined forces of Georgey and Dembinski, who had effected a junction on the Tarna, and concentrated 40,000 men, with 225 guns, with which they, on their side, were preparing to resume the offensive by an advance on Pesth. The two armies met at KAPODNA, between the Danube and the Theiss, about two-thirds of the way from Pesth to Debreczin, on the direct road between these two places. The Hungarians were greatly superior in numbers, and especially artillery; but the Imperial general, with reason, reckoned on the better quality of his veteran troops to counterbalance this disadvantage. Both armies were animated with the best spirit, and a decisive battle was expected and prepared for on either side. But the Hungarian generals were on very bad terms with each other; and Dembinski, in particular, had quarrelled with both Georgey and Klapka to such a degree as augured ill for their combined operations.*

16. The battle began at daybreak on the morning of the 26th by an ad-

* Dembinski had been recently appointed by Kossuth commander-in-chief of the Hungarian armies.

vance of General Wrhna with ten battalions and seventy-eight guns direct on Kapolna. The Hungarians were strongly posted behind the Tarna on the heights near that town, with their right resting on the ruined village of Dobro, their left on that of Kal, and a numerous and magnificent artillery, supported by several squadrons of hussars, covering their front. The battle which ensued was one of the most obstinate and sanguinary which had occurred in Europe since the fight at Waterloo; for the Imperialists advanced with great determination and all the confidence of victory to the attack, and the Hungarians fought with the stubborn resolution of patriotic enthusiasm. In the centre especially, where forty guns were placed on each side, and the élite of either army was grouped together, the combat was of the most desperate kind. The Austrians at one time were on the point of being ruined by the separation of two of their brigades by a wood, of which the Hungarians had got possession, and affairs were only restored by a rapid advance of General Wyss, who attacked the columns of the enemy which had penetrated into his lines in front and flank, with his lancers, and succeeded in driving them back. After six hours' hard fighting both armies retained their positions, and success had declared for neither. The soldiers, wearied with the struggle, on both sides lay down beside their arms, guns, and horses, without either shelter or covering; and soon the din of the battle was hushed, and the light of the tranquil stars of heaven succeeded to the lurid discharge of the artillery.

17. The night was extremely cold, and the soldiers lay on the frozen ground without covering. Austrians and Magyars bore their suffering with fortitude: the first, supported by the feeling of loyalty and the honour of a soldier; the last, by the enthusiasm of independence and the glow of patriotism. Reinforcements to a considerable extent, chiefly from Georgey's army, arrived in the Magyar lines

during the night; but the Imperialists in vain looked for the corresponding arrival of General Schlick on their own side. Before daybreak, the following morning, Windischgrätz rode through the lines, and addressed a few words of encouragement to the soldiers, who received him with cheers. He directed his first attack against the town of Kapolna, but all eyes were turned to the left, towards the road of Verpeleth, where the heads of Schlick's column were expected to appear. At length, at eight o'clock, a column of smoke was seen to arise on the extreme left, followed by a loud explosion; it was Schlick's column which had now arrived on the ground, and was prepared to take a part in the action. Windischgrätz immediately ordered an attack on Kapolna, and commenced it by the fire of three batteries, which opened upon it with great vigour. After an hour's fire the assault was ordered, and the town carried with great gallantry by two Austrian battalions. Twenty-seven officers and a thousand men were made prisoners on this occasion; Dembinski made several efforts to regain it, but in vain. From this the Imperialists pushed on to a farmhouse in its rear, which was also carried and held, after an obstinate struggle. Following up his success, the Austrian general pushed forward Colloredo with two brigades across the Tarna, above Kapolna, so as to turn the right flank of the enemy; while Schlick, who had reached Verpeleth, combined his movement so as to aid in the attack. The united forces made an onslaught on the Hungarian right, and in spite of a vigorous defence by Georgey with the best troops in the army, the latter were driven back, and a general retreat began, which soon turned into a confused rout, the infantry and artillery flying in confusion, the cavalry alone retiring in échelons in a soldier-like regular manner.

18. Had Windischgrätz been in sufficient force to have followed up his advantage as resolutely as he had gained it, and pressed vigorously next day on the enemy, who retreated towards

the Theiss, the Hungarians would, by the confessor. Their own generals, as well as the assertions of their enemy, have been totally ruined, the war finished on the 1st day, and Austria saved the humiliation of a Russian intervention. But the Austrians are proverbially slow in their movements, and Windischgratz was far from imitating the energy and vigour of Schlick, to whom the real credit of the victory of Kapolna belongs, and who marched twenty-four miles that day and on the preceding night to take part in the action. The Hungarians, too, though defeated, were still greatly superior to the enemy in numbers; and, with a few exceptions, the new levies, until the retreat began, had fought bravely, and emulated the courage of the veteran soldiers. Influenced by these considerations, Windischgratz remained inactive on the 28th, and lost the opportunity, never destined to recur, of driving a defeated army, encumbered with artillery, baggage, and wounded, back on the Theiss, swollen with the winter rains, and traversed only by a few bridges in the rear. He sent General Zeisberg with a brigade to threaten their flank at Poroszló, but no general movement in pursuit was attempted. Zeisberg had not sufficient force to attempt anything decisive, and thus this important victory remained without results. Favoured by a thick fog, which covered their movement, the Hungarians leisurely continued their retreat by Poroszló to the left bank of the Theiss without being disquieted on their march by the Imperialists; while Windischgratz, feeling the disastrous consequences of his numerical weakness, especially in cavalry, addressed the most pressing instances to the Emperor to send him reinforcements, especially in that arm, offering to send in exchange two thousand Magyar prisoners, who would gladly enter the ranks of the Imperialists.

19. While the Imperial general was thus earnestly entreating for reinforcements, and constrained to inactivity by their want, the most violent dissensions had broken out in the Magyar ranks. Georgey, Vetter, and

Klapka, their principal generals under Dembinski, loudly accused the commander-in-chief of mismanagement of the gallant troops under his command. The soldiers joined in the general outcry; and the result was that Dembinski was deprived of the command, which, to shun the rivalry of Georgey and Klapka, was bestowed on Vetter, a man inferior in capacity to either. "You have given yourself a rival," said the disgraced general to Kossuth when he announced his dismissal to him, "who will soon overturn you; God grant it may not be on the ruins of Hungary." The new commander-in-chief made good use of the breathing-time afforded him by the compulsory inactivity of the Imperialists, in reorganising and recruiting his troops and restoring their spirit. With such success were these efforts attended, and so ably was he seconded by the zeal and energy of Georgey and Klapka, that after having entirely evacuated the right bank of the Theiss, Vetter was in sufficient strength to detach 10,000 men, under General Vecsey, again across that river, who attacked in front and flank the brigade of Karger, which lay at Szolnok, on the extreme Austrian right, whom they drove out of that town with considerable loss, and regained for the Hungarians a firm footing on the right bank of the river. At the same time (March 2) the Hungarians resumed the offensive on the lines before Arad, where the Imperialists were seriously weakened by the detachments which they had been obliged to send into Transylvania to the relief of General Pückner, who had become hard pressed by the indefatigable Beni in that quarter. These successes went far to restore the spirits of the Magyars after their defeat at Kapolna.

20. In truth, the successes of Bem in that province had been such as to threaten total destruction to the Austrian interests in the east of Hungary. Having concentrated 12,000 men and twenty-four guns, after dispersing the Imperialists in the north of the province, he had moved to the south, made an attack (Jan. 21) on Pückner, who had thrown himself into Herman-

stadt with 9000 men and eighteen guns of light calibre. Notwithstanding this great inferiority of force, Pückner, in the first instance, defeated Bem, after a bloody conflict, with the loss of five guns; and the arrival of General Gideon with a brigade, the day after the battle, sensibly improved his situation. The numbers of the enemy, however, swelled so rapidly, that even after this success the Imperialists soon found themselves in a most precarious situation. The Szecklers, who had now openly declared for the insurgents, threatened to lay siege to Kronstadt on the Russian frontier; while Bem, who was daily receiving reinforcements, still menaced Hermanstadt from the side of Stolzenberg, and strong bodies of insurgents coming from Arad, entirely cut off Pückner's communications with the main Austrian army. In these circumstances the inhabitants of Kronstadt and Hermanstadt earnestly implored the INTERVENTION OF THE RUSSIANS as their only chance of safety; and Pückner, despairing of ability to defend them himself, and yet unwilling to incur the responsibility of himself calling in these formidable allies, summoned a council of war, which warmly approved of their intervention. They had already received instructions from St Petersburg to grant the requisite assistance when requested; and a formal requisition having been made by Pückner, General Luders, who commanded the Russian forces in Wallachia, gave orders to two detachments of his troops to cross the frontier, and occupy Kronstadt and Hermanstadt, which was done on February 1st and 5th. Thus did the third French Revolution terminate, as the first had done, in the intervention of the Muscovites, and the bringing down the battalions of the Czar to the centre of Europe.

21. Encouraged by this powerful support, Pückner, notwithstanding his great inferiority of force, resumed the offensive, and made a sudden attack on Bem as he was marching from Stolzenberg with 9000 men to effect a junction with a corps of Szecklers, and defeated him, with the loss of twelve

guns and a large quantity of ammunition. On the same day General Engelhardt, who commanded the Russian force in Kronstadt, sallied from that town and defeated a corps of Szecklers, which was advancing against it; while General Urban, in the north of Transylvania, successfully made head against the greatly superior forces of the insurgents by which he was beset. These successes encouraged the hope that the career of the insurgents had been checked in that province, and that the physical weight and moral influence of the Russians would decisively reinstate the affairs of the Imperialists in the east of Hungary. Vain hope! The unconquerable Bem, gathering strength from every defeat, ere long reappeared on the scene with 14,000 men and twenty guns, and after experiencing a check in the first instance from Pückner, succeeded in worsting him the next day, and was in his turn defeated by him at Mediasch, on the 3d March. Being pressed after the last unsuccessful engagement by Pückner, Bem, skilfully eluding the pursuit of the Austrian general, threw himself with his whole force on the Russian general, Skariatine, who had been left in charge of Hermanstadt with 2500 men. The brave Muscovite, attacked by forces five times his own, accepted the unequal combat, and having made Pückner aware of his critical position, maintained his ground for a considerable time with unconquerable resolution. But while he was fighting with great bravery in front, a corps of Szecklers penetrated into the town in his rear, and left the Russians no chance but of cutting their way through in order to join Pückner. Skariatine succeeded in forcing a passage through Bem's columns; but meanwhile the Austrian general, having heard that Hermanstadt was taken, had retreated in a most miserable plight to Rimnik in Wallachia. Finding himself thus isolated in the midst of enemies, Skariatine retired by the celebrated Rothen-thurm Pass, so well known to travellers for its sylvan and rocky grandeur, into Wallachia; Kronstadt also was abandoned; and the whole of Transylvania

fell into the hands of the Magyars. They immediately separated their army into different movable columns, which overran the country in every direction, pillaging, burning, and massacring the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex, and renewing on the fields of Europe the horrid barbarities which, in every age, have characterised Eastern warfare.

22. These brilliant successes, and the universal enthusiasm which they excited in the east of Hungary, encouraged the Hungarian generals in the centre of the country to resume the offensive. Having crossed the Theiss at Poroszo, they moved forward accordingly, in the middle of March, in one huge column, along the road from Kopolna to Pesth as far as Gyöngyös and Hatvan. Their forces were very considerable, for they numbered at least 45,000 effective combatants, with 188 guns, actually present in the field. These were divided into four corps. The Austrian general had scarcely half the number to oppose to them, and they were sensibly discouraged by the fatigues and hardships of a winter campaign, and the disastrous intelligence recently received from Transylvania, which made it evident they would soon have the whole Magyar force on their hands. Sensible of his weakness, Windischgratz retired gradually as the enemy advanced, and reached the neighbourhood of Hatvan without serious opposition. At this critical period a change of vital importance to the issue of the campaign took place in the direction of the Hungarian army. The newly appointed commander-in-chief, Vetter, having fallen sick, resigned the command, and was succeeded, at first temporarily, and in the end permanently, in that important post by Georgey. Arrived at Hort, Georgey left his own old corps (the 7th) at that town, and with the three other corps moved towards his own left, towards Szolnok, with a view to interpose between the main army of the Imperialists, which was at Godolo on the Kopolna road, and Jellachich's corps, then at Alberti, and menace the communication of both

with Pesth. Schlick, who commanded the Austrians in Hatvan, first came into collision with Georgey's advanced guard at Hort, a village a short distance to the east of Hatvan; and after an obstinate conflict, he was driven through the streets of that town and forced to seek refuge behind the Zagywa, the bridge over which was defended with obstinacy by the Austrian rearguard under Captain Kalchberg. Apprised of this check, the Austrian general-in-chief moved to Godolo to lend a hand to Schlick, and despatched orders to Jellachich to concentrate his corps on the right, and move so as to re-establish his communications with the centre and left of the army.

23. These untoward events, and the evident superiority of the Hungarian force, which had now from extended experience, and long-continued service, become steady in the field, induced Windischgratz to summon a council of war, which met at Aszód, between Hatvan and Pesth, on the 3d April. Opinions were there divided as to the course which should be pursued in presence of the great and hourly-increasing forces of the enemy. Some held that the more advisable course would be to concentrate the whole troops at Waitzen, where they would be in a situation alike to cover Vienna and to defeat any attempt on the enemy's part to advance beyond Pesth. But the majority, among whom was the commander-in-chief, were of opinion, that though these views, in a military point of view, were well founded, yet they were overborne by considerations of a political kind of still greater importance, founded on the moral influence of the possession of the capital. It was accordingly resolved to concentrate the bulk of the army in the plain of Rakos, in front of Pesth, intrusting its defence to the valour of two brigades.

24. The plan of attack proposed by Klapka, and adopted by Georgey, was to leave the seventh corps only to make head against Windischgratz, on the Gyöngyös road, and move the three other corps in hand by Arokszyllas and Jasz-Bereny, so as to turn the

right flank of the enemy, which rested on the Galga. Georgey was to command these three corps, which numbered 28,000 combatants, in person; while the seventh corps, 15,000 strong, was to remain in the position of Hatvan, which was very strong, and would, it was hoped, successfully impose upon the enemy in that quarter. Georgey confesses that this dislocation of the army in presence of the enemy was a hazardous movement, which he would not have ventured upon if he had had to deal with a more enterprising opponent; but he thought, "in presence of Windischgratz many a strategic sin might be committed with impunity." Meanwhile the Austrian general was concentrating his army according to the plan agreed on in the plain of Rakos, and he despatched orders to Jellachich to join him from the extreme right with all possible expedition. These opposite movements brought the two armies into collision at ISASZEG, and induced the most important battle yet fought in the war.

25. The Hungarian force, consisting of Klapka's, Aulich's, and Damjanics's corps, moved, early on the morning of the 4th April, direct on Pesth by the highroad from Jaszy-Bereny, with a view to interpose between the bulk of Windischgratz's army and Jellachich's corps, which was hastening to form a junction with him in order to cover that capital. They first came into collision with Jellachich, who, finding himself hard pressed, notwithstanding a brilliant charge by his rearguard, which captured four guns, sent notice to the commander-in-chief that he was obliged to halt to defend himself. Returning with the bulk of his corps to the support of his rearguard, Jellachich encountered Klapka's corps near Tapio-Biske, and totally defeated him. Crushed by a prodigious fire from two Austrian batteries, which were admirably served, the head of the Hungarian column recoiled in disorder, and the panic soon communicated itself to those which followed. The whole corps, 12,000 strong, took to flight in the utmost disorder, closely

pursued by the Austrian cuirassiers, who captured twelve guns during the pursuit. Georgey, attracted to the spot by the outcry, was nearly overwhelmed by the mass of fugitives running to the rear, who were vociferating that all was lost, a battery taken, and Klapka slain. But then appeared in full lustre the brilliant qualities of that commander. Personally exerting himself to the utmost to arrest the fugitives, he stationed Damjanics's corps in an oblique line, half facing the flying mass, and brought up the best old troops in that division to stand the first shock. They did so with eminent success. The veterans of Schwartzberg's Hungarian regiment not only brought to a stand the victorious Austrians, who had recently routed the whole of Klapka's corps, but stormed and regained the bridge over the Tapio, by which they had crossed, and drove them back beyond Tapio-Biske, towards Koka, where the Imperialists took post behind some low sandhills for the night.

26. The next day Jellachich fell back to Isaszeg, near the Gyongyös road; while Windischgratz withdrew from Aszód to Godolo, on the same road, so as to be able to unite with him. Notwithstanding the disturbance which Klapka's defeat occasioned in his army, and the premature disclosure of his plan of attack which it occasioned, Georgey resolved to persevere, and accumulate every disposable man and horse against the Austrian right, so as to outflank them, and threaten their communications with Pesth. Following up his movement on the 6th, the two armies came into collision. Georgey had directed the corps of Klapka and Damjanics on Isaszeg, and moved up that of Aulich in support. They came upon the Ban, who was at first alone, but as the action continued was supported by Windischgratz with the main body of the Imperial army. The first onset of the Hungarians was most disastrous. Damjanics, on their right, indeed, held his ground; but Klapka, on the left, was utterly overthrown, and driven back in the greatest confusion, so that his retreat was only arrested

by the arrival of two battalions detached from the right, and by the most energetic exertions of Georgey in person, who, sword in hand, turned the fugitives, and supported them with the whole of Aulich's corps, which fortunately was close at hand. Klapka wished to retreat, but Georgey determined to persevere. The throw, however, was to the last degree perilous; a second defeat similar to that sustained on the preceding day but one, and all was lost. But Georgey, without hesitation, accepted the alternative. "Conquer to-day, or back behind the Thiciss; such is the alternative—I know of no third. Damjanics still continues the battle: Aulich advances; Klapka has stopped his retreat. Forward! we *must* conquer." Such were the words by which he reanimated his men to make a last effort for the independence of their country. The Magyar three corps, now concentrated in one battle-field, occupied the two last northern spurs of the forest of Isaszeg, which projected towards the enemy. The centre was covered by a part of the forest in flames, which had caught fire during the conflict, the smoke from which spread in vast volumes over the Hungarian right. The infantry of both armies occupied the spurs of the forest; in the centre, in front of the fearful conflagration, stood the cavalry and artillery.

27. Georgey, seeing that the bulk of the Imperial army was concentrated in the centre behind Isaszeg, ordered his right, consisting of the wreck of Damjanics's men, to stand firm on the defensive; while he reinforced the wreck of Klapka's corps with the whole of that of Aulich, and ordered them to assume a vigorous offensive on his other flank; and soon the advancing sound of the cannon announced that the Hungarian left was making progress in its spur of the forest. The Hungarian general was still anxious about the result, when he beheld the head of Aulich's corps emerging from the flaming part of the forest, and the left spur, which stretched towards the enemy. He now felt assured of victory; his two corps had accumulated against the

Austrian right, who had no adequate force at hand to oppose them. His expectations were ere long realised. A violent infantry fire was heard in the spur of the forest on the extreme Hungarian right; the fire of the Austrian artillery in the centre was silenced by the Hungarian guns; cries of "Forward," in *Hungarian*, were heard on all sides; and Aulich's men with loud shouts were seen driving the Imperialists before them on the spur on the left. Still Isaszeg was not taken, and till it was stormed the battle could not be said to be gained. Darkness closed on the scene without the commander-in-chief being assured on this vital point, and in his extreme anxiety to learn who remained master of it, Georgey, with a few officers, rode forward in the dark to its vicinity. A challenge in *German*, as it seemed, from a sentinel, made them start; it sounded like *Halt! wer da?* (Halt! who's there?)—but it might be the Hungarian "*Ally-ke-ragy*," which was not very dissimilar in sound. Georgey answered in *Hungarian*, and the joyful rejoinder, "Aulich," told that the victory was gained. It proved to be that general himself, who, returning from Isaszeg, brought the joyful news that that village was taken, and the right wing of the enemy in full retreat to Godolo.

28. It could not be said that the Hungarians had gained a decisive advantage: they had been victorious with their left over the Austrian right; they had withstood a vigorous attack on their own right; in the centre, where the cavalry and artillery combated, no material advantage had been gained on either side. But they reaped from it the fruits of the most complete victory. Georgey's strategic movement had entirely succeeded: by accumulating forces on his own left, he had forced back the Austrian right to such a degree as entirely to turn their flank, and lay open to the victorious wing on his left the road to Pestff. This favourable position of affairs for the Magyars was much improved by their great superiority of force, which enabled them, now that they had got

the prestige of victory on their side, to assume the offensive at any point. Sensible of his danger, Windischgratz fell back on all sides, and concentrated his troops behind the Rakos in such a position as to cover Pesth from every direct attack; and he hoped to be able to maintain himself there till reinforcements from the rear might enable him to resume the offensive. But he had to deal with an able adversary, who, by another admirable movement, turned his left flank, and forced him to abandon his covering position, evacuate the capital, and lay bare the road to Vienna.

29. Rapidly moving the bulk of his forces from his own left to the extreme right, Georgey, while he advanced in person to, and established his headquarters in Godolo, directed the corps of Klapka and Damjanics on Waitzen, which was occupied by the Austrian general, Gotz, with two brigades. The object of this advance on the Hungarian right was to press round the extreme Austrian left, and threaten their communications not only with Pesth, but with Vienna itself, and thus compel the Imperialists, without firing a shot, to evacuate both Buda and Pesth, and concentrate their troops at Presburg to cover the capital of the whole Empire. While the two corps charged with this important movement were heading the line of march, and attacking Waitzen, the centre and left, under Kmety and Aulich, were to move to their own right, so as to be at hand to support them; and at the same time, by menacing the Austrian covering army behind the Rakos, prevent them from despatching any material succours to their own left at Waitzen, the real point of attack. Having taken Waitzen, Klapka and Damjanics were to continue their advance on the left bank of the Danube to Leva, closely followed by the seventh corps; while Aulich occupied Buda and Pesth, which it was expected the enemy would evacuate without resistance.*

* The 7th corps, advancing along the Gyöngyös road, rejoined the main army on the 7th April at Godolo.

30. These able dispositions met with entire success. The head of Klapka's corps reached Waitzen on 9th April, and immediately made an attack on the town, which was defended by General Gotz with his two brigades. They soon penetrated into the streets, as the town was unfortified; but a desperate struggle of some hours' duration there took place, in the course of which the Austrian commander fell dead by a ball in the forehead. The Austrians were driven out of the town by the sheer pressure of numbers, and would have been totally destroyed but for the able dispositions of the second in command, Jablonowsky, who contrived to draw his men out of the streets without any material loss. But the consequences of his retreat were nearly as disastrous at this crisis as their destruction would have been, for they were driven to an eccentric retreat up the valley of the Danube, towards the Gran river. Thus the Hungarian general had succeeded in detaching its left wing from the Austrian centre, driving the former away to the north-west and the latter back upon the Danube at Pesth. Nothing could now prevent the occupation of Pesth by the Hungarian centre, and the advance of their powerful right to raise the siege of Komorn, and threaten both Presburg and Vienna. Georgey enhanced the lustre of his glorious victories by his generous conduct to a noble adversary, in according a splendid military funeral, followed by the discharge of a hundred guns, to the remains of General Gotz, and the transmission of all his private papers and effects to Prince Windischgratz. It is to the honour of the Hungarians to have shown, and refreshing to the historian to record, the first return to humane usages in a war hitherto characterised by such savage cruelty, but worthy, by the valour displayed on both sides, of being placed beside the brightest pages of chivalry.

31. Immense was the consternation excited in Vienna by these repeated victories, and the formidable position, threatening both Komorn and Pres-

burg, taken up by the Hungarian right wing. The war seemed to be interminable. The insurrection, which they had so often been told was crushed, was now raising its hydra head more formidable than ever: it was no longer a question as to subduing Hungary, but saving Vienna. Under the influence of these feelings, several cabinet councils were held at Olmutz, where the Emperor still was, as soon as the disastrous intelligence reached them. It was there resolved, on the advice of Prince Schwarzenberg, that notwithstanding the great merits and services of Prince Windischgratz, he had, by a long train of disasters, lost the confidence of the troops, and that a change in the direction of the army had become indispensable. He was accordingly deprived of the command, which was bestowed on General Baron Welden, and, till his arrival at headquarters, Jellachich provisionally took the direction.

32. This great victory of the Hungarians was followed by a serious division between the Magyar chiefs themselves, which in the end proved fatal to Hungarian independence. On the 7th April, Kossuth and Georgey met at Godolo to discuss the line which should be adopted, now that the independence of the country seemed in a fair way of being established. Their ideas, as those of the parties which they respectively represented, were as opposite as the poles are asunder. "Now," said Kossuth, "is the time when it becomes us to answer the pretended constitution of 4th March 1848, by the declaration of our independence. Austria was encouraged to publish that burlesque of a constitution by the victory of Kapolna; let us celebrate that of Isaszeg by the open shaking off of their yoke. The patience of the nation is exhausted; if it would show itself worthy of liberty, it cannot for a moment tolerate that pretended constitution. The people of Europe will judge of the people of Hungary according to the answer which it gives to that insidious proposal. England, France, Italy,

Turkey, Germany itself, not excepting even the hereditary states of Austria, are only waiting for Hungary to proclaim itself independent to lend us their material aid, and that the more abundantly that hitherto they have been so sparing in affording it. The sore-tried, oppressed nation of the Poles will unite with us, and will find a powerful ally in the Turks, who have so often suffered from the policy of Austria and Russia. With the freedom of Hungary the freedom of Europe will fall; with its triumph, there will be as many insurrections against hated tyranny as there are oppressed peoples in Europe!

33. "Our victory is certain; but we have it in our power to do much more than for ourselves alone. We can and must fight for the freedom of the whole world—for all who wish us victory. Our words, however, must precede our deeds; our cry of victory, the precursor of triumph, must anticipate our successes; they must announce its approach to all enslaved people, in order that they may be watchful and vigilant, and not allow the golden opportunity of universal liberation to pass away. We must not permit our enemies, the enemies of freedom in every land, to assemble again, after having been scattered, and to gather strength anew. We can no longer remain silent after the pretended constitution has destroyed our very existence. Our silence would be a passive recognition of our enemies' claims—a repudiation of all our victories. We must therefore declare ourselves. A declaration such as I wish will at once raise the nation in its own esteem, destroy all the bridges behind the wavering and yet undecided part of the nation, and, by the overwhelming force of a common object, satisfying every wish, embracing every interest, drive into the shade all mere party interests, and thus facilitate and insure our common victory."

34. "I by no means see things in the same light," replied Georgey. "Words will not make Hungary free; deeds alone can do that. No arm out of Hungary will be raised to perform

those deeds; rather armies will be raised in foreign states to prevent their execution. Even supposing that Hungary at the present moment were strong enough to detach itself from Austria, would it not be too weak to maintain itself as an independent power in a neighbourhood in which the Porte, with a much more favourable position, has already been reduced to an existence by sufferance only? We have lately, it is true, repeatedly beaten the enemy, but it has taxed our utmost strength to do so. The consciousness that our cause was just has alone enabled us to gain these advantages. *If Hungary is separated from Austria, our cause is no longer just; our struggle would no longer be for, but against the law; we should not be fighting for, but against the country; we should be engaged in an assault on the united Austrian monarchy.* In doing so, we would mortally wound innumerable ancient interests and sympathies; we would conjure up against our country the consequences of a revolution uncalled for under any circumstances; we would force the old troops, the very kernel of the army, to violate their oaths, and thus shake their fidelity; we would become weaker every day, while at the same time every neighbouring state would *rise up against us as the disturbers of the balance of power in Europe.* We cannot, it is true, acquiesce in the pretended constitution of 4th March; but can we repudiate it more decisively than by the victories we have gained? Battles won for the legitimate king, Ferdinand V., and the constitution sanctioned by him, are the best answer that Hungary can give to the chimeras of the Austrian ministers.

35. "Of what other use was my proclamation from Waitzen, immediately after the evacuation of the two capitals? It was issued by me because it was the only means of retaining to their colours the old soldiers, the bone and muscle of the army, to whom it had been principally indebted for its successes. What was the object of that demonstration which my corps,

without my knowledge, proposed to make against Dembinski in Kaschau, but their anxiety not to lose a commander who respected their military oaths? I have shared prosperity and adversity with these troops; I know their feelings; and should King Ferdinand V. stand before us now, I would without a moment's hesitation invite him, unarmed and unprotected, to follow me into the camp to receive their homage, certain that no one would refuse to render it to him." *

36. It was too late, however; Kossuth's determination had been already taken; and on the 14th April appeared from the Diet the proclamation of HUNGARIAN INDEPENDENCE. This important instrument set forth that the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine—having been guilty of perjury, made an appeal to arms, and pushed its audacity so far as to strive to detach from Hungary the important provinces of Transylvania, Croatia, Sclavonia, Fiume, and the sea-coast—is hereby declared to have forfeited its rights to the throne of Hungary, and its members are for ever banished from its territory. Hungary, with all its dependencies, was declared an independent state, governed by Kossuth—elected Governor by acclamation, and the universal consent of the nation—on his own responsibility, in concert with his ministers, accountable only to the National Diet, and all the civilised world taken as witnesses of its assuming the rank of an independent power. Every one who should hereafter support the cause of the dethroned house was declared guilty of high treason, and this proclamation was ordered to be sent to every town and village in the kingdom. This proclamation, coming from the National Diet sitting at Debreczin, could not be openly disobeyed by the national forces; but it excited the most profound indignation in the breasts of Georgey, Damjanics, Vecs-

* Speeches of this sort by two persons in private conference are too often spun only out of the author's brain; but in this instance they may be relied on as genuine, being given by Georgey himself in his *Mémoires*, vol. i. pp. 367, 368; and they have never been gainsaid by Kossuth.

zey, Linange, and nearly all the officers of the old Hungarian army, who still had the feelings of loyalty in their hearts, and the initials of their king on their banners; and who combated Ferdinand the Emperor in the name of Ferdinand the King. Thenceforward the ground of the war was entirely changed; it had become not national, but social; the Magyars no longer fought for the ancient cause of Hungarian independence, but the modern one of French democracy. To this change in the spirit and object of the contest, its subsequent calamitous issue to the Hungarians is mainly to be ascribed.

37. If the democratic leaders of the Hungarian Diet threw down the gauntlet boldly to all the monarchical powers of Europe by this declaration of independence, it must be confessed that they made corresponding preparations to support the cause in which they had engaged. Their first care, in imitation of the French Convention, was to declare the government revolutionary—that is, dictatorial and despotic. The absolute power, however, was to continue only as long as the war lasted; it was then to give way to a more regular regime. “The ministry was bound to follow the republican path. They shall oppose with all their strength every reaction in favour of the monarchy, and also every attempt to escape from the organisation of labour by attaching it to property. The ministry is to adopt democratic tendencies in their full extent. All the laws which they shall bring forward shall be with that view: they shall recognise the principle of the sovereignty of the people, and engage to retire rather than depart from it.” The deeds of Kossuth and the ministry did not belie these professions: they were energetic in the extreme. He took possession of the whole specie in the public coffers; issued paper money without bounds, in which all the payments of Government were made; and daily published eloquent proclamations, calling on the friends of freedom all over the world to come forward to

his support. With such success were these efforts attended, that numbers, not only of Hungarians, but Poles, Italians, French, and Irish, flocked to their standards; and in a few weeks the revolutionary Government found itself at the head of 107 battalions, 124 squadrons, and 800 guns, of which 200 were horsed and harnessed and ready for the field. Their forces presented a total of 90,000 infantry, 13,000 cavalry, and 18,000 artillery, great part of which was by this time inured to war.

38. The Austrian Government, hard pressed at this time with the war in Lombardy, had no forces at their disposal capable of making head against such an array. It was hard to say whether Radetsky or Windischgratz was most pressing for reinforcements, or on which side the necessity for them was the greatest; while the Government was reduced to the resources of Upper and Lower Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia, to make head against this hourly-increasing mass of enemies. Assistance from England, so often afforded in former crises, was not to be looked for. Its Government preserved a cold neutrality; its people openly and enthusiastically supported the Hungarian cause. France, distracted by revolutionary passions, was in no condition to afford any effectual succour. The government of the President, as yet feeble, and struggling with an adverse majority in the Chambers, could with difficulty maintain its ground against its domestic enemies. Prussia beheld with secret satisfaction the mortal throes of a power which had so long proved its successful rival in the German Confederacy. In these circumstances, Russia was the only state to whom recourse could be had for assistance, and fortunately her armies were at hand in great strength in Poland, ready to give the required succour. And though it was doubtless a humiliating circumstance for the Cabinet of Vienna to be reduced to the necessity of invoking the aid of a foreign and rival power to make head against its

own subjects, yet the mortification they experienced was much alleviated by the consideration that it was not the rebellious Magyars alone with whom they had to contend, but a coalition of Hungarians, Lombards, Poles, French and German Liberals, who were arrayed against them from every part of Europe.

39. On the other hand, the same considerations which led the Austrian Government to ask, induced the Russian to afford, the requested succour. It was well known that nearly the whole Polish exiles enthusiastically supported the Hungarian cause, as not only were many of their best officers drawn from that brave and enterprising body of men, but great numbers of volunteers were daily crossing the frontier, and carrying into the Magyar ranks the succour of their arms, and the intensity of their hatred at their oppressors. There were many reasons, therefore, to apprehend that the democratic movement, if victorious in Hungary, would speedily cross the Carpathian range, and spread over the Sarmatian plains; and if the interior of Russia were once convulsed, the passage of arms at St Petersburg in 1825 might be renewed, with a different result to the reigning power. Influenced by these considerations, the Cabinet of St Petersburg arrived at the conclusion, which was cordially acquiesced in by the Emperor, that their greatest enemy in Europe was the democratic spirit, and their first duty to suppress it; and that this could never be done so effectually as by powerfully aiding the Austrian Government in their contest with the Hungarian insurgents. Accordingly, the Russian Cabinet resolved to make common cause with the Austrian in the Hungarian war; by a proclamation issued from St Petersburg on 8th May, this determination was announced to Europe; and the Russian army in Poland, one hundred and sixty thousand strong, received orders to cross the frontier, under the command of the veteran Paskewitch, to support the Austrian forces.

40. Long, however, before the Muscovite succour could reach the scene of action on the banks of the Danube, disasters had accumulated to such a degree that it had become evident that, without foreign aid speedily administered, the Austrian Empire would be irrevocably ruined. After the capture of Waitzen, and the driving of the two brigades which defended it back on Gran, Georgey advanced to Leva, crossed the river Gran at three points, and on the 19th April attacked and defeated Wohlgemuth at Nagy Sarlo, who, with a slender corps, was covering the siege of Komorn.* The Austrian general being obliged to retire behind the Waag, the blockade of that fortress, on the left bank of the Danube, was at once raised, and the garrison, under its enterprising commander, Count Guyon, was enabled to take a part in active operations in the open country. On the night of the 25th Georgey threw a bridge over the Danube at Komorn, and, debouching with the main body of Klapka's and Damjanics's corps, attacked on the following day the Austrian blockading force in their lines on the right bank, which he carried, forcing them to retire towards Raab. In this way Georgey, by directing the bulk of his forces on the left bank of the Danube round the bend at Waitzen, so as to turn the Austrian left, and threaten their communications with Vienna, rendered the retention of Pesth and Buda impossible. At the same time the insurgents were daily assuming a more menacing position in central and southern Hungary. Arad was blockaded by a considerable body of their forces. General Leiningen, in haste, and with no small difficulty, threw himself into Temesvar, which was immediately beleaguered, and its garrison

* The division Goritch had advanced from Gran, up the right bank of the river of the same name, to support Wohlgemuth, but was encountered at Kemend on the 20th (the day after the battle of Nagy Sarlo) by the Hungarian 7th corps, defeated, and driven back on the Danube, which it crossed, destroying the pontoon bridge behind it, and taking post in the town of Gran.

kept strictly on the defensive; while General Theodorowitch, assailed near Szegedin by a considerable body of insurgents, was thrown back upon the Danube. The detachments of Generals Nugent and Mamula, threatened with destruction, were driven towards Servia, and the frontiers of that province and Croatia were at all points laid bare to the incursions of the insurgents.

41. In these circumstances it was altogether impossible for the Austrian general to retain possession of Pesth; for though the force under his immediate command was superior to the corps of Hungarians by which it was immediately threatened, yet the three corps under Georgey, which had turned his left flank, and threatened to interpose between him and Vienna, rendered any further stay there hazardous in the extreme. Orders were therefore given for the evacuation of that capital, which was carried into effect on the 23d April. This necessarily led to the dislocation of the Imperial army—Welden, with the main body, falling back towards Raab and the Austrian frontier; Jellachich descending the right bank of the Danube, so as to cover Croatia. The defence of Buda was intrusted to General Hentzi with a brigade of veterans, who, it was hoped, would be able to maintain it till the Russian succours arrived; and Welden himself, with the rest of the army, now not more than eighteen thousand strong, took the road to Raab. Jellachich with his corps was directed to descend the Danube to Esseeck with the heavy artillery and stores of the army, which were transported by water to that fortress. Welden's division was to retreat by the right bank of the Danube, so as to neutralise in some degree the advance of Georgey along the left bank, and having reached Gran, to form a junction there with the division of Csoritch, which, since the evacuation of Waitzen, had occupied a position on the bank of the river opposite that town, and operate from thence against Georgey's rear. But this design was soon found to be impracticable. The

Imperial army marched out of Pesth in the deepest dejection on the 23d April, and found that Csoritch had already been forced by Georgey to pass over to the right bank of the Danube, and, to avoid pursuit, to break down the bridge behind him. This rendered the projected movement from Gran across the Danube against the Hungarian rear impossible. An immediate retreat by Raab to Presburg, and concentration of their whole forces there, alone remained practicable to cover Vienna. This was accordingly done, and Hungary entirely evacuated by the Imperial forces, with the exception of the fortresses of Buda, Arad, Temesvár, Karlowitz, and Deva, which, held by slender garrisons, still remained in their hands. On the other hand, the Hungarians, in possession, on the west, of the important fortress of Komorn, in the south of Peterwaradein, and sheltered on the north by the Carpathian range, occupied a central position eminently advantageous for resisting the attacks either of the Austrian or the Muscovite forces.

42. The left wing of the Hungarian army, under Aulich, entered Pesth in great pomp and in the highest spirits on the 24th April, and immediately commenced the investment of Buda, which lies on the opposite bank of the Danube, within half cannon-shot, and completely commands the capital. Unbounded enthusiasm, both in the troops and the inhabitants, followed their entry; Hungary seemed to be delivered, and the war ended, now that their beloved capital was again in their hands. But when the leaders of the democratic and aristocratic parties met in council to deliberate on ulterior operations, the old discussion between them broke out with more violence than ever. "Kossuth forgot," said Georgey, "that Hungary, if it strove to be independent of Austria, resembled a fool who should wish to separate his head and arms from his trunk, that he might be able to walk about more easily. Kossuth has dug an impassable abyss between the king and us; Kossuth will ruin the coun-

try." "Georgey," added Damjanics, "will recover what Kossuth has lost; and for my part, I will march with my grenadiers to Debreczin and fall with the bayonet on all the declaimers in the Diet." But Kossuth took the opposite side, and insisted on the necessity of securing Buda as a centre of operations and rallying-point for the country before proceeding further. "What avails victory," said he, "if, immured as we are up to the knees in mud, we cannot enjoy the fruits of our triumphs? A district without a capital is not a country; Buda is our fatherland; let all arms be turned against it." Georgey at first combated this opinion, for he clearly saw that, in a strategical point of view, every moment was precious, and that if, in the present weakened state of the Austrian army, they marched at once on Vienna, merely masking Buda, the Austrian capital would fall, and the empire be destroyed. But the want of ammunition rendered an immediate advance impossible, and ere a fresh supply came up, political considerations induced the Hungarian general to abandon his military advantage and adopt the views of Kossuth. It has been already mentioned that the Hungarian army was divided into two parties—one consisting of the old soldiers who fought for Hungarian independence under the ancient constitution, and with a personal connection with the Austrian Emperor as King of Hungary; the other composed of the new levies desiring to make Hungary an independent kingdom, under a republican government, and to overturn the Austrian Empire. Georgey was the leader of the first, Kossuth of the second party. Georgey relied mainly on the support of the old soldiers to carry on the contest, and he believed that any attempt to make them cross the frontier and march against Vienna to dethrone the Emperor would lead to a revolt—that so long as the contest was carried on in Hungary for its independence the army would remain united, but that as soon as an offensive campaign out of Hungary was attempted it would fall to pieces. Influenced

by these considerations, Georgey determined to undertake the siege of Buda and arrest the advance of the Magyars until it was taken.* He was convinced that, in a military point of view, he was committing a great error—an opinion in which the best military authorities agree—but he obeyed a political necessity to save the rising fortunes of the state from disruption.†

43. The siege of Buda being resolved on, the Hungarian siege-train was brought up from the rear. The place was summoned on the 4th May, and Georgey, who came down to it from Komorn with the corps of Klapka and Damjanics, established his headquarters at Schwabenberg, in the vicinity, as well to cover the siege as to superintend the operations. The garrison consisted of three thousand men, with fifteen field-pieces and seventy-five guns of heavy calibre, with ammunition and provisions for two months. To the summons to surrender, the Governor Hentzi replied: "The Emperor, my august master, has intrusted to me the keys of Buda; I will return them to him alone. Meanwhile my honour and duty command me to defend the fortress, and I will do so to the last man. If the twin cities perish in the conflict, I declare you responsible for their ruin: I appeal to God, my right, and my sword. Long live

* Georgey's reasons for this momentous step are thus stated by himself: "The motives which decided me to abandon the idea of an uninterrupted prosecution of our offensive operations against the hostile main army were mainly of a political nature. My personal conviction of the impossibility of inducing those parts of the main army which were opposed to the law of the 14th April (the declaration of Hungarian independence), even assuming the most favourable course of the proposed operations on the line to Raab, to prosecute them beyond the frontier of the country, led me—considering the insignificant military importance of the western frontier of Hungary on the right bank of the Danube—to perceive that the final strategic aim, which ought to have formed the basis of those operations, was wanting."—GEORGEY'S *Mémoires*, ii. 14, 19.

† "C'en était fait peut-être de la monarchie Autrichienne, si l'insurrection, au lieu d'hésiter, eut résolument marché sur Vienne; si surtout la Russie n'eût pas été prête à agiter son épée du côté de la faiblesse et du droit."—TOLSTOY, p. 62.

the Emperor!" The acts of the brave Austrian did not belie these gallant words. Siege operations were commenced by the Magyars on the 4th May, and from that time till the 12th there was an incessant combat of the outposts, sustained on either side with equal intrepidity. On the 12th the breaching batteries were opened at five hundred yards from the gate of Stuhlweissenburg; and from that time till the 17th, an incessant fire was kept up night and day on both sides, which speedily wrapped both capitals in flames. By the lurid glare of the conflagration the gunners on either part pointed their pieces; and with such effect was the cannonade maintained that on the evening of the 17th the breach was declared practicable. Upon this Georgy gave the signal for assault; and at four on the following morning four columns moved forward to the attack. The first, however, missed its way in the dark; the scaling-ladders of the others were too short; and the assault was repulsed at all points with great slaughter. Taught by this failure the quality of the antagonists with whom he had to deal, Georgy renewed his operations with larger force. The fire continued with the utmost vigour till the night of the 21st. At midnight thirty-four battalions, numbering twenty thousand combatants, were in the trenches for the assault; and the leading columns rushed forward to the breach to the sound of the martial music of all the bands placed behind the lines, which played the patriotic march of Rakotzy. The Croats, headed by Hentzi, met them with equal resolution on the rampart; the conflict was long and doubtful; but at length, the brave Austrian general having been mortally wounded on the breach as he was encouraging his men to combat to the last, the pass was carried, and the place fell. The garrison, after the bloody strife was ended, was not put to the sword, as had been threatened, much to the honour of Georgy and the Magyars, who were much exasperated by the bombardment of Pesth, which they re-

garded, not without reason, as an unnecessary exercise of military severity.

44. While this important success was being achieved in the centre, Poltenberg, who now commanded the Hungarian right, consisting of the 7th corps, had advanced from Komorn to Raab, where he established himself. The whole right bank of the Danube had been evacuated by the Imperialists as far as Presburg, but they still held the left bank down to the confluence of the Waag, and the command of both was essential to a safe advance against Vienna. Georgy, accordingly, immediately after the fall of Buda, directed the three corps composing the besieging army to cross to the left bank of the Danube at Gran, and march upon the Waag. Before the middle of June this movement was completed, and the Hungarian army established *à cheval* on the Danube; their right, consisting of the 1st, 2d, and 3d corps, observing the course of the lower Waag; the centre, composed of the 8th corps, holding Komorn, and connecting the two wings; the left, formed by the 7th corps, guarding the line of the Raab; the whole (including the garrison of Komorn) forming a mass of about 55,000 men. The fall of Buda, and subsequent concentration of the Hungarian army on the lines of the Waag and the Raab, excited the utmost consternation at Vienna, and the headquarters of the army were withdrawn to Presburg, within a few leagues of the capital, where the most energetic efforts were made by the Government, warmly seconded by the citizens, to reinforce it by every disposable man and gun.

45. Successes also of a less material but still important kind were gained by the Magyars in the south. Jellachich arrived at Esseeck on 9th May, and there, found the corps which had been left to guard the frontiers of Croatia and Slavonia almost destroyed. Colonel Puffer, after having been rudely handled by Perczel, could hardly muster 2000 men around Karlowitz; and Mayerhofer was shut up in Semlin, before Belgrade, with 1200.

This was all that remained of 12,000 men who had been left in the south, under Theodorowitch, to guard the left bank of the Danube; and who had been driven back in person with a small force to Panesova. Before Peterwaradein, Colonel Mannula, with 2000 men, maintained the blockade in strong intrenchments, constructed with skill and defended with resolution. These trifling bands were the sole obstacles which prevented the insurgents of central Hungary, 30,000 strong, from throwing themselves on Slavonia and Croatia. Nothing, in these circumstances, could be hoped from the south; the deliverance of Vienna, and salvation of the Empire, could be looked for only from the north.

46. Fully sensible of the extreme danger of their situation, the Cabinet of Vienna were unremitting in their efforts to bring into immediate operation the succour of the Russians, as well as to recruit their army with every disposable man to fill up the wide chasm produced by the losses of the war. The plan of operations concerted between the Cabinets of Vienna and St Petersburg was this: A Russian corps concentrated at Dukla in Galicia, under Field-Marshal Paskewitch, was to penetrate through the Carpathian Mountains, and descend on central Hungary. A second Rus-

sian corps, under the orders of General Luders, was to enter Transylvania by Kronstadt and the Rothenthurm Pass, and co-operate with another Russian corps, which was to advance from the Bukowina on Bistritz, and an Austrian division, under General Clamm, composed of the slender remains of Pückner's corps. The main Austrian army, which had recently been put under the orders of Baron Haynau, reinforced by the veteran Russian division Paniutine, was to form the third attacking column which was to penetrate into Hungary from the westward in the vicinity of Raab. A detachment under General Grabbe was to form a link of communication between these distant though converging columns, by operating in the valley of the Waag and on the plateau of the Schemnitz. The forces which the Russians brought to support this intervention were immense, and forcibly illustrated the disastrous effects of those democratic transports, which, spreading as from a common centre from Paris, had thus a second time brought the forces of the desert to decide the strife of civilisation. They amounted in all to 161,800 men,—almost exactly the number of Russians which, in its final result, the first Revolution brought to the plains of Ver-tus in Champagne.

CHAPTER LXXV.

RUSSIAN INTERVENTION IN HUNGARY, AND TERMINATION OF THE WAR.

1. IMMENSE as was the addition which the accession of Russia made to the power of Austria, the chances of the conflict to the Hungarians were by no means so unequal as might at first appear, and not nearly so much so as those of Frederick the Great had been in Prussia in the Seven Years' War, or those of Wellington in Por-

tugal in that of the Revolution. The Hungarian forces on paper amounted to 190,000 men, and they could bring of these 120,000 effective into the field. They had an inexhaustible supply of siege-artillery and 200 field-pieces, admirably horsed and equipped ready for action. Their central position, covered by several strong for-

trusses, amply supplied with all the means of defence, gave them the great strategical advantage which Goniüs has so often made to compensate inferiority of numbers, of having an interior line of communication to move over, while the enemy was toiling round an outer and longer line. They were under the orders of Georgey, a general of first-rate abilities, admirably qualified to make the most of every advantage which chance or situation might present; and if he gained any considerable success, a second revolution was sure to break out in Vienna, and all Germany be again involved in bloodshed and conflagration. The greatest drawback to these chances of success were the loss of Damjanics and Aulich, his best generals, who had both been disabled in this desperate warfare, and the dissension between Georgey and Kossuth, which had now reached such a pitch that the former declined the rank of field-marshal, lieutenant, and the order of the first class of military merit, tendered to him by the latter.

2. The generals whom Austria and Russia had to oppose to these formidable forces were worthy of the task to which they were called. In the front rank must be placed Haynau and Paskewitch. JULES BARON HAYNAU, born at Cassel, in Electoral Hesse, in 1786, of an ancient family, entered the Austrian service in 1801, and rapidly rose to distinction. He was in the front successively at Nordlingen and Wagram in 1809, and was wounded on both occasions. He was present in the chief battles of 1813 and 1814, and rapidly rose from merit through the various steps of the Imperial army. Already marshal-lieutenant in 1844, and distinguished at Verona in 1848, it was his charge which, in the critical moment, decided the battle of Custoza. He was subsequently distinguished both at Brescia and Malghera in the second Italian war. His stature was tall, his carriage military and imposing; and he had in full perfection the firm determination, the iron will, which, in military not less than civil affairs, is

so important an element in success. This disposition led him, in the close of the contest, into acts of severity which history must regret, but which the Hungarians had little right to condemn, for it was only an application to them of the inhuman acts with which they had commenced the contest. If, however, it be true, as the Hungarian writers assert, that he put in force an old law of Hungary which allowed women to be flogged for certain offences, and permitted the infliction of that punishment on a lady of family concerned in the insurrection, he was guilty of a crime which nothing can justify, and history must unqualifiedly condemn. When the young Emperor, in his extremest need, informed him that he had intrusted to his hands the salvation of the Empire, he answered, "And I shall save it, unless a cannon-ball reserve that honour to some one more fortunate than myself." "I have full confidence," replied the Emperor, "in your energy, your experience, and your fortune."

3. Born on the 8th May 1782, at Pultowa, in Little Russia, already celebrated in Russian annals, of a noble family settled there for three hundred years, FIELD-MARSHAL PASKEWITCH entered the army on leaving the situation of page in the palace in 1800, under the auspices of the Emperor Paul, and made his first essay in arms on the field of Austerlitz in 1805. In 1806 he distinguished himself in the bloody war with the Turks, and gained such reputation that he was intrusted with an important command in the Russian army in the invasion of 1812, and led the Russian centre at Smolensko in that year. He was not less fortunate in the campaigns of 1813 and 1814 in Germany and France; he was intrusted with the command of the Russian army in 1826, 1827, and 1828, in Persia, and subsequently called to repair the errors of Diebitch, and restore the lustre of the Russian arms in Poland in 1831. He possessed a rare combination of all the qualities which constitute a great general; but

among these he was pre-eminently distinguished by the two most important—caution and foresight in laying plans, and promptitude and vigour in carrying them into execution. As a natural consequence of this union, he was almost uniformly successful in all his enterprises; and this inspired the soldiers with unbounded confidence in his capacity and fortune. Severe in enforcing discipline, but equitable in considering particular cases, he with reason regarded self-control and obedience as the first of military virtues. Not less just and generous than brave, he was ever humane. After the combat was over, no acts of unnecessary severity sullied his victories; and he exhibited through life the most shining example of the practical adoption as a rule of conduct of the maxim, “Noblesse oblige.”

4. The troops on both sides remained in a state of constrained inactivity, so far as the principal armies were concerned, for six weeks after the taking of Buda, preparing on either for the new and more terrible strife which was approaching. The Austrians, evacuating Raab, which was occupied by the Hungarians, had concentrated at Presburg, ready to resume offensive operations when the principal Russian army was prepared to cross the Carpathians. Haynau's army was, by great exertions, raised to four corps, commanded by Schlick, Csoritch, Schwarzenberg, and Wohlgemuth; it contained 70 battalions, 76 squadrons, and 288 guns—mustering 60,000 men, of whom 8000 were cavalry. The corps of Schlick and Schwarzenberg were on the right, those of Wohlgemuth and Csoritch on the left bank of the Danube. To these, however, were added, before the campaign commenced, the Russian division Paniutine, which came up with great expedition, and proved of the most essential service in the course of the campaign. It numbered 8000 combatants, and was composed of the very flower of the Muscovite forces. The principal Russian army, under Field-Marshal Paskewitch, which was destined to cross the Carpathian Mountains from Galicia, and carry

the war into central Hungary, was composed of three corps, each consisting of three divisions of infantry and one of cavalry. These corps mustered in all 76,000 combatants. Thus, between the two grand armies, 140,000 men were arrayed to invade Hungary from the west and north-east respectively, independent of the corps of Jellachich in Croatia and the Russians in Wallachia, which, taken together, might amount to 40,000 men. . .

5. The forces which the Hungarians had at length, by great exertions, raised to meet this formidable coalition, were on paper hardly inferior in number. They were divided into four armies, commanded respectively by Georgey in person, Dembinski, Perczel, and Bem, besides a corps of reserve. The entire force presented a total of 174 battalions, 138 squadrons, and 488 guns, harnessed for the field—mustering 94,000 infantry, 21,000 cavalry, and 22,000 artillery. To these might be added 27,000 irregular corps and garrisons in Buda, Peterwaradein, Komorn, and Arad, which formed the principal *points d'appui* of the insurrection. The main armies, under Georgey and Dembinski, were destined to make head against the two great hosts of Haynau and Paskewitch. The former, stationed on the Upper Danube, in front of Presburg, consisted of 61 battalions, 72 squadrons, and 209 guns, and mustered 29,000 infantry, 8000 cavalry, and 9000 artillery. The second corps, under Dembinski, at Eperies, styled the Army of the North, was less numerous; it consisted of 24 battalions, 12 squadrons, and 57 guns; it could not assemble more than 20,000 combatants. Bem's forces in Transylvania contained 47 battalions, 29 squadrons, and 202 guns, numbering 34,000 effective men. Perczel's corps, in the Bannat, contained 32 battalions, 28 squadrons, and 88 guns; it could bring 24,000 men into the field.

6. Georgey at this juncture had firmly resolved to publish a declaration, saying, “The declaration of independence is invalid; long live the constitution of 1848!” and to have

dispersed, at the point of the bayonet, the democrats who signed the declaration of independence. But to the realisation of this project it was indispensable that the enemy should be driven beyond the frontier; and this was no easy matter; for the jealousy of Kossuth, and his suspicion of the hostile designs of Georgey, deprived the latter of the force requisite for a successful advance. This explains what would be otherwise inexplicable—viz., the inactivity of the Hungarians in the interval between the fall of Buda on the 28th May, and the arrival of the Russian division at Haynau's headquarters on the 14th June, which, for the first time, put him in a condition to make head against them. This interval was big with the fate of Hungary and of Europe; for, beyond all doubt, had Kossuth, in those three precious weeks before the arrival of the first Russian reinforcements, placed the bulk of the Hungarian forces at Georgey's disposal, that general would have driven the Imperialists back to Vienna and carried that capital. But Kossuth dreaded Georgey even more than the Russians; and, accordingly, the latter tells us that his inactivity during this momentous interval was owing to the want of ammunition, and the wretched condition of the new levies forwarded to him by the Government, great part of whom were unable to take the field, being hardly in a condition to go through the first rudiments of military drill. To this fatal conduct—the direct consequence of Kossuth's unjustifiable usurpation of the government—the loss of the cause of Hungarian independence is mainly to be ascribed.*

7. The division Paniutine arrived at Presburg on the 14th June, and

operations commenced on the 16th to the north of the Danube, on the banks of the Waag, where the Hungarians had established bridges, and passed over two corps with which they were preparing to push forward towards Vienna, in order to drive the enemy over the frontier. After several combats with various success, the Austrians concentrated Wohlgemuth's corps and Paniutine's division behind the Waag, and offered the Hungarians battle. Twelve battalions of Paniutine's division formed the centre. Georgey was inferior in force, but being unwilling to withdraw his troops, without fighting, to the left bank of the Waag, which they had crossed, he determined to stand the shock. The Hungarian leader rode on the morning of the 21st in front of his lines at Pered, bidding his men recollect Buda and the glories of their ancestors. The conflict for some hours was very warm, and the result doubtful. Several squadrons of Magyars charged with extreme impetuosity, and broke some Austrian battalions; Georgey for a short time flattered himself with the hopes of decisive success. Vain hope! The Hungarian left was outflanked by the capture of the village of Kiralyrew by the Austrian right; their centre, after being shaken by the fire of twenty-four guns on its left flank, and the advance by two brigades on its right, was finally routed by a charge of Paniutine's cuirassiers, supported by two Russian battalions and four guns. The Russian general upon this assumed a vigorous offensive, and after a sharp conflict drove the enemy out of the village of Pered, and took four guns. At the same time the Hungarian right, threatened with being turned by the

* "By the middle of June, scarce half the promised recruits for the main army were on the spot, and the formation of the reserve corps was in a still worse plight; for the recruits already raised were not, as Szemere had affirmed, awaiting their destination. On the contrary, the *cadres* of the battalions had to await the results of the levy only just set on foot, while of the supplies necessary for clothing, arming, and equipping these men, no traces were to be seen till about the middle of June. Not less base than the

official assurances of Szemere and Kossuth respecting it, had the latter's stereotyped asseveration, constantly recurring since the beginning of April, proved to be, that the army was to be reinforced by from twelve to sixteen thousand men, who, it was said, were unnecessary to Field-Marshal-Lieut. Bem. I saw at last—too late, unfortunately—that I had acted imprudently in delaying the long-intended offensive movement even for a single day—from relying on Kossuth's and Szemere's promises."—GEORGEY, ii. 116, 117.

brigades Pott and Perin, fell back at all points, and their whole army recrossed the Waag, the fatal limit of their conquests. In this battle the Hungarians lost 2500 men and the prestige of victory. Thus early in the contest did the value of the Russian veterans of Panintine appear.

8. While hostilities were thus commencing on the Waag, the main Russian army under Paskewitch was concentrated at Dukla, immediately to the north of the Carpathian Mountains. The three corps of which it was composed broke up on the 17th June in three columns, and commenced the march into Hungary. They experienced no serious resistance in the passes of the mountains, though the strongest of them had been armed with fortifications. The Hungarians, now under Vysocki, 20,000 strong, retired before them, and the Russian advanced-guard arrived at Miskolcz. There, however, they encountered a more serious enemy than the bayonets of the Hungarians, in the form of the cholera, which broke out with such violence in the army that in a few days it carried off 5000 men. Constrained to halt his main body by this terrible disaster, Paskewitch despatched one corps to cross the Theiss at Tokay, in order to threaten Debreczin. The bridge at that place having been broken down, a hundred Cossacks stripped off their clothes, took their sabres in their teeth, and swam across. The Magyars, astonished at this act on the part of these hardy children of the desert, abandoned their defensive position on the left bank, and Tchoudaëff, having thrown a bridge over, advanced to Debreczin, which he entered on the 6th July. The occupation of this city—the cradle of the insurrection, and so long the seat of government—spread general consternation in central Hungary, and, by diffusing the belief that the cause was hopeless, powerfully contributed to check the formation of the new levies and volunteer corps which was going on in the interior. The Russian troops preserved the most rigid discipline, and

protected both the persons and property of the inhabitants; which furnished a striking contrast to the savage atrocities which had signalled the passage of the Magyars through the same city some months previously.

9. Haynau, having concentrated the whole Austrian main army at Presburg, now vigorously assumed the offensive on the right bank of the Danube, and his advanced-guard, under Schlick, arrived before Raab on the 27th June, driving before it the Hungarian corps of Poltenberg, 12,000 strong. The young Emperor of Austria, who was full of military ardour, soon after arrived at headquarters, and put himself at the head of his troops. He was most anxious to lead the storming party, but the unnecessary risk thence arising was saved by the retreat of the Hungarians, and Schlick, attended by the Emperor, entered Raab on the 28th June, after a brave but not very prolonged resistance. At the same time the Emperor of Russia repaired in person to Dukla, where he passed in review the numerous reserve corps of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, which were daily passing through that town on their way to join the grand army. On the other side Kossuth, with his lady, who sat on his right, made a triumphant entry into Pesth, in an open chariot drawn by four splendid horses, his head crowned with laurel, attended by a magnificent *cortège* of Magyar nobles on foot and horseback, and the whole troops in either capital, amidst the cheers of the multitude, and the roar of artillery on both sides the Danube.

10. Sanguinary engagements soon succeeded the approach of the chiefs on either side to the theatre of war. The insurgents, pressed by Haynau with the grand Austrian army in front and flank, had retired from Raab to Komorn. Before their arrival at that place they were joined by two corps from the opposite bank of the Danube, raising their force to nearly 30,000 men. A furious combat took place at the conclusion of this retrograde movement on the 2d July. It began by an attack on the Austrian advanced-

guard, consisting of Schlick's corps, which was suddenly assailed as it issued forth from the forest of Harkaly by Georgey in person, at the head of the whole Hungarian horse, supported by the corps of Poltenberg. So violent was the onset that the Imperialists were driven back in utter confusion to Acz, and Schlick sent the most urgent entreaties to Paniutine to come up to his assistance. The Russian general, without waiting orders from his general-in-chief, hastened to his aid, and arrived just in time to save the Austrians from a total defeat. Georgey, who charged at the head of his hussars like a simple colonel, and fought in the *mêlée* with the energy of a private soldier, was wounded in the head, and taken from the field insensible. His fall, and the vigour of Paniutine's attack, restored the fortunes of the day. The Russian guns, placed on some sandhills, opened a heavy fire on the Hungarian columns when disordered by victory. The result was decisive. The Hungarians, after an obstinate resistance, were obliged to abandon the field of battle, and retire on their intrenchments under the cannon of Komorn, leaving the Imperialists the entire command of the forest of Acz, which was indispensable to the blockade of that fortress. In this hard-fought action, which did equal honour to the troops on either side, the loss to each was 1500 men.

11. After this check, Klapka, taking the wounded Georgey with him, withdrew into an intrenched camp in front of Komorn. The Russian army under Paskewitch was now at Miskolez, that of Haynau before Komorn; each, but more especially the former, largely outnumbering the Hungarian force opposed to it. Under these circumstances, Kossuth and his military adviser Dembinski resolved to withdraw the army of Georgey from the Upper Danube, and that of Vysocki, who now commanded the corps opposed to Paskewitch, from the Upper Theiss, and to unite their whole forces at Szegedin on the Lower Theiss, in the central position formed by the junction of

that river with the Maros. To this Georgey was strongly opposed. He held that Komorn was the best strategic position in Hungary, and that the plan formed on the possession of an interior line of communications, which presented most chances of success, was for Vysocki to unite with him by forced marches, and for both to throw themselves upon the grand Austrian army before the Russians came up. To this Kossuth would by no means agree, as it involved the resignation of his communications with Transylvania and the Turkish frontier; and so indignant was he, that, as will be hereafter shown, he deprived Georgey of the command of his army, and that general retained it only in consequence of the evident determination of his troops to obey no other leader. It was finally arranged, in a council of war held at Komorn on the 6th July, to unite the army of the Upper Danube with the Hungarian forces on the Lower Theiss; but to allow Georgey, in the first instance, to try the result of an attack, with his own troops alone, upon that of Haynau. Meanwhile Perczel's corps, and the whole new levies in the interior, were to move on Debreczin, drive the Russians from that town, and restore the communication of the army with Bem in Transylvania; and Vysocki was to fall back towards Ketskemet, on the road from Szegedin to Pesth. The movement of Georgey took place on the 11th July. The Magyar general issued forth from the intrenched camp, on the right bank of the Danube, with forces superior to the Austrians, for he had 53 battalions, 70 squadrons, and 206 guns; while Haynau had only 53 battalions, 49 squadrons, and 176 guns. The Imperial battalions, too, were very incomplete, for 16,000 sick encumbered their hospitals, occasioned by the heat of the weather and the fatigue of the troops. The third corps of the Austrians was marching on Pesth, and could not take a part in the action.

12. Klapka commanded in the battle, as Georgey's wound prevented him from sitting on horseback. The object

of the attack was to gain the entire course of the Czonekzo brook from its mouth to Igmand, which would compel the Austrians to evacuate their position, which surrounded the intrenched camp. The Hungarians had the advantage of a central position and interior line of communication. At nine in the morning the Magyars, preceded by a numerous cavalry, debouched in dense columns from the *tête-de-pont*, and planted twenty batteries in position in the forest of Harkaly, while Haynau at the first cannon-shot hurried to the spot, and hastily drew up his troops in order of battle. The first onset of the Hungarians was so impetuous that the Austrians were entirely routed in the centre, and the village of Csem, the key of the position, was carried. All seemed lost, for a huge gap had been made in the middle of the Imperialist line, into which the Hungarian columns, with loud shouts, and in all the confidence of victory, were rapidly pouring. But in that extremity the Austrian support, with the Russian division of Paniutine, and all the reserve guns, hastened to the spot, and met the advancing column with the discharge of eighty pieces of cannon, "the fire of which," says Klapka, "caused the very earth to shake." The Austrians kept their ground, the Hungarians did the same; but they did not advance,—and this to them was equivalent to a defeat. Fresh troops came up to take the place of those which were weakened on either side, but the Imperialists were strongest, and at length began to prevail in the centre. General Leiningen, seeing this, placed himself at the head of the Hungarian reserve, and made a furious charge on the Austrian centre. It was attended at first with great success. But here again the Russian division Paniutine interposed with decisive effect, and changed the face of the day. Their guns, suddenly brought up, opened with terrible effect on the Hungarian flank; Georgey, wounded as he was, appeared on the field, and strove to rally his shattered columns; and after the most heroic efforts on

both sides, the Hungarians were repulsed, and the Austrians remained masters of this hard-fought field.

13. In this obstinate battle the Austrians lost 64 officers and 1536 men, and, including the Russian loss, they were weakened by full 2000 men, which was also the amount of the Hungarian casualties. But the consequences of the action were eminently disastrous to the latter. Foiled in his attempt to drive them from their position before Komorn, or arrest the march of the corps despatched against Pesth, which entered that capital on the 12th, Georgey, who had now so far recovered as to resume the command-in-chief of the army, threw Klapka, with 18,000 men and 76 field-pieces, into that great fortress, while he himself, with 28,000, moved as rapidly as possible by the left bank of the Danube to Waitzen, hoping to anticipate there the Russian advanced-guard of Paskewitch's army under General Sass, which was approaching by forced marches along the Gyöngyös road to the same town. The object was of vital importance; for if the Russians made themselves masters of that town, they were interposed between Georgey and Vysocki, the Hungarian forces were cut in two, and all the advantages of their central position lost. Arrived in front of Waitzen on the 15th July, Georgey found the town occupied by a *Mussulman* regiment, forming the advanced-guard of Sass's column, which had entered it without resistance.

14. Having collected all his disposable troops, the Hungarian general marched upon Waitzen with 30,000 men and 120 pieces of cannon. On his approach the Russian light-horse retired through the town, and the Hungarians took a position in front of and on a ridge of low hills, which were lined by their numerous artillery. The Russian cavalry, supported by a brigade of infantry under General Rudiger, and transported by ardour, assaulted this position before the main body of their infantry arrived; but the Hungarian guns were too heavy for them, and they were repulsed with serious

loss. Next day, however (July 16), the heads of the infantry column began to appear, and entered into action, having made a forced march of eight German, or *thirty-two English, miles*, in twelve hours. The Grand-Duke Constantine led one of the attacking columns, and showed an example to the troops of the most distinguished valour. For some hours the Hungarians opposed a desperate resistance, and held the position, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Muscovites. But they fought only to cover the retreat of their main body, which defiled through the town all night without intermission, and next morning their position, so obstinately contested on the preceding day, was found to be deserted. The town of Waitzen was immediately occupied, and the main body of the Magyar army retired in good order, by a circuitous mountain road, through Losonc and Miskolcz, towards the Theiss.

15. Another desperate and bloody action took place a few days after between the second Russian corps, which Paskewitch had moved up to support Rudiger at Waitzen, and the corps of Perczel, which the Hungarians sent to intercept it.* On this occasion the Magyars were superior in numbers, having 15,000 infantry and 5000 horse, with 14 guns, while the Russians were only 16,000 of all arms. The Russian advanced-guard consisted of two regiments of cavalry, under Count Tolstoy. It was suddenly assailed on all sides at Zombor on the 20th by the Hungarian horse, which charged with the utmost vigour, and, having cut off the detachment, summoned it to surrender. But the Russians indignantly rejected the proposal, and, closing their ranks, prepared to perish to the last man in defence of their standards. Their resolution met with the deserved reward. Tolstoy had a trifling reserve, which he directed by a skilful charge on the flank of the enemy, and the

shock was so violent that the Hungarian hussars yielded, and time was gained for the arrival of a division of infantry, which, by a heavy fire, completed the discomfiture of the enemy. The Hungarian main army under Dembinski, disconcerted by this repulse, retired towards Szegedin, not without experiencing considerable losses in their retreat.

16. During these repeated disasters the utmost discouragement prevailed at Pesth, where the dissension between the national party headed by Georgey, and the democratic led by Kossuth, was daily becoming more violent. Disturbances broke out, and Kossuth, with the Government, deeming themselves no longer in safety in the capital, retired to Szegedin, and both Buda and Pesth were occupied, as already mentioned, on the 12th July, by the Austrians. In vain Kossuth strove to revive the spirits of the people by a proclamation, in which he announced that the "brave French, and the not less brave English, were marching to their support, and would not permit them to be crushed in an unequal contest." Every one saw that such succour, even if sent, would come too late, and that the existence of Hungary could not be prolonged beyond a few weeks. Georgey, with military frankness, explained the real state of affairs in a council of war. "Before long," said he, "the converging march of the Imperial armies will bring us into a situation in which we must either capitulate or be killed to the last man. The loss of Hungary is now only a question of weeks, which time will soon resolve. But if Hungary is to fall, it is of little importance whether it is to sink before Austria or Russia; whether Haynau or Paskewitch is to deal out the last blow. What we are really interested in knowing is, to which of these powers we shall be assigned on a partition of the division of the spoil—what we require to see is, to which our dying efforts may cause us to fall." Instructed by his spies of the gloomy view which the commander-in-chief took of their affairs, Paskewitch despatched (19th July) several secret

* The Russians having withdrawn their troops from Debreczin, the movement of Perczel upon that town was no longer necessary, and his corps consequently remained under Dembinski's orders.

emissaries with proposals for him to capitulate on honourable terms, and terminate a contest which all must see was hopeless. But though no one was better aware of this than Georgey, he answered (July 24) as became a soldier and a man of honour. "If I alone was concerned individually, and the safety of my troops, I should not be disinclined to listen to the proposals of the Emperor of Russia. But the salvation of Hungary is at stake, the existence of which the Emperor of Russia, and those about him, intend to destroy. We must fight, therefore, until our peaceful fellow-citizens are saved from the danger of subjugation, or we ourselves are destroyed in the struggle. This is my answer as a soldier, and the commander of the troops intrusted to me by the State."

17. Kossuth, who feared Georgey even more than the Russians, had seized the opportunity of the wound of the latter at the battle of Acz to remove him (1st July) from the command of the army, and recall him to headquarters to discharge the duties of minister-at-war. This recall from active service was a thunderbolt to the brave general, and a very different result from what he expected from his glorious efforts, as his wound by no means disabled him from retaining the command. But his staff, who were highly indignant at this dismissal, sent Klapka and Nagy Sandor to the Government, who laid before them such accounts of the feelings of the army on the subject, that Kossuth deemed it prudent to dissemble, and Georgey was (July 8th) restored to the command of the army of the Upper Danube. He resigned, however, the post of minister-at-war, and General Mezaros was appointed commander-in-chief. Soon after Kossuth offered Bem the situation of commander-in-chief, but that able officer, who well knew how much the common cause had suffered from the alteration of military movements by the civil authorities, refused to accept it, unless he was left supreme and absolutely uncontrolled in his movements. This the tribune was not prepared to admit, and according-

ly the negotiation with Bem came to nothing, and Georgey retained the command of the army of the Upper Danube, while Dembinski held that of the troops concentrated on the Lower Theiss.

18. By the result of the movements which have been described, the Austrians and Russians had not only themselves gained a very great strategic advantage, but they had deprived the Hungarians of the chief one which they had hitherto enjoyed, and which had been the main cause of the comparative equality with which they had maintained the contest. In the outset of the campaign with the Russians, the latter threatened Hungary from the Carpathian Mountains on the north-east, and the Austrians from the side of Vienna on the west; but the Hungarians held the whole country between the two, and enjoyed the advantage of a central position and interior line of communication, supported by strong fortresses, which would enable them to accumulate their forces at pleasure against either of their assailants, before the latter could by possibility effect a corresponding junction of forces on their side. But by the result of the combined movements of Paskewitch and Haynau, this advantage had not only been lost to the insurgents, but it had been gained to their opponents. By the advance of the latter on the right bank of the Danube to Pesth, and the descent of the former from the Carpathian Mountains into the central plain between that capital and the Theiss, the invading armies had entered into direct communication in the heart of Hungary; while Georgey's army had been driven into a wide and eccentric retreat through the Carpathian Mountains before he could rejoin the army of Dembinski, which had retired to the south to Szegedin to cover the seat of government. The Hungarian armies were thus scattered by the blows delivered at the heart of their country; Georgey was in the Carpathian Mountains, Dembinski on the frontiers of Croatia, Bem in Transylvania, while the Aus-

trians and Russians occupied the great plain of central Hungary.

19. Georgey's march through the mountain country by Losonez and Miskolcz upon Tokay, through the lower spurs of the Carpathians, was admirably conceived in this respect, that while it opened to him a mountain route through a difficult country, in which it was not likely he would be followed by the Russians, to the Theiss, where he might hope to regain his communication with Dembinski and Bem, it at the same time effectually took the pressure of the enemy off the former and the seat of government, and, in his own words, "secured to Dembinski the possibility of employing the southern forces *against the Austrians alone*." He compelled Paskewitch to follow him, for he threw himself directly on his communications with Galicia and Poland, his base of operations. The desired effect, accordingly, immediately took place. Suddenly halting all his troops in their advance to the south-west, the Russian general moved his headquarters with the second and third corps by Gyongyos back on Kapolna, while the fourth corps was pushed up nearer to the mountains, through which Georgey was toiling. Both parties were now making for the Theiss; the Russians by the shorter and interior, the Hungarians by the longer and exterior circle. The advanced-guard of the former army arrived, on the 25th July, on the banks of that river near Poroszlo. Gortschakoff, who commanded the Russian advanced-guard, found, on drawing near the river at that place, that the approach to it was by a single chaussée traversing a swamp, impassable for carriages, occupied by five thousand men and ten guns. Though his men were worn out by a long march in a sultry day, Gortschakoff gave the signal for attack; and after a severe action the defile was carried, the bridge over the Theiss which the Hungarians had broken down restored, and the road to Debreczin thrown open. Georgey, meanwhile, had halted for a few days on the Hermaid, a stream flowing from

the north-west into the Upper Theiss, in order at once to rest his wearied men, to retain the main Russian army in the north, and to gain time for the junction of a division, 7000 strong, left in the Marmaros, or north-east angle of Hungary.

20. Having won a bridge over the Theiss at this point, Paskewitch immediately threw another over at Csage, and his troops in great numbers began to cross. This rendered it necessary for Georgey to retire with the utmost expedition to Tokay, to avoid being intercepted in his exterior circuit. To cover the retreat towards the south from that point, and delay the advance of the Russians as much as possible, he detached a corps of his army under Nagy Sandor, with instructions to take a defensive position, and keep the enemy off from Debreczin as long as practicable. With the main body he followed a more circuitous road to the eastward of that town leading upon Gros-Wardein. This brought on an obstinate and bloody action on the 2d August. At two in the afternoon of the 1st, the Russian advanced-guard under Prince Bebutoff suddenly came on the Hungarian advanced posts, about a mile in front of Debreczin; and as the strength of the enemy was unknown, and they showed no disposition to retreat, Paskewitch halted his men; the equipages were left behind, and the whole army, consisting of the second and third corps, with a strong reserve, and a division of the fourth, nearly forty thousand combatants of all arms, advanced. Nagy Sandor thought the enemy were a single corps only, and that he had nothing to fear, inasmuch that, on the forenoon of the 2d, when Paskewitch made his attack, he was in Debreczin at a banquet given him by the inhabitants of that place. The Russians on their side were nearly as much taken by surprise; their advanced-guard, on approaching the enemy, were suddenly assailed by a shower of canister and grape from forty pieces of cannon placed in a masked battery, and found themselves in front of eighteen thousand men,

strongly posted on a line of sandhills covering the town. Overwhelmed by the iron tempest, the Russian soldiers fell back, and Paskewitch, seeing the affair had become so serious, ordered up four heavy batteries of position to reply to the enemy's guns.

21. The combat now became more equal; and the Russian horse-artillery having come up, their guns answered with effect the discharges of the enemy. Still the Hungarian masses arranged behind the guns stood firm, and barred all access to the town. The cannonade continued for some hours without any advantage being gained by the Russians; but at length the experienced eye of Paskewitch detected a quarter on the enemy's right where an attack might be made. He immediately directed against this point two divisions from the reserve, supported by four batteries, while a column of infantry, with a division of cavalry, marched straight, with drums-beating, and in an ostentatious manner, towards the town. This movement was attended with entire success. The Hungarians had no adequate reserve to oppose to these fresh bodies, by which their flank was turned and their retreat threatened at the same time that their front was attacked; their cavalry, assailed by greatly superior masses, was driven from the field and dispersed. The victory was now gained. The Hungarian infantry, torn in flank by a terrible fire from the Russian guns, was no longer able to keep its ground, and was driven back into the town, closely followed by the *Circassian and Mussulman* horse, which chased them through the streets and far on the other side. In this disastrous battle the Hungarians lost 7 guns, 3000 prisoners, and their whole baggage, besides 1500 killed and wounded, while the entire Russian loss was 980. Paskewitch immediately entered Debreczin, where he established his headquarters; and on the following day a solemn service was held in the same church, and *Te Deum* sung, where, a few months before, the dethronement of the house of Hapsburg had been proclaimed. Meanwhile Georgey, highly

indignant at the surprise of his lieutenant, whom he deprived of the command, continued his circuitous retreat by Gros-Wardein towards Arad in deep dejection, but with a military ability, considering the difficulties with which he had to contend, which forms not the least honourable part of his career.

22. While these decisive blows in the centre of Hungary were depriving the insurgents of their last hopes in the quarter where their chief forces had hitherto lain, disaster equally serious and unbroken had, notwithstanding the talents and energy of General Bem, occurred in Transylvania. It has been already mentioned that, simultaneously with the resumption of active operations by the Russian and Austrian armies, an invasion of that province was to be attempted from the side of Wallachia by General Luders, and from the Bukovine by General Grottenhelm. Luders accordingly, on the 1st July, moved through the mountains which separate Transylvania from Wallachia, with twelve thousand men, with which he forced the pass of Tomosch, which had been fortified by the insurgents with great care, and made himself master of Kronstadt. On the day following, Grottenhelm had a similar success, by forcing the defile at Tihutza, and throwing back the insurgents on Altorf. Having gained an entry into the province in this manner, Luders followed up his successes with vigour. Crossing the Aluta, and clearing the pass of the Rothenthurn, he advanced fighting all the way to Hermanstadt, which was occupied on the 21st without resistance. But meanwhile Bem was not idle. He had come, by his inexhaustible resources and marvellous victories, to exercise a superstitious influence over the minds both of the soldiers and the peasantry, who regarded him as not only invincible, but invulnerable, and firmly believed that guardian angels watched over his person. Supported by this confidence, he struggled with wonderful energy, at the head of eighteen thousand men, against the converging forces of the

enemy, and even on some occasions gained considerable advantages over them.

23. Though defeated by General Grottenhelm at Tékendorf, Turiak, and several other places in the north of Transylvania, he appeared again as a conqueror at Taad, and showed how inexhaustible the resources of a general of capacity may be when he is cordially supported by a considerable portion of the people. Turning to the south, he advanced swiftly on Kronstadt, which was now only occupied by the small Austrian corps of General Clamm; but that active officer met him and repulsed him on the banks of the Aluta. Luders, on his part, wearied with incessant combats with an adversary whose resources seemed to multiply with every defeat which he experienced, collected all the forces he could command, and marched, on the 29th July, on Segesvar, of which he obtained possession without resistance. Bem, having also concentrated his forces at Marosvasarhely, marched on the same place; and the two armies, of nearly equal strength, each mustering about thirteen thousand combatants, met on the 31st July near the village of Weiskirchen. "At last we have them; this time they shall not escape," said Luders, when his Cossacks announced the presence of the enemy; and immediately dividing his troops into two columns, he gave the signal for attack. Bem's men, who were by this time veterans tried in twenty combats, for three hours withstood the attack of the Muscovite battalions with great resolution; but at length the Russian commander threw some squadrons of horse on their right flank, when disordered by a successful bayonet-charge, which had been headed by Bem in person. This movement was decisive. The Magyars were speedily routed, and fled from the field in disorder, closely pursued by the Russian horse, who chased them several miles from the field of battle. Bem himself, who had combated with the utmost resolution, was only saved from capture by

the aid of some Hungarian hussars, who dragged him out of a marsh in which he had taken refuge during the heat of the pursuit. The losses of the insurgents in this disastrous battle were very serious; they had 1800 killed, 2300 wounded, nearly the whole of whom fell into the hands of the Russians, and lost eight guns, two standards, and great quantities of baggage and ammunition. The casualties of the Russians did not exceed 900 men in all; but among them was General Skariatine, one of the most promising officers of their army.

24. But while Europe was every day expecting to hear of his death or capture, Bem again collected his scattered forces at Maros-Vasarhely, drew together reinforcements from every quarter, and, moving to the south by forced marches, made an attack on Hermanstadt, which was now garrisoned only by General Hasford. After a violent struggle of five hours' duration, the Russians were (August 5) driven out, and sought refuge in the woody recesses of the Rothenthurm Pass. Kossuth was highly elated when he heard of this unlooked-for success. "You see," said he, "Hungary is invincible; it is like the Phoenix, it rises from its ashes." But this was the last victory of the Hungarians. Luders no sooner heard of this disaster than he collected his troops, and advanced by forced marches to avenge the honour of the Muscovite arms. He reached Hermanstadt on the very day after Bem had entered it in triumph; the attack was commenced instantly; and the insurgents, flushed with their success on the preceding day, issued forth to anticipate the assault of the enemy. The conflict was very bloody, and for some time doubtful, for both sides fought with the utmost resolution, and were inspired by the most violent passions. At length, however, Luders, having got all his troops in hand, and brought up his last reserves, made a simultaneous attack on the centre and right wing of the insurgents. Bem advanced gallantly at the head of his cavalry to

meet the attack ; but at the very moment when the *mêlée* took place, his men were suddenly charged by a body of Russian horse on his right flank, who issued from an ambuscade. This manœuvre proved fatal. The Magyar horse broke and took to flight, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of Bem to rally them, and were quickly followed by the rest of the army. This defeat was fatal to the insurgent cause in Transylvania. They lost six hundred killed, five hundred wounded, twelve hundred prisoners, and all their artillery and ammunition, being fourteen guns and twenty-eight tumbrils. The whole insurgent force, utterly desperate, disbanded ; and Bem, finding himself left without an army, repaired, attended only by a body of officers whose fidelity nothing could shake, to Temesvar, to join the last remnant of the Hungarian armies under the walls of that town. Luders himself, after this victory, directed his forces towards the valley of Maros, and on the road came up with a body of the insurgents near Karlsburg, whom he defeated with the loss of twelve pieces of cannon and fifteen hundred prisoners.

25. While disaster was thus prostrating the insurgent cause in the north and east, events of the utmost moment were occurring in the south, on the Croatian frontier. It was hard to say which party was there most severely pressed ; for, on the one hand, the insurgent Government, which had retired to Szegedin on the Theiss, had no adequate force to oppose to Haynau, who was pressing on in close pursuit ; and, on the other, Arad had been forced by starvation and disease to capitulate, and the Austrian garrison of Temesvar were now at the last extremity, reduced by sickness, famine, and the sword, from 8000 to 1500 men, and in extreme want of provisions. The honour of the Austrian arms was involved in rescuing this band of heroes from their beleaguering enemies ; but the distances were great, the heat was overpowering, the drought excessive ; and the relieving army would have nearly as much to suffer as the besieged

before the deliverance could be effected. But Haynau, knowing that Paskevitch was interposed between him and Georgey, whose army formed the real strength of the insurgents, and relying on the ardour and spirit of his troops, pushed on in three columns from Pesth, through every difficulty, animating his fainting soldiers by the prospect of effecting the deliverance of their comrades. The Austrian outposts appeared before Szegedin on the 2d August, and entered that city without resistance, the Government and Diet having retired to Arad. Considerable stores of ammunition and provisions were found in the place.

26. The insurgents, however, had no intention, though they had abandoned Szegedin, which was on the right bank of the Theiss, of surrendering without a struggle the passage of that river. Their forces, numerically speaking, were strong ; for Dembinski had concentrated all the detached corps and new levies round the seat of government, and collected thirty thousand infantry, five thousand horse, and a hundred guns on its left bank. The ground there is extremely flat and marshy ; and the Hungarian general had skilfully availed himself of a dyke which stretches two miles along the river from the bridge-head of Szegedin, in which he had cut fifty embrasures, filled with as many guns, behind which his army was posted in a very advantageous position. At four o'clock on the afternoon of the 3d, the Hungarian guns opened a prodigious fire from this formidable battery when the Imperialists endeavoured to cross ; and although the Austrian artillery replied at the distance of only six hundred yards, yet their discharges produced very little effect, as the balls, for the most part, stuck on the dyke. Seeing this, the Austrian general detached two battalions to ford the Theiss below the bridge. They succeeded in doing so unobserved, and suddenly assailing the flank of the enemy, forced them to retire from part of the armed dyke ; and upon this the Austrians re-established the bridge which had been partially broken down, and began to pass

over. The Hungarians, however, collecting in a body, made a last effort to arrest the enemy, and with such vigour that the Austrians were driven back in great disorder to the neighbourhood of the *île-de-pont*. But the division Paniuting, which had so often interposed with decisive effect at the critical moment, was now brought forward. Quickly crossing the river, a battalion of those noble veterans stemmed the torrent, arrested the advance of the victorious Hungarians, and restored the fortunes of the day. Dembinski, though twice wounded, refused to leave the field, and with his staff made the most heroic exertions to reanimate his men; but in spite of all their efforts, they gave ground before the steady advance and deadly volleys of the Russians. At the same time intelligence arrived that the third Austrian corps had forced the passage of the Theiss at Kanisa on one side, and the first corps at Mako on the other; and Dembinski, seeing himself in this manner repulsed in the centre, and turned on both flanks, fell back at all points towards Temesvar.

27. Dembinski now called a council of war, to consider whether they should any longer continue a contest which had apparently become hopeless. But it was unanimously resolved that they must try the fortune of war a last time under the walls of Temesvar; and thither, accordingly, all the columns were directed. Their forces, as they retired, greatly swelled in number, from the concourse of armed men on all sides, who hastened, some from courage, some from fear, to join the last army of independence. They amounted, when they reached Temesvar, to 40,000 combatants, with 130 guns. But great part were raw levies; and they were all extremely dejected, from the long-continued disasters which they had undergone, and the overwhelming fatigues with which these had been accompanied. These fatigues, however, told as severely upon their pursuers as on themselves; and even more so, from the open hostility or sullen indifference of the inhabitants of the country through which they passed. The suf-

ferings of the army of Haynau, during the advance from Szegedin to Temesvar, were almost unparalleled. The open plain afforded no shelter either from the rays of the sun during the day or the dews of the bivouac during the night. The inhabitants had all fled from their homes, after poisoning the wells by throwing into them the dead bodies of men or animals; and often the only refreshment the wearied soldiers dying of thirst could get during twenty-four hours, was obtained by wringing from their jackets the plentiful dews which fell during the night. Still they struggled on with heroic constancy, in hopes of arriving in time to save the remnant of the garrison of Temesvar; and great was the joy of the troops of all arms when, on the evening of the 9th August, the domes of that city were descried, with the enemy drawn up in a defensive position, barring all access to it, save what might be won by the sword. Being joined by the corps of Vetter, and the blockading force before Temesvar, as well as the fugitives from Transylvania, they numbered 50,000 men, with 130 pieces of cannon.

28. The Austrians were numerically inferior, from the great losses they had experienced during their long and toilsome march; they were only 32,000 at the point of attack; but among these were the redoubtable veterans of Paniutine, and they had 190 guns. The Hungarians were posted strongly on a line of sandhills, and vineyards or orchards on rising ground, which formed a natural protection against all but vertical firing, and they received the attack of the Imperialists with the utmost resolution. The action began on the 9th, at five in the morning, and continued with the utmost vivacity, and no apparent advantage on either side, till eleven in the forenoon, when it suddenly ceased on that of the Hungarians, and was succeeded by loud acclamations from every part of the line, accompanied by the cry of "Bem! Bem!" vociferated by forty thousand voices. In effect, it was the Transylvanian hero, who, by great exertions, had come up by the valley of Maros,

in time to take part in the action; realising thus, on a greater theatre than the field of Flodden, the vision of the poet forty years before—

"When such a shout there rose
Of 'Marmion! Marmion!' that the cry,
Up Flodden mountain shrilling high,
Startled the Scottish foe."*

Taking advantage of the enthusiasm, Bem, who immediately assumed the command, after casting a hasty glance over the field of battle, put himself at the head of the Magyar cavalry, and made a headlong charge on the Austrian left. So violent was the onset, that the line in that quarter was in a few seconds broken through and routed, and the whole wing took to flight in the utmost disorder. The battle seemed gained; for Bem, having demolished the Austrian left, was pressing on in full career against their centre, when he was arrested by Paniutine's division, and the reserve artillery which Haynau in haste brought up to stem the torrent. The veterans of Russia, closing their ranks, received the charge with a rolling fire, the front rank kneeling: the artillery at the same time ploughed through the flanks of the victorious horsemen, and they were forced to recoil. Shortly after, Lichtenstein, whose corps had just come up on the Austrian left, successfully turned the Hungarian right; the artillery in the centre acquired the superiority over that of the enemy; and Haynau in person led on the main body to the charge. Upon this the insurgents retreated at all points; and their soldiers who had fought so nobly, now utterly desperate, in great part threw away their arms and dispersed.

29. The shades of evening had now set in, and the troops who had combated since five in the morning, under a burning sun, were ready to drop down with fatigue; and the horses were unable to strike into a trot. But Temesvar was not yet relieved; and it was not known that the garrison, having exhausted their last provisions, were on the point of perishing of famine. In these circumstances, Haynau

* *Marmion*, canto vi.

adopted a resolution worthy of the very highest praise. Collecting the least exhausted of the horsemen and of the horse-artillery, he formed them into four squadrons and a flying battery, and putting himself at their head, he set out with all possible expedition to penetrate through the woods, still occupied by the enemy, and make his way into the beleaguered garrison. The gallant attempt met with entire success. The insurgents, on hearing the sound of the cavalry approaching, were seized with one of those panics so common after a hard-fought battle, and took to flight, dispersing in all directions. Haynau with his gallant followers made his entry, amidst the frantic acclamations of the worn-out garrison, into Temesvar; and provisions being quickly introduced, they were rescued from impending death. This memorable siege is one of the most glorious in the Austrian annals. It lasted one hundred and seven days, and during the half of that time the garrison, besides combating daily, had to contend with all the horrors of famine. The name of the brave commander, General RUKAWINA, deserves a place in the *Walthalla* of European fame.

30. If the defence of Temesvar is one of the most memorable events in the Austrian annals, the sally from Komorn about the same time may justly be ranked in a conspicuous place in the Hungarian. Klapka, who commanded the powerful garrison of that great fortress—fully equal in number to the blockading corps—not content with providing everything for its defence, resolved to strike a blow at the enemy by whom he was observed.* For this purpose he selected ten thousand of the most efficient troops of his garrison, and commenced an attack on the morning of the 3d August, on the Austrians, who were only six thousand strong, on the right bank of the Danube. The attack, which was ad-

* On the 30th July he had assailed the Austrian brigade which watched the fortress on the left bank of the Danube with a strong column, defeated it, and driven it back up the Danube as far as the line of the Waag. KLAPKA, i. 228-231.

mirably directed in two columns, completely succeeded. After a sharp contest, the forest of Harkaly was taken, the heights of Acz carried, and the Austrian intrenchments broken through at all points. Utterly routed, the Imperialists fled over the bridge of the Danube and back along its left bank to Presburg, where, as well as at Vienna itself, then utterly drained of troops, they spread the utmost alarm. Entirely in possession now of the right bank, Klapka made himself master of Raab, and completely cut off the communication between the main army under Haynau and the capital. In this brilliant affair the Hungarians took thirty pieces of cannon, a thousand prisoners, and an immense quantity of ammunition and military stores. A thousand Austrians fell in the battle and pursuit, with very little loss to the victors.

31. Brilliant as this success was, it came too late, and was too distant to have any sensible effect on the fate of the war. The decisive blows had been struck at Debreczin and Temesvar. The only chance of the insurgents after the last disaster would have been to have retreated rapidly and joined Georgey, who, by incredible exertions, had reached Arad on the 9th August, by circuitous and execrable roads, for the main road by Debreczin had been occupied by the enemy under Rudiger. If this junction were effected, the united armies would have presented a mass of 60,000 men, with 200 pieces of artillery, with which, in a central position, the Hungarian general might have struck redoubtable blows to the right or left at whichever of his adversaries first approached him. But to do this required a sacrifice of jealousies, to which the Hungarian generals, how brave and skilful soever, were not equal. If they joined Georgey at Arad, which they might easily have done, for it was only twenty-eight miles distant by an interior and safe line of communication, he would, in virtue of his rank, have taken the command both of Dembinski and Bem. This they could not endure, for both of them were Poles,

belonging to Kossuth's democratic party; while Georgey was the head of the national and aristocratic side. Add to this that both these generals, having come to despair of the insurgent cause, had determined to retire still farther to the south, instead of moving to the north towards Georgey, in order to secure their retreat across the frontier into the Turkish dominions. It was for this reason that they had retreated from Szegedin upon Temesvar instead of Arad, as Georgey had proposed. The consequence was, that when the advanced guard of Georgey's army broke up from Arad, and moved on the Temesvar road on the morning of the 10th on the way to that town, instead of meeting Dembinski's patrols as they might have done had that general retreated on that line, they encountered the advanced guard of the Austrians under Schlick, whom Haynau had hurried forward to interpose between the two Hungarian armies. Dembinski and Bem were meanwhi in the opposite direction by Lugos towards the Servian frontier. So demoralised were the Poles and Hungarians by their recent defeats, that on meeting the Austrians they fled up the valley of Maros.

32. The Hungarian cause was now utterly desperate; Georgey was irrevocably separated from Dembinski when within two marches of each other, and the united armies of Paskewitch and Haynau were interposed between them. Georgey saw plainly that the cause of independence was lost, and Kossuth, who was at Arad when the Magyar general reached that place, had at length come to be of the same opinion. In these circumstances, thinking that Georgey would be likely to receive better terms from the Russians than the republican tribune, they both agreed that the entire power, civil and military, of the commonwealth, should be vested in the former, who was (August 11) declared Dictator, with absolute power either for war or peace. Kossuth, in an eloquent proclamation,*

* "After several unfortunate battles, in which God, in the latter days, has proved

announced this determination to the nation, and Georgey threw himself into the breach, and accepted it. In an order of the day addressed to the nation, he said, "Hungarians! the Provisional Government has ceased to exist: the governor and the ministry have voluntarily relinquished their posts and the direction of public affairs. In these circumstances, a civil and military dictatorship is indispensable. I accept it. Everything which is possible in war or in peace for the good of the country shall be attempted—everything which can put a period to the cruelties, the persecutions, the assassinations. My sole advice to you is to retire and remain quietly in your dwellings; abandon all thoughts of combating or resisting. God, in His infinite wisdom, has decided on the fate of our country: Let us accept His decree with a manly resolution, and a firm conviction that the good cause is not lost for all eternity. Hungarians! God be with you."

33. Though all others, however, felt the necessity of yielding, Bem held on his way undaunted. By a circuitous route he repaired to Georgey's

the Hungarian nation, we have no longer any hope of continuing with success our defensive struggles against the considerable forces of the Austrians and Russians. In this state of affairs, the safety of the nation, and the security for its future, have come to depend entirely on the general who is at the head of the army; and I am profoundly convinced that the prolonged existence of the present Government would not only be useless to the nation, but might be attended with serious evils. I make known to the nation, as well in the name of myself as of the entire ministry, that, animated by the same sentiments which have guided all my steps, and induced the sacrifice of my entire existence to the good of our country, I retire from the Government, and invest with supreme military and civil power the general, Arthur Georgey, until the nation, in the exercise of its rights, sees fit to dispose of it otherwise. May he love his fatherland as disinterestedly as I have done, and may he be more fortunate than I have been in securing the prosperity of the nation! I can no longer be of use to the country by my actions; if my death can be of any service to it, I willingly give it the sacrifice of my life. May the God of justice and mercy be with the nation!—Kossuth."—Dated, Fortress of Arad, August 11, 1849.—BALLEYDIER, *Guerre de la Hongrie*, 338, 339.

headquarters, and earnestly implored him to continue the war, alleging that, with the 30,000 men whom he had under his orders, and the *debris* of other corps which could be collected, they could still muster an army of 100,000 men. But Georgey replied with truth that the troops, depressed by repeated defeats, worn out by interminable marches and counter-marches, without food, ammunition, shoes, or clothing, were in no condition to continue the war. "Poor Hungary! Unhappy Hungary!" exclaimed Bem; and mounting his horse, he refused Georgey's proffered hand, and, riding off, regained some hundred faithful followers, chiefly officers, in the forest of Lugos, the rendezvous assigned to them after the defeat of Temesvar. Assembling them around him at midnight under the boughs of the ancient forest, Bem said, "Hungary approaches its last hour. Betrayed by men rather than deserted by the chances of war, she is about to lay down her arms before the Imperial eagles of the Emperor Nicholas, and bow before the Prince of Warsaw. To-morrow the Imperial bulletins will proclaim to Europe, 'Order reigns in Pesth.' Soldiers! you know what that order is; it is the order of Warsaw, the abuse of victory, the order of the executioner. I have no wish to influence, or even know, your intentions, but I will tell you what are my own. As long as I have an inch of steel in my hand, or a brave man at my side, I will defend the cause to which I have devoted my body, my soul, my blood, and my life!" Loud applause followed these gallant words, and they all declared their resolution to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of their country. But Bem explained to them that it was not in Hungary that the contest could be maintained; that they must look for the resurrection of Hungary from foreign lands, and that he would go forward to prepare the way. He gave the signal, accordingly, to such as chose to accompany him, and, attended by a few hundred unconquerable men, he set off for the

mountains which separate Transylvania from Wallachia.*

34. All was now accomplished. Georgey, seeing further resistance hopeless, and likely only to induce utter ruin on the country, addressed a noble letter to General Rudiger, proposing an unconditional surrender to the Russian army, and offering himself as a willing victim to the Austrian Government, in the hope that his blood might save that of his gallant companions in arms. He said, in that memorable document, "The greater, and I may say with sincerity, the better part of the nation have not entered lightly into this contest: but after having been drawn into it by a number of honourable men who appertain to foreign lands, they have persevered in the contest firmly, honourably, and not, as you know, without glory and success. I now perceive that a further effusion of blood would be useless, and fatal to Hungary, as I foresaw would be the case from the moment of the Russian intervention. I have invited the Provisional Government to resign their power, which was every day more and more compromising the fate of Hungary. They have acknowledged this truth, and done so by resigning their power into my hands. Influenced by these feelings, and in order to stop the effusion of blood, and deliver my fellow-citizens from the horrors of war, I lay down my arms. In acting thus, I place my confidence in the well-known generosity of his majesty the Czar, and I flatter myself with the hope that he will not abandon to their sad fate my brave companions in arms, who, formerly officers in the Austrian service, have found themselves involved by the force of circumstances in a war with that power. I indulge the hope that the Emperor of Russia will not deliver over the people

of Hungary, bowed down under the weight of misfortune, to the blind thirst for vengeance in their enemy. *It may be enough if I am the sole expiatory victim for all.* Hasten, then, General, to take the necessary steps to insure that the sad spectacle of disarming may be witnessed only by the troops of the Emperor of Russia, for I declare solemnly that I would rather sacrifice my whole army in a hopeless contest, than lay down its arms without conditions before the Austrian forces. To-morrow I shall march to VILAGOS: the day after to Boros-Jeno: and on the 14th to Beel. I indicate these points in order that you may know how to place your army between mine and the Austrians. Surround me on all sides, and separate me from them."

35. Having written this letter, Georgey summoned (Aug. 11) a council of war, laid it without a single comment before the assembled officers, and having done this left the room. It was unanimously acquiesced in by the assembly, and their approval officially signified to the general. The letter was sent accordingly, and Paskewitch cordially acquiesced in the proposals. On the 12th the Hungarian army marched to Vilagos. The mournful ceremony of laying down their arms was arranged to take place on the following day at twelve o'clock, at Szollos, at the point of junction of the roads from Kis-Jeno by Zarand, and from Vilagos by Uj-Pankota to Boros-Jeno—a spot memorable in all future ages. At the appointed hour Georgey appeared at the head of his staff, and, riding forward alone, met Count Rudiger, who, similarly accompanied, advanced also alone to meet him. The meeting must be given in Georgey's own words: "Count Rudiger seemed filled with the sole desire of alleviating as much as possible the depression of my present situation; for his first words contained a frank assurance that he fully appreciated the motives which had induced me to abandon the prosecution of the war, and in confirmation of this he offered me his right hand. An invol-

* He and Guyon collected at Dobra, in the valley of the Maros, twelve battalions of infantry, eight squadrons and fifty-two guns with which they intended to attack Luders; but their men (mostly fugitives from Dembinski's army) refused to advance. Bem and Guyon passed over the frontier, and the troops laid down their arms.—TOLSTOY, 176, 177.

untary but audible exclamation from my companions betrayed how agreeably they were surprised by this proof of esteem from the victor to the more unfortunate leader of the vanquished. I then delivered to Count Rudiger, together with a list of our requests, the names also of those members of the Provisional Government, and of the Diet, who had voluntarily attached themselves to the troops, and who requested me to obtain, if possible, the permission to remain with the army during its captivity, till the fate of such had been determined on. To this Count Rudiger at once agreed, and consented that the general officers should retain their arms."

36. The mournful ceremony of surrendering their arms took place with great pomp, and all the courtesy towards the vanquished due to their glorious achievements and present reverses. Georgey's men were still 28,000 strong, with 140 guns. At four in the afternoon, having all come up, they were arranged in two lines, the infantry in front, with the cavalry on the wings: the artillery and caissons in the second. Right before them, in the great plain of Vilagos, stood the Russian army also in two lines, and the finest order. "With such men," said Georgey, on seeing them, "you might conquer the world." At a quarter past four, Georgey and his generals rode forward to the front between the two armies; Rudiger, similarly accompanied, advanced to meet him. Both generals saluted, a long rolling of drums was heard along the whole line, and the Russians presented arms, while the Hungarians laid down theirs: the infantry placing them on the ground two yards in front of the line, the cavalry on the saddles of their horses. Georgey and all his officers retained their swords. At a second rolling of drums the ranks were broken, and the men and guns conducted with their arms to the place of their destination, under strong escorts. Most of the weapons were found to be of English manufacture. "In the twilight of

the 13th August 1849," says Georgey, "General Count Rudiger, the commander of a Russian army corps, inspected the troops under my command. But the cavalry were dismounted, and their swords hung on the pommels of their saddles; the muskets of the infantry were piled in pyramids; the artillery were drawn close together, and unmanned; the flags and the standards lay there unprotected before the disarmed ranks."

* 37. Georgey was conducted with his generals, after this melancholy scene, to Gros-Wardein, from whence he addressed orders to the other generals to follow his example, and to the governors of the fortresses of Arad, Peterwaradein, and Komorn, to surrender them at discretion. The few army corps yet in the field surrendered or dispersed, the officers, especially of Polish origin, for the most part taking refuge with Bem, Dembinski, Kosuth, and the members of the Government and Diet who had not surrendered with Georgey, in the adjoining provinces of Turkey, where they were hospitably received, and became ere long the cause of a difference between the governments of Great Britain and Russia. The governor of Arad gave his fortress up, agreeably to Georgey's orders, on the 17th August. Vecszez's corps, still 7500 strong, with 1100 cavalry, surrendered at discretion to General Rudiger at Kis-Jeno on the 19th, with 72 guns; 5000 of Dembinski's men, hotly pursued by Simbschen, laid down their arms at Karansebes, with 19 guns. Peterwaradein hauled down its flag on the 6th September. Klapka was the last to obey this order; he held the fortress of Komorn with his powerful garrison till the beginning of October, when seeing the contest was at an end, and having learned that Arad and Peterwaradein had surrendered, he, with a heavy heart, capitulated on honourable terms on the 4th, carrying with him the distinction of being the *last* who maintained the Independence of Hungary.* The soldiers of the garrison

* Georgey, on this occasion, wrote to Klapka,—"Dear friend: Since we have

were offered rank in the Austrian army corresponding to what they had held in their own; but not a man accepted the proposal. An old sergeant of hussars said, "General, we have faithfully served our country; we will support it again if need be; but *never, never*, will we go to the Austrians."

38. Paskewitch and his generals behaved with the generosity which brave men owe to each other, towards the Hungarian officers who had fallen into their hands. The former wrote a noble letter to the Emperor of Austria, seconding that of Georgey, and imploring him to extend his clemency to *all* the officers and soldiers who had been engaged in the insurrection. But the Emperor returned a cold answer, to the effect that, if he consulted only the dictates of his own heart, he would be too happy to accede to his request, but that "he had sacred duties to perform towards his other subjects, which, as well as the general good of his people, he was obliged to consider." These words were of ominous import; they froze every heart with horror. In effect, the Austrian Empire had gone through so terrible a crisis, it had so nearly been destroyed in the convulsion, and was so much humiliated by having been saved only by the intervention of Russia, that the feelings of the victorious sections of the community earnestly called for expiatory victims.

parted, events, not unexpected, but decisive, have occurred. The eternal disunion of the Provisional Government, and the vulgar jealousy of some of its members, have brought matters to the point which I have foreseen since April last. When I passed the Theiss at Tokay, and gained brilliant advantages over the Russians, the Government expressed a desire to make me commander-in-chief. *Kossuth, in secret, named Bem*: but the nation looked for my appointment, for Kossuth had given a perfidious answer to the Diet. Much deceit has been the cause of all our subsequent evils. Dembinski was beat at Szorey; Bem, routed at Maros-Valushely, fled under the walls of Temesvar, where Dembinski had also retired. He gained successes for a few hours; but at length was beaten to such a degree that, as Vecszey wrote to me, there remained only 6000 round their standards out of 50,000."—GEORGEY to KLAPKA, August 16, 1849; BALLEYDIER, 353, 354.

Public opinion in England loudly condemned the melancholy executions which followed; but although all must regret that the Austrian Government lost the opportunity of doing a noble deed, which would have added lustre to all their previous glories, yet justice must recollect the circumstances under which these severities were exercised. And if we would know what they were, we have only to ask ourselves what our feelings would have been if Smith O'Brien had led his Irish repealers in triumph to Brentford, and we had escaped destruction only by invoking the aid of France.

39. The melancholy forebodings awakened by the Emperor's answer to Paskewitch's intercession were ere long too fatally verified. Georgey, indeed, was pardoned,* and Klapka escaped by the terms of his capitulation; but most of the other generals were brought to courts-martial, and mournful tragedies followed the convictions which took place. Besides Count Bathiany—whose execution has already been mentioned—fourteen other Hungarian officers were sacrificed to the thirst of Austrian vengeance. They were—Colonel Ernest Kiss, Count Louis Aulich, General Damjanics, General Nagy Sandor, Colonel Ignatz Torok, Major Lahner, General Count Vecszey, Captain Knezich, Colonel Ernest Von Poltenberg, General Count Leiningen, General Joseph Schweidel, General Aristides Descowly, General William Lazar, and Count Ladislans Csanyi—besides a few others condemned to lengthened imprisonments. The first eleven suffered together on the same day (6th October) in the fortress of Arad. The death on the scaffold of brave men, whose military exploits had so recently filled all Europe with admiration, excited a universal feeling of horror. They all behaved nobly in their last moments. Damjanics, with his leg

* He was offered rank and employment in the Russian army, but honourably declined it, and preferred remaining in poverty in his own country, endeavouring to mitigate the severities exercised against his brave companions in arms.

broken, was conveyed in a carriage to the place of execution, and was a spectator of the deaths of his friends. "It is strange," said he, "that I should be the last here: I used to be the first in the attack." But with these melancholy scenes the severities of the victorious Government ended. The inferior officers and private soldiers were all dismissed, without punishment, to their homes; no massacre of common men took place. Seventy thousand of the Hungarian soldiers, after a short interval, passed into the Austrian service, where they have ever since remained faithful to their colours.

40. Cruelties of this sort have in every age been found so uniformly to spring from the violence of the passions awakened in civil warfare, that they may be considered as inherent and unavoidable in that species of conflict; and it is that which has always caused the authors of such dissensions to be regarded as the greatest curses of mankind. But in the present instance the reaction in the general mind against the severities was unusually swift, and as they should not have been committed, the consequences were lasting. Every one felt that the contest had been a national one, and should have been conducted on the principles of civilised warfare between separate states. Condign punishment was not long of overtaking the victors. Hardly was their joint triumph concluded, when jealousy broke out between the victorious armies. The Russians taunted the Austrians with their defeats, and their being forced to call in the aid of the Czar. The Austrians ascribed everything to themselves, and allowed nothing to the Russians, to whom the success had really been owing. In an official proclamation to his troops on the conclusion of the war, Haynau, while he congratulated them on their ultimate victories, never once mentioned the Russians. The Czar retorted by a proclamation to his soldiers, in which he ascribed everything to their valour, and utterly ignored the Austrians. Out of this ill-starred

triumph arose a confidence on the one side, a sore feeling on the other, which brought these two powers into covert but most effective enmity during the Crimean war, and will probably bring them into fierce hostility in future times.

41. Equal to any of the campaigns of Napoleon in the skill with which it was conducted, and the energy and courage which were displayed on both sides, the Hungarian war is almost superior to any in the moral interest with which it was attended, and the dramatic scenes in which it terminated. The spectacle of a high-spirited and gallant nation, proud of its martial fame, and panting for independence, maintaining a protracted struggle with two of the greatest military powers in Europe, and at length sinking rather from the consequences of its own divisions than before their united strength, was one which powerfully affected the imagination, and awakened the sympathies of men. The annalist who records, the reader who studies these events, cannot avoid, with whatever impressions he may enter on the subject, being carried away by the same feelings; and however clearly future times may see the disastrous consequences which would have attended the triumph of the Hungarian arms, they will never cease to mourn over their overthrow.*

42. But, all this notwithstanding, reason and justice compel the admission, that the Hungarian insurrection was both unjustifiable in its origin, and, if successful, would have been calamitous in its consequences. It was unjustifiable in its origin, because, how much soever the Hungarians had formerly been oppressed by the Austrians, they had got all they desired from the Emperor by the constitution of 1848, and an amount of liberty far greater than that now enjoyed by

* The reader desirous of studying this subject more fully will find, in the memoirs of Georgey and Klapka on the Hungarian, in the *Histoire de la Guerre de Hongrie* by Ballezardier on the Austrian, and in the *Relation des Operations de l'Armée Russe* on the Muscovite side, ample materials for his investigation.

Great Britain, and more unlimited, as the event proved, than they could stand; for it was based on universal suffrage. The only return they made for these great concessions was to refuse a man or a florin to Austria when engaged in a desperate struggle with Italy on the plains of Piedmont, to recall their regiments from Radetsky's ranks when fighting for the existence of Austria, and at length, openly throwing off the mask, to advance, stained with the blood of Count Lamberg, the commander-in-chief of Hungary, to support the revolutionists of Vienna, yet reeking with the blood of Count Latour, its war-minister. The constitution of 4th March 1849, afterwards promulgated by Austria, was doubtless a great infringement on these immunities; but six months before it was adopted, the Hungarians had thrown off the mask, advanced to Vienna, fought the battle of Schwechat, and allied themselves irrevocably with the Austrian Revolution.

43. If the insurrection was unjustifiable in its origin, still more clearly was it likely, if it had proved successful, to have become disastrous in its consequences. Austria is the natural and the only effective barrier against Russia in Eastern Europe; Turkey, long the rival, is now the vassal of the Czar; Prussia has, hitherto at least, been his proconsul. The Hungarian revolt, if successful, would have destroyed this barrier, and opened a huge gap, through which the Muscovite armies, unopposed, would have poured into the centre of Europe. Separated from each other, and animated by the strongest mutual hatred, either Austria or Hungary would infallibly, when divisions occurred between them, have allied itself with Russia, if it was for nothing else but to destroy its rival. Lombardy would have been detached from both; and where, in the weakness and animosities consequent on these divisions, was a barrier against Russia to be found? If dangerous to the independence of nations, the Hungarian revolt was still more hazardous to the liberties of

mankind. Democracy was inscribed on the banners of Kossuth: and what democracy leads to may be gathered from what it has done in France, and is doing in America. The Hungarian revolt arrayed men in two hosts, the victory of either of which would have been fatal to the cause of freedom in Europe; it ran them either into the despotism of the Czar, or the democracy-based absolute government of Louis Napoleon or President Johnson.

44. It is a mistake to suppose that the greatest calamities which afflict mankind spring from absolutely wicked motives. Good intentions, ill directed, are far more hazardous; for the reaction against them is much slower of arriving. Some of the greatest evils recorded in history have arisen, not from bad motives, but from good motives imprudently or ignorantly directed. Decided outrage and wickedness so rapidly produce a reaction in the moral feelings of mankind, that their reign is, in general, of short duration; but errors based on good intentions are far more difficult of extirpation, and many ages of suffering often elapse before they are at length worn out. The fires of Smithfield, the tortures of the Inquisition, were all prompted by good motives; it was for the extirpation of what they deemed heresy, and the salvation of souls. Ever since the battle of Waterloo, England had openly or covertly promoted the cause of revolt in other parts of the world. She had succeeded in revolutionising and ruining South America, altering the government in Spain and Portugal, and exciting a fearful insurrection in Italy and Hungary. These efforts were well meant, for they were designed to work out the emancipation of mankind. But they were at the time premature and injudicious, and, as such, terminated only in disaster. What has been gained to the cause of freedom or the independence of nations by these endeavours to force upon other people institutions not fitted for them? The hour of retribution has even now struck. The Hungarian insurrection, by reviving the ambi-

ous dreams of Russia, led to the invasion of Turkey and the Crimean war; and it, in its turn, by spreading in Asia the belief of the destruction of Britain's only army, to the Sepoy Revolt. England has since felt the burning of those torches in her own bosom which she had so long thrown with

impunity into that of others. She did all this with philanthropic views, but mistaken judgment. It has been said that hell is paved with good intentions: with equal truth it may be said that earth is blood-stained by imprudent zeal, or desolated by ignorant philanthropy.

CHAPTER LXXVI.

GREAT BRITAIN, FROM THE SUPPRESSION OF THE IRISH REVOLT IN 1848
TO THE FALL OF LORD DERBY'S MINISTRY IN 1852.

1. As the cry for Free Trade is the wail of aged civilisation suffering under the high prices which its own long-established wealth has produced, and seeking to compensate them by making its purchases in poorer, and therefore cheaper lands; so, when once introduced in reference to one great branch of commerce, it must of necessity be extended to every other. It is first called for in regard to articles of rude agricultural produce, because they are the ones in which the rise of prices consequent on long-continued affluence is most felt, and the fall of prices likely to arise from their introduction is least likely to injure the manufacturing and urban population. Accordingly, rich, old, and manufacturing England, first established Free Trade in regard to cotton, however dangerous to her independence with reference to the United States, and next demanded and obtained it in regard to corn, however clearly that tended to bring her into a state of virtual subjection to her grain-growing neighbours. But when the victory was once gained in reference to these articles of rude produce, it became impossible to withstand the demand for a similar concession in regard to other articles of commerce, or the charges consequent on their conveyance. The persons dealing in them were soon able to show with

truth, that, when the general scale of prices had been altered by the abolition or great reduction of other import-duties on articles of commerce, they would inevitably be ruined if they alone were subjected to them. Accordingly the concession of free trade in grain was immediately followed by the demand for an equalisation of the duties on sugar, which was granted, although the authors of the change were well aware, and admitted, that it would prove the ruin of our West Indian colonies. And this was followed, before another year had passed away, by the cry for the repeal of the Navigation Laws, in order to lessen the cost of importing foreign produce.

2. Unmarked by political or external events of any great importance, the four years which elapsed from the suppression of the Irish revolt in July 1848 to July 1852, are second to none in the history of England in social and political importance; for then was tried, on a great scale and on a fair theatre, the effects of the social and political changes which had previously been introduced. The whole period from 1830 to 1846 had been one continued struggle between the agricultural and conservative, and the commercial and innovating class, which had for its ultimate object the benefit of the latter, by forcing down the prices of the rude produce, on the raising of

which the former were dependent. When the victory was gained by the latter, by the abolition of the Corn Laws in 1846, it became an object of the deepest interest, not merely to the inhabitants of the British empire, but of the whole civilised world, to examine its effects, and see whether the benefits expected by the latter, or the evils predicted by the former, really were to flow from the change. No other period but the six years immediately following has as yet elapsed, which can with justice be referred to as illustrating its effects, and it is the five, from 1848 to 1852, which are in an especial manner worthy of observation; for the disturbing causes, both before and since that period, have been so powerful, as during their continuance to obliterate its effects. In the last half of 1846 and the whole of 1847, the effects of the Irish famine were in full operation; and that terrible catastrophe was attended with such woeful consequences, that, while they continued, it is unfair to look for those of any other cause. Subsequent to 1852, the gold discoveries in California and Australia have come into operation, and by raising prices and stimulating production in every part of the world, and especially in its commercial centre, Great Britain, have in a manner superseded, or concealed the effect of, all other circumstances. But from 1848 to 1852, the effects of Free Trade were displayed, undisturbed by any other or counteracting influences. Plenty had again returned, and spread its sunshine over the land. The harvest of 1847 had been so favourable, that, at Lord John Russell's suggestion, a public thanksgiving was offered up for it; and this blessing continued unabated in a sensible degree, as appears from the prices, to be immediately quoted, throughout the period, which were beyond all precedent low. Peace, so far as England was concerned, continued unbroken, and domestic dissension, appeased by the concession of free trade in grain, became almost extinct. The crown of England, resting on the attachment of a free people, remained unshaken

amidst the storm which had so violently convulsed all the Continental monarchies; and Queen Victoria, instead of being driven into exile like the King of France, or expelled from her capital like the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, was chiefly occupied in progresses through her dominions, to receive the affectionate homage of her loyal subjects. On this fortunate period, therefore, of external peace and internal plenty, the eye of the historian may securely rest, to discern the effect of the great political and social changes which the preceding twenty years had introduced.

3. No one can have lived through that period, or still more, been charged, as the author has, with the peace of a great commercial city and county during its continuance, without being sensible that the temper and feelings of the middle and working classes towards the Government have been sensibly ameliorated by the changes which then came into operation. The people had become, so far as actual outbreaks or treason are concerned, much more loyal and docile than they formerly had been. The long-continued and almost normal state of antagonism between the Government and the manufacturing and mining classes, which had so long existed, and threatened disunion, had in a great degree worn out. The persons belonging to these classes were not in reality either better off than they had been before the changes were introduced, or more contented with their lot. On the contrary, suffering was never so acute, or general, or long-continued, as during the three years which immediately followed the monetary crisis of 1848, as will immediately appear from incontrovertible evidence. But the difference—and it was a very great one—lay in this, that their discontent was no longer directed against the Government. They had got everything they desired. They had been told, and they believed, that their sufferings in former days had all arisen from the nomination boroughs and the Corn Laws, and that when these were abolished, universal prosperity would prevail. They

were both abolished, and yet they were worse off than ever. But they could not now charge it against the Government; they were constrained to look elsewhere for their oppressors. The idea accordingly was taken up and widely spread in the manufacturing and mining districts, that their grievances in reality were social, not political, and that no alteration in the frame of government was likely to be of any real service till a total change in the relative position of the classes of society took place. The master was held out as the real enemy of the workman; it was his riches which made their poverty, his prosperity their suffering. Trades-unions and strikes, with all their disastrous consequences, accordingly were frequent during this period; but the pressure was taken off the Government, and it was directed against the employers, not the Queen or the Legislature. The effect of this change was great, and most beneficial in a political point of view; for it enabled the Government to maintain its ground without difficulty during a crisis as perilous as any which the monarchy had yet passed.

4. If from the contemplation of the improved temper of the people during the five years which immediately followed the Irish famine and monetary crisis, we turn to the consideration of their real condition during that period, we shall find much less cause for satisfaction. Although the Irish famine and terrible suffering of the year 1847 had passed away, and a fine harvest had blessed the labours of the husbandman in both islands, yet distress,

general and long-continued, wasted the empire during the next five years. A general feeling of languor and distrust pervaded the commercial towns and districts, the sad and uniform consequence of a severe monetary crisis. The moneyed classes, by the aid of the populace, had succeeded in getting the power into their own hands; the cheapening system was in full activity, and the main changes for which they had contended had become the law of the land; but none of the improvement in the condition of the people which they had predicted had resulted from their adoption. This is decisively proved by the evidence of the statistics of the period. The exports of Great Britain exhibited an increase of £19,000,000 from 1847 to 1852; but that was not more than was the result of the gradual rise in the price of the chief articles of commerce, when the depressing effect of the monetary crisis wore away, and the effect of the beginning of increased supplies of the precious metals was felt. In imports, the measure of the national consumption, there was hardly any increase: they had, in spite of the rise of prices, risen only from £105,000,000 (official value) in 1849 to £109,000,000 in 1852. The paupers relieved in Great Britain had remained much the same in the period; they were about 870,000 in England, and 75,000 in Scotland, the whole time. In Ireland, in consequence of the termination of the famine and the prodigious extent of the emigration, there was a very great reduction; they had sunk from 620,000 to 170,000 a-year.* But the emigrants

EXPORTS, IMPORTS, PAUPERS RELIEVED, AND EMIGRANTS FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, IN EVERY YEAR FROM 1846 TO 1852.

Years.	British and Irish Exports—Declared Value.		Paupers relieved—England.	Paupers relieved—Ireland.	Emigrants.
1846	£57,786,875	£75,953,875	..	..	129,851
1847	58,842,377	90,921,866	..	..	258,270
1848	52,849,445	93,547,134	..	..	248,039
1849	63,596,025	105,874,607	934,489	620,747	299,498
1850	71,367,865	100,460,433	920,543	307,970	280,849
1851	74,448,722	110,484,947	860,893	209,187	335,906
1852	78,076,854	109,331,158	834,424	171,418	368,764

—*Statistical Abstract*, No. IV. 35; *Trade and Navigation Returns*, 1855; NEWMARSH, 453; PORTER, 357, 490, 405.

from the empire, the true test of the sufferings of the working classes, had increased enormously and beyond all precedent; they had swelled from 129,000 in 1846, to 368,000 in 1852.

5. When the price of grain during this period, and the immense extent of the importation of that article of subsistence, are taken into consideration, it will not appear surprising that very great distress should have prevailed, and that this immense exodus should have taken place. Upon comparing the prices of wheat for six years preceding 1842, the year when the tariff was lowered, and six years after 1846, when Free Trade was introduced, the difference was about a third; it had fallen from an average of 58s. to one of 44s. As this great and, as it then appeared, lasting fall and change of prices had occurred during a period when taxes were unchanged, rents had not as yet come down, and the cost of labour, from the effects of the prodigious emigration which had taken place, had considerably risen, it was felt with very great severity by the agricultural interest over the whole country; and it was their suffering, and consequently lessened consumption, coupled with the effects of the monetary crisis, which occasioned the stationary condition, and in one year actual decline, of the imports. This feature characterised the period 1849-52, when the vast import of grain consequent on the famine had ceased. The British and Irish agriculturists found themselves, while working with increased wages, suddenly exposed to the competition of foreign corn-growing countries, in which labour cost not a third of what it did in Great Britain, and rents, where they existed at all, were less in a similar proportion. The effect was immediate and universal. With the rapid and serious fall of prices, and the immense extent of the importation of grain during the period, which ranged from 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 quarters annually, corn went out of cultivation to a considerable extent in both islands; arable lands were very generally thrown into grass, and the lessened supply of wheat in the two islands just about

equalled the foreign importation. If we are to give credit to the boast of the Free-traders, that during the twelve years, from 1846 to 1857, no less than 224,000,000 quarters of foreign grain or flour were imported, being *at the rate of 18,700,000 quarters a-year*, we should arrive at the conclusion that the effect of the repeal of the Corn Laws has been to change the nation from the state of being in ordinary years nearly self-supporting, to one in which *two-thirds* of the food of its inhabitants is imported from foreign countries.*

6. The general reduction in the price of commodities of commerce, especially such as were the immediate produce of the soil, which resulted from the combined effect of the repeal of the Corn Laws and the monetary crisis, produced a general unsettling, and demand for relief in every quarter, among those suffering from the change. Foremost among these were the mercantile and colonial classes who had been injured by the fall in the price of their produce. They insisted that it was indispensable that the price of the conveyance of goods should be reduced in the same proportion, or they could no longer carry on their business with any profit. This could only be done by establishing a free competition between British and foreign shipping, and breaking down the monopoly which for two centuries the protective system had established in favour of the former. To this it was added by the colonies, and especially Canada and the West Indies, that now that all protection for the staple articles of their produce had been taken away, and they were exposed to the unrestricted competition of their neighbours in the United States, it was ab-

* "What is the result? Why, from 1846 to 1857—a period of twelve years—we have received into the country of grain of all kinds—of flour and Indian corn (maize)—all formerly articles, not of absolute prohibition, but which were intended to be prohibited until it was no longer safe that the people should be starved—no less a quantity than 224,000,000 qrs. *That quantity is equal to 18,700,000 quarters per annum for the twelve years*, and during that period your home-growth has been stimulated to an enormous extent."—MR BRIGHT'S Speech at Manchester, Nov. 2, 1858; *Times*, Nov. 3.

solutely necessary that the restraints which hitherto had been imposed on their coasting trade, for the benefit of the British shipowners, should be removed. Thence a general demand from the interested classes for the REPEAL OF THE NAVIGATION LAWS; and this clamour soon became so violent, that it was with some difficulty that ministers were prevailed on to postpone the question during the session of 1848. It came on early in that of the succeeding year, on the motion of Mr Labouchere, who moved in the House of Commons, "That it is expedient to remove the restrictions which prevent the free carriage of goods by sea to and from the United Kingdom and the British possessions abroad, and to amend the laws regulating the coasting trade of the United Kingdom, subject nevertheless to such control by her Majesty in Council as may be necessary; and also to amend the laws for the registration of ships and seamen." This motion gave rise to most able and instructive debates in both houses of Parliament.

7. On the part of the promoters of the bill, it was argued by Mr Labouchere, Sir James Graham, Lord John Russell, and Mr Gladstone: * "The Navigation Laws rested upon three fundamental principles: they secured to this country the monopoly of the colonial trade, of the long-voyage trade, and the carrying or indirect European trade. Of the first, great part is already gone from the effect of the reciprocity system; and it is the height of injustice, under such circumstances, to refuse to the colonies the abolition of restrictions of which they have always complained, and which true wisdom tells us we should no longer exasperate them by refusing to remove. The documents laid before the House illustrate the evils of which the colonies complain, and which Canada in particular suffers, from the Navigation Laws. They throw grievous impedi-

ments in the way of an advantageous trade between Canada and the American territory, both of which are situated on the margin of the lakes; for how could so distant a traffic be carried on prosperously by British vessels? In regard to the long-voyage trade, the system is inconsistent, and inverts the true principles of commerce; while in regard to the monopoly of the carrying European trade, it depends on its being confined to ourselves, and as long as we could secure that, it was no doubt advantageous. But it is no longer possible to do so, for other countries have shown that they are aware of the injustice to them of this one-sided system, and that they are determined either to abrogate or retaliate for it. Is it not wise then for this country, which has been the first to introduce a liberal system into commerce, to complete it by placing the laws upon a rational footing, exchanging a narrow for an enlarged and liberal policy? If other countries shall not follow our good example, it is easy to re-enact the restrictions, in whole or in part, with reference to such countries as shall adopt a policy prejudicial to British interests. Great inconvenience also has resulted from the obligation in the present laws on shipowners to take a certain number of apprentices, and this it is proposed to repeal.

8. "Little real advantage has ensued to the British shipowners from the laws, who, by the very policy of these laws, are exposed to competition in the long-voyage trade in every country where competition is most dangerous to them. All the tests which have been applied prove the ability of British shipowners to compete with the foreign. Even in the American trade, British ships have increased more rapidly than the foreign. The laws in many cases act as a protection to foreign ships at the expense of the British; and while practically they are of little benefit to the shipowner, their restrictions operate, especially in emergencies, very injuriously upon consumers, and ultimately upon shipowners themselves. If a commercial

* Mr Gladstone spoke most ably on the subject, and voted with the Liberals; but his speech was so mixed up with considerations on the other side, as to call forth the remark of Mr Drummond, which elicited general cheers, that he had spoken on one side, and voted on the other.—*Parl. Deb.*

marine is necessary to sustain our navy, Free Trade has increased, and must still farther increase, that marine. It is absurd to suppose that a system which goes largely to increase the commerce between nation and nation is not to benefit the shipping interests of the nation which is at once the centre of that commerce and the greatest trading nation in the world. The British shipowners will, by the repeal of the Navigation Laws, without doubt be exposed to a sharp competition from the Baltic and the United States all over the world. Some compensation to the British shipowner is due for this disadvantage, and the compensation is to be found in the opening of new fields of commerce by the system of conditional relaxation. The effect of that system would be to give to the vessels of such states as conferred privileges upon our shipping corresponding advantages in our ports. Such a system would be an equal advantage to both sides.

9. "It is a mistake to say that the commercial interests of the country are unfavourable to the bill, and have spoken out against it. There are, indeed, a few petitions on that side presented by respectable parties; but they are few in number in comparison of the great body on the other side. The measure now on the table has been brought forward by the representatives of the great towns and emporia of commerce. The measure has been introduced on the responsibility of the member for London (Lord John Russell), and it has been supported throughout by the representatives of the chief seats of commerce—Liverpool, Glasgow, Newcastle, and the West Riding. Without declaring reciprocity a condition of our opening our ports to foreign vessels, it will extend commerce and promote mutual intercourse all over the world, and in that event the lion's share is sure to fall to England. Admitting that the superiority of our mercantile marine is the keystone of our naval power, the measure is entitled to support, because there is no reason to suppose

it will injure our mercantile marine. The complication of our reciprocity treaties is another and a most powerful reason for repealing the Navigation Laws at once, for they have now become so involved that none but those whose attention is constantly given to the subject can bear them in mind.

10. "But, most of all, the repeal of these laws is indispensable, if we would preserve our colonial empire from dismemberment. The colonies, in particular Canada, have spoken out on the subject: it is now evident that unless we are prepared either to concede this, or to return to the protective system, and reimpose the duties on foreign corn, we shall lose Canada. The urgency of the question, in this point of view, is such that it will admit of no delay. If we attach any importance to the retention of Canada, no time is to be lost in passing the bill now before the House. It is a mistake to suppose that the Navigation Laws are a support to the shipping interest of the country. In fact, the old reliance on impressment for the manning of the royal navy is mainly owing to the injurious operation of these laws. If a change has become necessary, now is the time to make it, when the old protective system has been abandoned in regard to the producing interests both of the mother country and the colonies: it is indispensable to consummate the commercial policy on which the country has embarked. Without it all that had been done would prove infirm: with it, that which had been achieved could not easily be undone. This measure, then, is the great battle-field on which the last struggle must take place between reaction and progress. The peace and tranquillity of the country during the last year are mainly to be ascribed to recent legislation, and to go back now to protective duties might lead to convulsions and fatal consequences."

11. On the other hand, it was maintained by Mr Herries, Mr Disraeli, and Lord Derby, who found an unexpected but powerful ally in Lord

Brougham: "The Navigation Laws have secured to this country a large commercial marine, and laid the foundation, in a numerous and trained body of seaman, of our maritime superiority: and the question is, Are you to diminish that foundation, and lessen that superiority, in order to carry out a favourite theory? The reasons assigned in support of the change are visionary and problematical: the dangers with which it is fraught, real and imminent. It is said Canada demands this measure, because she has lost the benefit of protection: that is to say, having done one foolish thing, and essentially injured one great interest, you must do another foolish thing and ruin another great interest in order to put them on a footing of equality. The fact is undoubted that foreign ships can be built and navigated cheaper than they can in this country, for this plain reason, that many of them have the materials of ship-building at their own doors, whereas ours must be brought from a distance, and all of them, except the Americans, pay less than half the wages to their seamen. British ships, it is now proved, do not last longer than foreign: how, then, can our shipowners, labouring under these disadvantages, compete with foreign? The result of the reciprocity treaties, which has been to seriously increase the proportion of foreign to home shipping in trade with all the countries with which they have been concluded, should make us pause before we apply the same system to our entire maritime interests. The proposed abolition of the seaman apprenticeship system is, if possible, still more hazardous; for it goes directly to diminish the skill and lessen the efficiency of the seamen who are employed in the mercantile marine, from whom alone our royal navy must be manned.

12. "It is in vain to say that, having taken protection from agriculture, we must remove it from shipping also. If that argument has any force, it amounts to this, that having done wrong once, we must do so on every future occasion, and shun as you

would a pestilence any return to right principles. But in truth there is no indissoluble connection between free trade in grain and the removal of all protection from shipping. Each case must be judged of by its own circumstances, and by them alone, irrespective of past deeds, be they wise ones or errors. Reaction is indeed to be dreaded; but not because, like repentance, it is the first step to reformation, but because it can proceed only from the agony of a suffering people. The present bill is not called for by any great interest in the country, or any loud popular voice; it is the mere shift of a party to elude or conceal the consequences of their own measures, which they have forced upon a reluctant people and a hesitating parliament. Last year we were told that Free Trade had taken such root in the minds of the people that reaction was impossible: and already it has become so strong, that the main argument adduced in favour of the bill is the danger of a prolonged contest between that principle and the old protective system.

13. "The time is coming when the people of England will no longer be satisfied with vague declamations about progress: they will ask what they are progressing to? We are told we may look for rebellion in Ireland unless this bill is passed. Is this, then, the fruit of your boasted free-trade measures: to threaten the dismemberment of the empire; to pluck the brightest jewel from the Crown, unless another great interest of the State is sacrificed? Probably we shall be told at this rate, next year, that the shipowners and sailors will revolt, unless a sacrifice to appease them is made of the royal navy, which now competes with their industry. Are the results of Free Trade, so far as they have gone, so very encouraging as to call for a prolongation and extension of the system? During the three years which have passed since Free Trade was established, the poor-rates have increased 17 per cent, the capital of the country has decreased a hundred millions, and the deposits in the savings banks have been lessened to

the extent of a half. Is that a reason for extending the same system to another great interest in the State, and that the one which is the foundation on which our maritime superiority and national independence rest?

14. "The present question is not one of Free Trade: it has nothing to do with that question any more than the manning of the royal navy has. Adam Smith, Mr Huskisson, Mr Washington, Mr Madison, have all declared in favour of a protective system to encourage the breed of native seamen. The Navigation Laws did not create a monopoly in favour of our colonies: that has long ago been demonstrated. It is to no purpose in this question to refer to the statistical returns which show the growth of our shipping, irrespective of that of foreign states. The real question is, in what *relative* proportion have they advanced, and to what goal are they tending? Judging by this standard, the dangers of free-trade in shipping are immense, and cannot be exaggerated. It may well make us pause when we recollect that the measures we are considering may jeopardise 4,000,000 tons of shipping, navigated by 230,000 seamen, who now ride triumphant on every sea of the globe. Consider the effects of our false and meddling despicable foreign policy, and say, are we prepared for the maritime wars which, sooner or later, must be its inevitable consequence? That man is bold who entertains no apprehension for the peace of Europe, and can look across the Channel and see the character of the Republic there established without fear. Look at Italy, Germany, Hungary, all wrapt in flames, and can it be said that Europe is in a period of profound peace? Is this a period for making great and portentous changes in a navy by which victories have been nobly won, and immortal triumphs gained? Is this a time for reducing our thousand ships of war to a hundred? The slave-trade, which we have made such efforts to extirpate, will spring up afresh when the Americans, Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians are admitted by this bill into

what has hitherto been our carrying trade."*

15. The amendment proposed by Mr Herries was rejected, and the bill passed in the Commons by a majority of 61; the numbers being 275 to 214. In the Lords, however, the division was more narrow, the majority being only 10. So close a division on a question vital to the Administration, awakened doubts as to its stability; and reports soon began to fly about of a change of Government. These reports, however, were premature; the bill became law without any further discussion, and Ministers recovered their majority sufficiently on other questions to be enabled to carry on the government. Thus this great change, extricated from the collision of party interests and passions, took its place as part of the settled institutions of the State.

16. Perhaps there is none of the great questions which have been agitated in the country during the forty years embraced in this History, which have been so quickly brought to the test of experience, as this of the abolition of the Navigation Laws. The two most bulky articles of commerce, as Adam Smith calls them, *Man* and *Corn*, came, shortly after it was introduced, to be conveyed to an unprecedented extent, across the ocean, to and from the British empire. The gold discoveries in California and Australia ere long raised prices above 30 per cent over the whole world, and stimulated speculation to such an enormous extent, that the exports of Great Britain in 1860 reached £164,000,000, and the imports £210,000,000, real value, being more than double of what they had been when the Navigation Laws were repealed.† Two terrible wars broke out in the Crimea and India, each of which required the transportation of a hundred thousand men and horses, along with artillery in pro-

* The last paragraph but one is taken from Mr Disraeli's, the last from Lord Brougham's, admirable argument on the subject.

† In 1864 the computed value of the Imports was £274,863,924; the declared and computed value of the Exports, £212,656,542. —*Statistical Abstract*, No. XII., p. 18.

portion, across the ocean. No circumstances could be conceived so favourable to a great experiment on the Navigation Laws—so favourable, indeed, that they might well have concealed its effects, and made them appear highly beneficial, when in fact they were the very reverse. From the effects which the change has produced, some idea may be formed of what they are likely to be under circumstances less propitious.

17. From the returns presented to Parliament it appears, that while under the protective system the British shipping had increased from 922,000 tons in 1801, to 1,599,274 tons in 1821, the foreign employed in the British trade had *declined*, during the same period, from 780,135 tons to 396,256. On the other hand, under the reciprocity, which was a semi-free-trade system applied to particular countries, the British tons had increased from 1,664,186 tons in 1822, to 4,884,210 in 1849, and the foreign had increased from 469,151 tons in the former period, to 2,035,690 in the same year. In other words, during the twenty-seven years of peace, the British tonnage had *tripled*, but the foreign tonnage employed in carrying on our trade had increased nearly *five-fold*. But during the eleven years which elapsed from 1850 to 1860, both inclusive, subsequent to the repeal of the Navigation Laws, while the British shipping increased, under all the favourable circumstances above mentioned, only from 4,700,000 tons to 6,889,000, the foreign, during the same period, swelled from 2,400,000 tons to 5,283,000 tons. In other words, in eleven years subsequent to the repeal of the Navigation Laws, the British shipping has increased 41 per cent, the foreign 111 per cent. The clearances of the United Kingdom from 1843 to 1848 exhibited an increase of 30 per cent; and from 1849 to 1858, of 65 per cent. During the first of these periods, the clearances of foreign vessels exhibited, in the first period, an increase of 46 per cent, and in the last, subsequent to the repeal, of 90 per cent. That is, under the pro-

ductive system, the annual increment of British shipping was three times that of the foreign: under the reciprocity system, the increase of foreign shipping has been a half more than the British; and in the first eleven years after the repeal of the Navigation Laws, *the rate of increase of foreign shipping has been nearly three times that of British*. The returns on which these results are founded are all given in the note below, taken from the Board of Trade returns;* and it is evident from them, that in a few years the foreign shipping employed in carrying on our trade will come to exceed the British. The vital importance of this change will not be duly appreciated unless it is recollected, that under the free-trade system, on an average a third, and in years of scarcity a half, of the whole food of our people has

* I. BRITISH AND FOREIGN TONNAGE, 1801-1821—PROTECTION.

Years.	British.	Foreign.	Total.
1801	922,594	780,135	1,702,709
1806	904,367	612,904	1,517,271
1810	898,001	1,176,248	2,074,244
1814	1,290,248	599,287	3,889,535
1819	1,809,128	542,684	2,351,812
1821	1,599,274	396,256	1,995,530

British Tonnage increased as 9 to 15; Foreign declined as 7 to 3.

II. BRITISH AND FOREIGN TONNAGE, 1822-1849—RECIPROCITY.

Years.	British.	Foreign.	Total.
1822	1,664,186	469,151	2,133,337
1827	2,089,898	751,864	2,839,762
1832	2,185,980	699,979	2,825,959
1837	2,017,166	1,005,940	3,023,101
1842	3,294,725	1,205,803	4,500,628
1847	4,942,094	2,238,039	7,198,083
1849	4,884,210	2,035,690	6,919,900

British Tonnage increased 3 to 1; Foreign, from 46 to 243, or 4½ to 1.

III. BRITISH AND FOREIGN TONNAGE, 1850-1860—FREE-TRADE IN SHIPPING.

Years.	British.	Foreign.	Total.
1850	4,700,199	2,400,277	7,100,476
1851	4,938,386	2,993,708	7,932,094
1852	4,934,863	2,952,584	7,787,447
1853	5,055,343	3,887,763	8,943,106
1854	5,374,551	3,786,815	9,161,366
1855	5,270,792	3,660,447	8,931,239
1856	6,390,715	4,102,419	10,553,134
1857	6,853,705	4,621,494	11,475,199
1858	6,430,201	4,322,499	10,661,700
1859	6,585,112	4,636,810	11,221,922
1860	6,889,009	5,283,776	12,172,785

Increase of British Tonnage, as 47 to 68, or 41 per cent; of Foreign, as 24 to 52, or 111 per cent.—PORTER, 397, 3d edit.; *Statistical Abstract*, No. XII., p. 80.

come to depend on foreign supplies. These facts regarding the comparative progress of British and foreign shipping, since the repeal of the Navigation Laws in 1849, become the more important from the now ascertained and great decline in the seamen employed in fisheries, belonging to the United Kingdom during the same term. From the report of the Committee on the Irish Fisheries, June 1865, it appears that "in 1846 there were 19,883 vessels, manned by 93,073 men and boys, engaged in the Irish Fisheries; while in 1864 there were only 9300 vessels so employed, manned by 40,946 men and boys," showing a decline in eighteen years of Free Trade of 10,583 boats and 52,127 men and boys! The importance of this great decline will not be duly appreciated unless Mr Cobden's words are recollected—"To Great Britain now maritime superiority is the condition of existence."

18. It was evident from the animation of this debate, that notwithstanding their frequent defeats, the Protectionists did not as yet give up the contest, and deemed it still possible to obtain some relief for the suffering agricultural interest. Accordingly, on the 8th March Mr Disraeli made a motion for a readjustment of the direct taxation of the country, in such a way as to take off some of the burdens which now exclusively affected the landed property of the kingdom. It must be confessed, the facts he adduced were sufficiently striking. From the parliamentary returns to which he referred, it appeared, that of the direct taxation of the country, no less than £12,000,000 a-year was *exclusively levied upon the land*, although, of the entire property of the kingdom rated to the income-tax, which amounted to £186,000,000, only £87,000,000 came from heritable property. Why, he asked, should one-third of the property of the kingdom be exclusively burdened with so heavy a load of direct taxation as £12,000,000, being more than double the existing income-tax, which was £5,600,000? "The injustice of this exclusive and class taxation upon the land appeared the

more striking, when it is recollected that, of all interests in the country, the land has suffered most under the effects of recent legislation; and that it is already the boast of the Free-traders, expressed in the House of Commons by their leader Mr Villiers, that by the introduction of that change, the consumers of food have gained—in other words, the producers of food have lost—£93,000,000 a-year! Thus, you select a fragment of the community possessing only a third of its income, which has been enormously injured by recent legislation, while all others have been proportionally benefited, to subject it to *three times the income-tax which the rest of the community bears!*" It is difficult to see what answer, founded in reason and justice, could be made to this appeal; but the free-trade majority in the House of Commons threw out the proposal by a majority of 91—the numbers being 280 to 189.

19. Notwithstanding the proof so often exhibited of the number and resolute character of the free-trade majority in the House of Commons, it is probable that the strength of the case for a readjustment of direct taxation was such, that it would in the course of time have worked out some legislative change on the subject, were it not that several circumstances combined to strengthen the party that supported Free Trade, and concealed for a season its injurious effect. The first of these was the enormous extent of the emigration going on at that time. The effect of this change upon the market for labour, and the remuneration which it received, was immense; for it kept up wages at a comparatively high level when the price of subsistence was rapidly falling. Wages for country labour in Ireland, which in 1845 had been 4d. a-day, were now 2s., and the same effect was observable in a lesser degree in Great Britain. The second was the immense amount of labour required for the completion of the railways which had been set on foot during 1845 and 1846, and took many years for their completion. The multitude of workmen and artisans en-

played in the construction of these, powerfully contributed to keep up the wages of labour and increase the general wellbeing of society in all classes except the agricultural. The third circumstance was the gold discoveries in California and Australia, which was gradually coming to raise prices considerably all over the world, and, by consequently encouraging speculation everywhere, gave an immense impulse to manufacturing industry of every sort. The manufacturers, and whole inhabitants of towns, felt the beneficial influence of these circumstances in the augmented wages of their labour, while the money they received in exchange for it was worth 40 per cent more in consequence of the fall to that extent in the cost of subsistence. This was all sedulously ascribed by the free-trade party to the effect of their measures, and with such success that nearly the whole urban population came to adopt it as the basis of their political creed. But these very circumstances, which so largely benefited the manufacturing and commercial classes, only aggravated the sufferings of the agricultural, for they forcibly kept up the wages of labour at a level higher than had ever been known, at the very time when the vast importation of foreign grain had lowered by a third the price of their produce.

20. If the prices of foreign and British grain had continued after the change of 1846 the same respectively as they had been before it, the consequence must have been the almost entire destruction of British agriculture. But three circumstances have intervened since the change, and had an important effect in mitigating the consequences with which it otherwise would have been attended. The first of these was the very considerable and permanent rise which took place in the price of foreign grain, and especially wheat, in the great grain-countries of Europe. So entirely is the price of grain in them, as measured by the markets of Dantzic and Odessa, dependent on the amount of export which is practicable to foreign countries, and especially Great Britain,

that it has been raised permanently fully 40 per cent by the repeal of the Corn Laws; it has risen from an average of 25s. a quarter to one of nearly 35s. This, coupled with the natural protection to British agriculture which arises from the cost of freight from the countries where the corn is grown, has gone far to mitigate the severity of the blow which had fallen on the farmers of this country; a striking instance of the manner in which the wise provisions of nature mitigate the injurious consequences of hasty or selfish legislation.

21. The second of these circumstances is the great improvements which, at the same period, and not a little owing to the change, took place in farming over the whole country, especially by improved draining. This may appear a strange and anomalous result to have flowed from a change which so seriously lessened the value of agricultural produce, and consequently the remuneration of British rural industry; but in reality it is not so. The same thing for a long time was observed in the West Indies, when the profits of their cultivation were so grievously affected by the emancipation of the negroes and the reduction of the duties on foreign sugars. It arose in both cases from the desire to *compensate reduction of price by increase of production*. Experience has proved that the system of tile-draining, when rightly executed, raised the produce of corn lands about 30, and grass lands about 45 per cent, from whence may be conceived how vast a change in the productive power of British agriculture this felicitous discovery has made. But as the price of cereal produce of every sort was so ruinously low, and in 1849, 1850, and 1851, after the corn-law repeal had come into full operation, the price of wheat sank to 44s., 40s., and 38s. respectively, this altered system of agriculture ran chiefly into an increased pasturage and improved mode of dealing with green crops, instead of any addition to corn-fields. Every one who lived in Britain during these years must have seen how generally

this change took place at that time. The unfortunate jealousy of the English farmers has prevented the magnitude of this change from being ascertained in their country by statistical evidence; but in Ireland, Captain Larcom's reports prove that while the production of wheat was lessened within five years of the repeal of the Corn Laws by above 2,000,000 quarters, the surface of grass land, and the average in green crops, has considerably increased; and the ascertained fact, that with the great rise of prices consequent on the gold discoveries and the Crimean war, the production of wheat in Scotland increased 100,000 quarters in a single year, may give some idea of the corresponding diminution in the growth of that cereal which took place during the great fall of prices which resulted from the establishment of free trade in grain.*

. 22. A third circumstance which tended powerfully to counteract at this period the depressing effect of the fall of prices in grain consequent on the repeal of the Corn Laws, was the completion of the vast network of railways which overspread all the fertile and some of the desolate parts of the British Islands. The extent to which this railway system of communication has been pushed, the sums of money which have been expended upon it, and the effect it has had upon rural industry and the balance of political parties in the State, are equally astonishing. From a parliamentary report in the year 1858, it appears that the total

sum authorised to be raised in ordinary shares, preference shares, and loans, for British railways, up to the year 1857, amounted to the enormous sum of £370,000,000, of which £303,000,000 had been actually raised and expended. The effect of this enormous expenditure of capital on purposes entirely domestic, and giving employment exclusively to our own people, has been immense; and its consequences upon the agricultural interests have been in the highest degree important. By it the monopoly of the farmers in the neighbourhood of the great towns has been destroyed, and markets opened, especially for butcher-meat and the produce of the dairy, to rural labour in even the most remote parts of the country. To such an extent has this result ensued, that cattle are now sent up in a day from the uplands of Aberdeenshire and Morayshire to London, at a cost of 20s. a-head—a sum not greater than was lost in value by the animal in driving during three days from Glasgow to Edinburgh by the roads; and an enterprising Scotch shipowner,† who has transferred part of his great capital to Ireland, has 1500 acres of turnips in his own hands in the north of that island, and within five miles of his estate, finds a ready-money market for his cattle at a railway station, all of them going direct to London.

23. Another consequence of a very singular and unexpected kind has arisen from the establishment of the railway system in Britain—namely, a great extension of the urban political

* PRODUCTION OF GRAIN, POTATOES, AND GREEN CROPS IN IRELAND FROM 1849 TO 1853.

Years.	Wheat. Barrels, 30 st.	Potatoes. Barrels, 20 st.	Turnips. Tons.	Mangold Wurzel. Tons.
1849	3,641,198	32,112,679	5,805,848	346,595
1850	2,604,164	31,567,917	5,439,005	364,036
1851	2,508,963	35,528,175	6,081,326	466,235
1852	1,938,941	34,044,831	5,675,847	557,139
1853	1,904,302	45,932,301	6,502,471	588,983

—*Agricultural Returns*, "Ireland," 1848, p. 5, *Introd.*; 1855, p. xv, *Introd.*

Wheat raised in Scotland:—In 1855, 191,300 qrs.; in 1856, 261,842 qrs.; in 1857, 298,400 qrs.—*Highland Society's Returns* in these years.

For the still more striking confirmation of these remarks on Irish agriculture from 1855 to 1863, see the table given *ante*, chap. lxiii. § 61, *note*.

† Mr Pollock, of Pollock, Gilmour, & Co., of Greenock.

interest in rural districts. This, like all the other changes introduced by time, was unobserved in its origin, and only began to attract attention when it had come to make a great and lasting alteration in the balance of parties. As much and generally as it has brought the produce of the whole country into the towns, has it brought the interests and ideas of the great towns into the country. It is the *great* towns, however, only which have in this manner been spread over the country; the small towns are comparatively withered and dried up, from the superior attractions for customers of the shops and places of business in the large ones. But in the great commercial and manufacturing cities the change has been great and decisive. Their increasing wealth and importance has resulted in a general migration of the more wealthy citizens to country residences within a circuit of twenty or thirty miles around their boundaries, where they have their homes, and their families are established, and from whence the men return daily to their places of business during the forenoon in the great commercial emporiums to which they belong. The effect of this migration of urban classes and interests into the country has been in the highest degree important. These citizens of towns, for the most part, have carried into the country the ideas and wishes of towns; they have overspread the counties with city influence. The vast majority of these citizens are Liberal; their homes are in the country, but their hearts and their interests are in towns. As commercial towns in all ages have been the centres of democratic influences, and rural districts of conservative, it may be conceived how great has been the effect of this transference of country political influence to city majorities.

24. But although these circumstances tended powerfully, even before the gold discoveries came into operation, to counteract the depressing effect of the repeal of the Corn Laws, yet the first effect of that repeal was in the highest degree dis-

tressing, and produced an unprecedented amount of suffering and consequent clamour among the agricultural classes in every part of the country. In 1850 and 1851 especially, when the price of the quarter of wheat was 40s. and 39s., the outcry was universal. Meetings were held in London, Dublin, Edinburgh, and almost every county town in Great Britain, where the most alarming statements were put forth as to the depressed state of agriculture in all its branches, and the utter ruin which must overtake cultivation, if Protection in some form were not restored. It is no wonder these statements were made; for the fall of at least a *third* in wheat, from an average of 56s. to one of 40s., at a time when wages were higher rather than the reverse, was to sweep away entirely the profits of cultivation, and leave the farmer nothing either to pay his rent or subsidise his family. The story told at all these meetings was the same—that they could not compete with foreign cultivators, who raised grain by means of labourers paid 4d. a-day, while they were paying 2s., and that to avoid ruin they had no alternative but to turn their arable lands into grass, and abandon, except in the most favoured situations, all attempts to raise grain crops. This, again, led to a fresh set of evils; for the quantity of corn lands suddenly turned into pasture produced such an increase in the supply of butcher-meat, that it fell in a proportion even more alarming than the reduction in the price of grain. Meat sank from 9d. to 6d. and 5d. a pound: the complaint was universal among the graziers that, after buying sheep or cattle and feeding them for six months, they were obliged to sell them lower than they had acquired them. In a word, the landlords and farmers in every part of the country were in despair; and the outcry raised was so general and violent, that, in former times, it must inevitably have led to a change of measures.

25. The Free-traders, while these violent declamations were going on on one side, made no attempt to get up a

counter-agitation on the other. They knew that the Reform Bill had given them the command, through the boroughs, of three-fifths of the seats in the House of Commons, although two-thirds of the entire inhabitants of the empire were directly or indirectly dependent on agriculture for their support. Conscious of this, they allowed the Protectionists to get it all their own way in the public meetings, and calmly awaited the decision of the House of Commons, where they were sure of a majority on the question at issue. The journals which supported their side contented themselves with observing that, although without doubt the prices of rural produce had fallen very considerably, yet the efforts which were everywhere making to extend and improve agricultural industry by draining, enclosing, and the use of guano, afforded a sufficient proof that prices had not yet declined so much as to check it, and therefore that the reduction of price was a great benefit to the other classes of the community, and no injustice to the farmer. He was merely deprived of the benefit of an unjust monopoly, and brought to a level which, without being injurious to rural industry, is consistent with justice to the other great interests of the Empire.

26. The question came on for final discussion, after it had been exhausted by repeated debates previously in Parliament and the country, on the 23d November 1852, on a motion brought forward by Mr Villiers, the purport of which was to pledge the country to the principles of Free Trade.* It was maintained by the mover, and Mr Bright and Mr Gladstone: "All are agreed

* "That it is the opinion of this House that the improved condition of the country, and particularly of the industrious classes, is mainly the result of recent commercial legislation, and especially of the Act of 1846, which established the free admission of foreign corn, and that that Act was a wise, just, and beneficial measure. That it is the opinion of this House that the maintenance and farther extension of the policy of Free Trade will best enable the property and industry of the country to bear the burdens to which they are exposed, and will most contribute to the general contentment and welfare of the people."—*Ann. Reg.* 1852, p. 133.

that recent legislation has improved the condition of the working classes: and that legislation has been, partly with common consent, characterised as 'wise, just, and beneficial.' Everything which affects the price of food is material to the condition of the people; and the very argument so strongly urged on the other side, that the Act of 1846 has made so great a reduction in the price of subsistence of all kinds, affords a measure of the benefit which it has conferred upon them. This benefit has not been partial or confined to the commercial classes only; on the contrary, it has been universal, and pervaded as much the rural as the manufacturing districts, the farmers and agricultural labourers as the master manufacturers and operative workmen. Undeniable statistics prove this. On what other principle can we explain the increase of exports from £57,000,000 in 1846 to £74,000,000 in 1851, and the diminution of the paupers relieved from 934,000 in 1849 to 860,000 in 1851? Farmers have many grievances to complain of, which well deserve the attention of the House, but the withdrawal of protection is not among the number. They are injured by the laws authorising distraining for rent, the laws of settlement, compensation for unexhausted improvements, and the game laws, but not by Free Trade. Their distresses are real, but they are ascribed to a wrong cause by the gentlemen opposite, who have so long converted them into a trading capital for party purposes.

27. "It is a mistake to say that the improved condition of the working classes is owing to the gold discoveries or emigration, and not to the effects of recent commercial legislation. It is Free Trade, and Free Trade only, which has done the whole. The opinion of the country is completely and irrevocably made up upon this point. The constant assertion of their own views by the Protectionists has done, during the last six years, incredible mischief, for it has gone far to mislead foreign nations on the subject, and prevented them from meeting us by a corresponding removal of their restrictions. In

this country, however, there is but one opinion among all men of sense on the subject. The Protectionists have appealed to the country, and lost the verdict. It is of the utmost importance that it should not only be affirmed by this House, but affirmed by so large a majority as to show the world that the policy of the country in regard to it is fixed and immutable, and that other nations would do well to descend into the same arena, and imitate our example.

28. "Notwithstanding the bitter exasperation and extraordinary prolongation of this conflict now closing, a similar spirit of moderation and forbearance still animates the House, which prevailed when the change was introduced, and especially the honourable author of it. It is our honour and pride to be his followers; and if we are so, let us imitate him in the magnanimity which was one of the most distinguishing characteristics of the man. When Sir R. Peel severed the ties of five-and-thirty years, he felt the price he was paying for the performance of his duty. He looked, perhaps, for his revenge; but for what revenge did he look? He did not seek to vindicate it by stinging speeches, or by motions carried in his favour, or in favour of bad policy, if they bore a sense of degradation and pain to the minds of honourable men. The vindication to which he looked was this: he knew that the wisdom of his measures would, in the end, secure their general acceptance. He knew that those who had opposed them from erroneous opinions would acknowledge them after competent experience. He looked to see them established in the esteem and sound judgment of the country. He looked to see them governing by slow but sure degrees the policy of every nation of the civilised world. He believed that the aristocracy themselves would, in the end, come to see that he had never rendered them so great a service as when, with the whole weight of the Government, he proposed the repeal of the Corn Laws. His belief was, that theirs was a great and sacred cause; that the aristocracy of England was an element, in its poli-

tical and social system, with which the welfare of the country was irreparably wound up; and to him, therefore, it was a noble object of ambition to redeem such a cause from association with a policy originally adopted in a state of imperfect knowledge and erroneous views, but which, with the clear light of experience poured upon it, was each day assuming more and more, in the view of the thinking portion of the community, the character of sordid and false.*

29. On the other side it was answered by Mr Disraeli, the Marquess of Granby, Sir John Pakington, and Sir E. B. Lytton: "If, as alleged on the other side, 'enormous mischief' has been produced by the conduct of the Protectionists, it is incumbent on this House to stigmatise it by a distinct expression of opinion, concerning which there can be no mistake. The Protectionists opposed the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 on two grounds. The first, that it would prove injurious to the interests of labour; that it was a labourer's, not a landlord's question: the second, that it would prove injurious to a great national interest. The same objection was made to the repeal of the Sugar Laws and of the Navigation Laws, so that since 1847 the nation has been incessantly occupied with discussions on agricultural, colonial, and shipping distress. From the time, however, that the change was introduced till the present moment, no attempt has been made by the Protectionists to restore the Corn Laws; for this reason, that the facts had not as yet so fully declared themselves as to warrant a demand for a return to the old policy. In this respect the Protectionists have imitated the conduct of Sir R. Peel, and the party which he headed, in regard to the Reform Bill, which they strenuously opposed while still under discussion, but accepted as an established fact when the change was finally adopted by the Legislature.

30. "There is in reality no ques-

* The concluding paragraph is taken *verbatim* from Mr Gladstone's eloquent peroration.

tion before the House on which it is necessary to come to a division. If the object is to settle the question, the Government have acknowledged that the conduct of the country in the recent elections was against the principles which they had supported, and they no longer attempted to struggle against it. This being so, it is a most unwise course, and grating to personal feelings, to compel persons to confess that a measure was just which they knew had been the cause of severe suffering to many. Since 1846 it has been apparent to all on this side, that, after so great a change in our commercial policy, the Legislature could not retrace its steps but in deference to the general voice of the country. They are free to confess that the change has not as yet arrived, and therefore, without having changed their private opinions, they make no attempt to bring about a return to the former policy. Many of the gentlemen on this side could not concur with Sir R. Peel when he introduced the measure of 1846; and in opposing him they made a great sacrifice, both of party and personal feeling." Mr Disraeli concluded with moving the following amendment: "That this House acknowledges with satisfaction that the cheapness of provisions, occasioned by recent legislation, has mainly contributed to improve the condition and increase the comfort of the working classes; and that unrestricted competition having been adopted, after due deliberation, as the principle of our commercial system, this House is of opinion that it is the duty of Government unreservedly to adhere to that policy in those measures of financial and administrative reform which, under the circumstances of the country, they may deem it their duty to introduce."

31. It is evident, from the turn which this debate took, that the mind of the majority of the House was made up on the subject. The Liberals plunged into the whole question of Free Trade, and repeated all the arguments by which they had so long and ably supported it. The Conservatives did not venture to dispute any longer

the general question, but struggled only to render their fall as gentle as possible, and to avert the humiliation of being obliged to confess that the change they had so strenuously opposed was just and expedient. In principle, and apart from party considerations and triumphs, the amendment of Mr Disraeli did not differ from the motion of Mr Villiers. The amendment of Mr Disraeli was carried by a majority of 80, the numbers being 336 to 256; the Liberals, assured of their victory, generously foregoing an unnecessary triumph over their opponents. After this decisive division on the general question, any subordinate matter, of whatever importance, was of no real public moment. An amendment proposed by Lord Palmerston, however, deserves to be noted, as affording a measure of the strength, or rather weakness, of the Protectionists, who still, under circumstances the most adverse, adhered to their old colours. Before the division on this amendment took place, 71 members left the House, and it was carried by an overwhelming majority, the numbers being 468 to 53.*

32. Thus was the principle of Free Trade and unrestricted competition finally established in the British Legislature; for the House of Peers, seeing the overwhelming majority in the Commons, prudently abstained from any division; and a resolution, proposed by the Marquess of Clanricarde, and slightly amended by Lord Harrowby, was carried unanimously, to the effect that "this House, thankfully acknowledging the general pros-

* Lord Palmerston's motion was as follows: "That it is the opinion of this House that the improved condition of the country, and especially the industrious classes, is mainly the result of recent legislation, which has established the principle of unrestricted competition, has abolished taxes imposed for the purposes of protection, and has thereby diminished the cost and increased the abundance of the principal articles of the food of the people; and that it is the opinion of this House that this policy, firmly maintained and prudently extended, will best enable the industry of the country to bear its burdens, and will thereby most surely promote the welfare and contentment of the people."—*Ann. Reg.* 1852, p. 142.

perity, and deeply sensible of the evils attending frequent changes in the financial policy of the country, adheres to the commercial system recently established; and would view with regret any attempt to impede its operations or disturb its progress." Thus the minority in the Legislature acted on the same wise principle in regard to Free Trade which they had previously done in regard to Reform; and seeing the country firmly bent on the adoption of that policy, withdrew all opposition, and allowed it to be tested by its effects. And without prejudging what the annalist of future times may say on the subject, when time has impressed its signet on the opinions of man upon it, it may at least be safely observed, that when the decision of the Legislature and the nation was thus irrevocably taken on the question, neither was as yet in possession of the facts requisite to the formation of a correct judgment regarding it. During the seven years preceding this decision, nearly three hundred millions sterling had been expended in the two islands on railways. In the same period the population of Ireland had declined two millions and a half, and the average emigration had been two hundred and sixty-six thousand annually; and during the two last years of the time, the gold discoveries, as will immediately appear, had come materially to affect prices, and stimulate industry, and encourage speculation all over the world. Whether the general prosperity which characterised the close of the period has been owing to these causes, or to a reduction in the price of subsistence, which, as Mr Villiers boasted in the House of Commons, had come to save the nation £93,000,000 annually. at the expense of the land, is a question which can be

resolved only when time has developed the effect of the one set of causes without the simultaneous operations of the other.

•33. The extreme severity of the monetary crisis in 1848 had diffused such distress through the community, and imprinted such languor and distrust on the operations of commerce, that relief from existing taxation, and the imposition of fresh burdens on the people, were alike out of the question. The payments from China, which came so opportunely a few years back to relieve the exchequer, had ceased; and the only resource of Government was the most rigid economy in every department, cutting down the army and navy to the lowest point, and the copious sale of old stores, to bring the expenditure within the income. As it was, they contrived to exhibit in the parliamentary accounts an excess of receipts over disbursements during three years; but this was obtained entirely from the income-tax, without which the deficit every year would have exceeded three millions. The average net revenue of the nation during the period was £56,000,000, of which £5,500,000 was derived from that tax.* The sums voted for the army and navy were about £6,500,000 each, and the ordnance £2,500,000; a woeful stretch of false economy, which the nation ere long expiated in tears of blood on the heights of Sebastopol and on the plains of India. The army kept up was only 92,000 men, exclusive of those in the employment of the East India Company—a force totally inadequate to the due discharge of the public service, especially as we were engaged in a serious and protracted war with the Caffres. The navy had only 34,000 men voted. With all this rigid economy, and the continuance of

* INCOME, EXPENDITURE, AND PUBLIC DEBT IN EACH YEAR FROM 1849 TO 1852.

Years.	Income.	Expenditure.	Surplus.	National Debt.	Unfunded Debt.
1849	£57,006,412	£56,480,659	£2,098,126	£773,168,316	£24,869,060
1850	57,431,796	54,938,534	2,517,341	769,272,592	25,185,954
1851	56,834,710	54,002,994	2,726,396	765,126,582	25,011,267
1852	57,755,370	55,229,336	2,417,559	761,627,763	24,786,529

the war burden of the income-tax, no progress was made in the reduction of the national debt; and it was a melancholy reflection, that after forty years of peace that burden was not materially less than it had been at the commencement of the period. Since the year 1833, when the government of the Reform Parliament began, the public debt, funded and unfunded, had increased £4,500,000, though unbroken peace in Europe, so far as this country was concerned, had obtained during the whole period.*

34. Important as these details are, they yet yield in moment to the returns obtained by the general census of the British Islands, taken in 1851, which exhibited results of a novel and startling character, that seemed to indicate a turning-point in the fortunes and destiny of the state. For a long period the population of the empire had steadily increased, and it had gone on since the peace of 1815 at the rate of somewhat above 2,000,000 souls in ten years, or 200,000 a-year. The increase between 1831 and 1841, in the two islands, had been no less than 2,700,000. Applying this rate of increase to the five years immediately succeeding 1841, the population of 1846 must have been at least 28,000,000. But the population of the two islands, as ascertained by the census of 1851,

was only 27,511,862, showing a *decrease* in the preceding five years of at least 700,000 souls, being at the rate of 140,000 a-year during the whole period.† We have only to look at the emigration, which, from the end of 1846 to the same period in 1851, amounted to 1,422,000 souls, and add to that 450,000 who perished directly from the effects of the Irish famine, to see what has been the main cause of the decline. Emigrants, it is to be recollected, are for the most part in the prime of life: four-fifths of them are under thirty; and therefore the abstraction of a million and a half in five years of such persons is far from being compensated by the addition of an equal number of infants, who cannot be fathers or mothers for eighteen or twenty years. By the census of 1861 the total population of the empire, including 275,000 of army and navy abroad, was 29,346,098, showing an increase of only 1,734,274 in the preceding ten years. This, with the exception of the disastrous decade from 1841 to 1851, was by much the least increase of the whole century. Such as it was, it all arose *subsequent* to 1856, before which there had been a most serious decline. Fonblanque, in his admirable statistics of Great Britain, estimates the inhabitants of England and Wales in 1856, from the

* Public debt in 1833,	£754,100,549	
Unfunded do.,	27,752,650	
Total, 1833,		£781,853,199
Public debt in 1852,	£761,627,763	
Unfunded do.,	24,786,529	
Total, 1852,		786,414,292

Added to the public debt in 20 years of peace, £4,561,093

—*Finance Accounts, 1833; PORTER'S Parl. Tables, p. 6.*

† POPULATION BY CENSUS OF 1831 AND 1841				
Years.	England and Scotland.	Ireland		Total
1831 ..	16,364,693 ..	7,767,401 ..		24,132,294
1841 ..	18,658,372 ..	8,175,124 ..		26,833,496
Increase,	2,293,689 ..	407,723		2,701,202

CENSUS OF 1851.

Population of whole empire in 1841-42,	26,833,496
Estimated increase to 1846 (half of 2,701,202),	1,350,101

Population in 1846,	28,189,597
Ascertained population in 1851,	27,511,862

Decrease, 1846-51,	677,735 *
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—*Census 1851, Introduct. ; Irish Census, 1853, p. 16, Introduct.*

result of the registered births and deaths, added to the census of 1851, at 19,045,157, and of Scotland, at 3,035,000; in all, 22,080,187. The Census Commissioners of Ireland have reported that the inhabitants of that island, in the same year, did not exceed 6,000,000; so that, not allowing for the emigration, the whole in 1856 was 28,080,000. But the emigration from 1851 to 1857 was 1,558,268 persons.* Thus, the whole inhabitants of the empire, in 1856, must have been under 28,000,000—less by at least 500,000 than they had been ten years before.

35. In addition to these causes which have of late years retarded the increase of population in the British Islands—some of which may possibly be of a temporary nature—there is one cause of a lasting and general kind, which has latterly been so powerful as of itself to render the increase, in many places, of the people stationary. This is the daily increasing number of the inhabitants who have become indwellers in cities or thickly-peopled places, and the increased mortality of such localities when compared with rural districts. This change has long been observed since the great increase in trade and manufactures which has taken place since the peace; and in the censuses of 1851 and 1861, while the popula-

tion in many of the rural counties was found to have declined, that of the towns, with few exceptions in Great Britain, and *without one in Ireland*, has increased. But the census returns have now placed the matter beyond a doubt. Notwithstanding the immigration from the country into the towns which is everywhere going forward, so great is the comparative unhealthiness of the latter, that the mortality in the towns is from 30 to 40 per cent greater than in the country, while the annual increase is nearly twice and a half greater in the former than the latter.† The other fact, also ascertained by the census, that the entire inhabitants in the former are constantly and rapidly increasing and those in the latter as constantly and rapidly diminishing, proves equally clearly the strength of the impulse which is now daily urging the people from the healthy rural to the unhealthy urban districts. Such is the force of the impelling cause, that in mountainous and generally barren Scotland, the inhabitants of the town districts are about equal to those of the rural; and even in rich and fertile England the proportion is nearly the same. The results of the census of 1861 have put this beyond a doubt. There is everywhere a great increase in the large towns and mining and manufacturing districts, and a

Viz.—

Years.	Emigrants.
1852,	368,966
1853,	329,937
1854,	323,429

Carry forward, 1,022,332

Years.	Brought forward,	Emigrants.
1855,	.	176,907
1856,	.	176,554
1857,	.	212,875

In six years, 1,558,568

Parl. Paper, June 28, 1858.

† DEATHS AND ANNUAL INCREASE IN SCOTLAND IN TOWNS AND COUNTRY DISTRICTS.

Years.	Country Districts.	Town Districts.	Annual Mortality.		Annual Increase.	
			Towns.	Country.	Country.	Towns.
1855	1,475,480	1,483,241	1 in 40	1 in 60	1 in 192	1 in 70
1856	1,530,364	1,552,021	1 in 42	1 in 68		

—FONBLANQUE, p. 12.

See also the statistics quoted *ante*, chap. lxiii. § 56, note, in vol. vii. p. 313.

In Glasgow, in the quarter ending 30th September 1858, the deaths in the rural districts were 1 in 45; in the town districts, 1 in 75: the births in the former, 1 in 33; in the latter, 1 in 28. In Glasgow, 60 per cent of the deaths were of children under five years of age.—*Registrar-General's Report*, quarter ending 30th September 1858.

corresponding decline in the purely agricultural and pastoral. The rate of total increase has in consequence been materially lessened. It has sunk from 2,700,000, which it was from 1831 to 1841, being an *eleventh* of the population at the beginning of the period, to 1,700,000 being one *seventeenth* only. It is evident, in these circumstances, that a powerful arresting cause has set in upon the inhabitants of Great Britain: the same as in all other countries has been the commencement of national decline. All great empires have perished, not from the redundancy, but the want of population—from the desertion of the country, and the flocking of its inhabitants to great towns in quest of subsistence. Reflect on Rome in ancient, and observe Turkey in modern times. Lord Shaftesbury, whose life has been spent in investigating the condition of the poor, has lately said at the Social Science Association: "The time is coming, and is not far distant, when

we shall experience a want of population for social, industrial, and mili-

36. Lord John Russell was the first statesman who prominently brought before the public, at a meeting of the Social Science Association, at Liverpool in 1858, the remarkable fact, that not only, during the fifty years embraced in this History, had crime greatly increased—which of course was to be expected from the increase of the population—but that it had increased in a *much greater ratio than the increase of the population*; and, what is still more remarkable, that this increase was particularly conspicuous in crimes such as robbery, burglary, and deadly assaults requiring violence for their completion.* The increase in murders of late has been so great as to have attracted general attention: from 1854 to 1856 the persons sentenced to death in England for that crime had increased from 11 to 31.† Since that time, the

COMMITTED AND CONVICTED IN GREAT BRITAIN IN THE YEARS 1817, 1827, 1837, 1847, AND 1857.

	1817.	1827.	1837.	1847.	
Shooting, stabbing, and wounding,	26				208
Robbing,	154				378
Burglary,	374				473
Housebreaking,	152				561
Theft in houses,	143				246
Forgery, and uttering forged notes,	62				184
Totals,	911	1113	1061	1498	2057

The population of Great Britain has increased, from 1811 to 1851, from 12,000,000 to 21,000,000, being 70 per cent. while these serious crimes have in the same period increased from 9 to 20, or 116 per cent. In the year 1857, no less than 3584 men were brought before the police magistrates in England alone, charged with assaults on women, chiefly their own wives.

† In Lord John Russell's inaugural address to the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, at Liverpool, October 11, 1858, his Lordship is reported to have said: "From the returns presented to Parliament, I am about to quote the results of the trials which have taken place on several subjects of criminal jurisdiction. Those are the offences of—1, shooting at, stabbing, or wounding; 2, robbery; 3, burglary; 4, housebreaking; 5, larceny in a dwelling-house; 6, forgery, and uttering forged instruments. The returns show the numbers convicted, sentenced to death, and executed for these offences in one year in every ten from 1817 to 1857, or, in other words, the changes which have taken place in 40 years. I give you the results:—1817, 911 convicted, 911 sentenced to death, and 78 executed; 1827, 1113 convicted, 1113 sentenced to death, and 41 executed; 1837, 1061 convicted, 405 sentenced to death, and none executed; 1847, 1498 convicted, 18 sentenced to death, and none executed; 1857, 2057 convicted, 21 sentenced to death, and none executed. The population of Great Britain has increased, from 1811 to 1851, in round numbers, from 12,000,000 to 21,000,000; and in England and Wales from 10,000,000 to 18,000,000. You will perceive that convictions have increased in a greater proportion. Upon examining these returns more in detail, there is a further result, namely—a great increase in the crimes accompanied with personal violence. Thus, the number convicted of shooting at, stabbing,

increase has been still more alarming. In the year 1862 there were no less than 134 convicted of murder. The common observation, that this increase of crime is apparent, not real, and that it arises from the more extended and improved police of later times, which has brought it to light, is an entire fallacy. Police establishments are an *effect*, not a *cause*. They are very expensive, and are always resisted to the very uttermost in every part of the country; and the "ignorant impatience of taxation" is never overcome till the mass of unpunished crime has fairly forced an effort to check it on a most reluctant people.* In truth, there is a progress in human affairs; but these facts would seem to indicate that there is a progress two ways as well as one, and recalls the observation of Disraeli, "Progress! yes, *but to what?*" It is evident, however, that these facts as to the more rapid increase of crime than population in an age when so much has been done to arrest it, by no means warrants the assertion that society, as a whole, is retrograding instead of advancing in morality. Unquestionably, in the higher and middle classes, and a great part of the working, the improvement is great and undoubted. The just inference from it is, that it is the effect of great wealth and long-established civilisation to multiply to a great ex-

tent the "classes dangereuses," as the French call them, who are at the bottom of the social ladder, and in whom vicious habits and crime arise so naturally from the circumstances in which they are placed, that they often seem to be almost unavoidable.

37. To this it must be added that a great and prolific cause of the increase of crime has come into operation in recent times in the British empire, owing to the virtual abolition of the *System of Transportation*. This great and calamitous change, which appears at first sight the most strange and inexplicable which has taken place even in an age in which every imaginable absurdity has been put in practice, under the influence of the passion for innovation, till it was abandoned by the force of experience, arose in truth, in the outset, from want of practical acquaintance with the subject on the part of those intrusted with its administration. The transportation of criminals is by far the best system which ever was devised by human wit, in the commencement of social progress in the distant parts of the empire, alike for the interests of the mother country, of the colonies, and of the criminals themselves. As such it succeeded perfectly for a very long period in Great Britain, and was attended with such advantages as rendered it the object of envy to all the statesmen and philanthropists of the Continent, who were oppressed by the manifold evils of galley-slaves and public bagnets. Under it, too, the colony of New South Wales, to which the convicts were sent, made unprecedented strides in population, industry, and wealth—considerably greater than were made during the same period by either Canada or the Cape of Good Hope, though these possessed the advantage of much greater proximity to the mother country—a matter of the highest importance in regard to free emigration. The progress of Australia with convicts, before the gold discoveries gave it its recent prodigious start, had been double that of either the Cape or Canada without them—a fact which decisively demonstrates the im-

or wounding, has increased, between 1817 and 1857, from 26 to 208, and of robbery from 154 to 378; while larceny in a dwelling-house has only increased from 143 to 248; burglary has increased from 374 to 473; housebreaking, from 152 to 568; forgery, &c., from 62 to 184. It would be very desirable to have more complete information on these several heads. It is very important to ascertain whether the repeal of capital punishment has led to greater readiness to prosecute on the part of the injured, and greater readiness to convict on the part of juries; and lastly, whether, and to what extent, crime has really increased."

* For twenty years the county of Lanark successfully resisted all the efforts made to establish a rural police among its immense population. At length it was established in 1858 by Government authority; and in the first six months after it was set on foot, the persons brought before the magistrates were 1180, of whom 976 were convicted.

mense advantage of forced penal labour to an infant colony.*

38. But towards the continuance of this salutary and healthful state of things, so fruitful of good both to the aged mother-country, overcharged with inhabitants and crime, and to the young colony in want of both, because both might be converted to the purposes of useful labour, it is indispensable that a *due proportion* should be observed between the convicts sent out and the free settlers, and that the former be kept a small fraction compared to the latter; because, unless this is done, the criminals will approach to an equality with the free inhabitants, life and property will become insecure, and their introduction will become an object of apprehension instead of desire. Unhappily the immense increase of crime in the British empire, especially since the year 1846, occasioned such an augmentation in the criminals sent out, that they came to bear an undue proportion to the ordinary inhabitants. When the criminals of Great Britain and Ireland were only 27,000, as they were in 1822, and of these only 1200 or 1500 were sent out, no undue increase of criminals was complained of; on the contrary, Australia was constantly demanding more, and its inhabitants viewed with peculiar complacency heavy assizes in the British Islands. But when the proportion was changed, owing to the great increase of crimi-

nals committed at home, and commitments had risen, as in 1848, to nearly 74,000, the stream of persons transported became from three to four thousand. This was felt as a serious grievance by New South Wales, the more especially as, anterior to the gold discoveries, the voluntary emigration had never exceeded three or four thousand annually. Accordingly the tide of public opinion in the colony turned; its inhabitants came to regard the convicts with apprehension; and numerous petitions were forwarded to Government from Sydney and its dependencies, praying to be entirely relieved from the burden of receiving transported criminals.

39. When matters came to this point. Government had two courses to pursue. They might either have issued an order in council to the colonies, engaging that to whatever colony which would agree to receive the convicts they would send *four free settlers* for each penal one; and employ the latter in making roads, bridges, canals, harbours, and railways, so that every free settler would find the means of communication at the public expense brought to his door. Having from 250,000 to 300,000 emigrants to deal with annually, a small bounty paid to each would easily have brought the requisite number of free settlers to keep in order the convicts, and the whole colonies of the empire would soon have been happy to receive the

* COMPARATIVE PROGRESS OF THE CAPE, CANADA, AND AUSTRALIA, BEFORE THE GOLD DISCOVERIES.

Years.	North American Colonies, without Convicts.		Cape, without Convicts.		Australia, with Convicts.	
	Exports to.	Population.	Exports to	Population.	Exports to	Population.
1828	£1,691,044	1,781,000	£218,849	276,261	£443,839	276,012
1838	1,992,457		623,323		921,568	
1846	3,308,059		486,879		1,441,640	
1847	3,233,014		688,208		1,644,170	
1848	1,990,592		645,718		1,463,931	
1849	2,280,396		520,896		2,080,364	
1850	3,235,651	2,900,000	796,600	367,218	2,602,253	641,196

—PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, 1846, i. 21; 1852, i. 48.

Increase of Canada in twenty-two years,	.	.	.	.	.	2 to 1.
" of Cape,	"	"	"	"	"	2½ " 1.
" of Australia,	"	"	"	"	"	7 " 1.

prolific stream. Or if this failed, they might have established a new penal colony in a suitable part of our vast colonial possessions, and treated it in the same manner, with four free to one convict settler. It would soon have distanced all its competitors depending on agricultural labour alone without gold attractions; property would have doubled in value in it every three or four years.

40. Pressed by financial embarrassment, the sad result of the commercial crisis of 1848, Government did neither of these things; but, to allay the terrors of Sydney, they sent the whole convicts to Van Diemen's Land, the most distant colonial settlement of the empire, and the passage to which costs £25, five times as much as one to America. No steps were taken to send out a due proportion of free settlers; and the passage to this remote settlement being so long and costly, the numbers of free settlers annually going out was much less than that of the convicts. The consequence of course was, that it became a scene of disorder and crime, much what Norfolk Island, to which the convicts were next sent, afterwards became. Every sort of atrocity was practised in it, often with impunity: by the accounts they received of the dismal state of society in that distant settlement, the other colonies were confirmed in their determination to avert such a moral pestilence from their own shores; and when Government, by way of experiment, sent a shipload of convicts to the Cape, the people made such preparations to resist their being landed that it was deemed prudent to desist from the attempt. Disconcerted by so many difficulties, the

Government saw no way of escaping from the dilemma but by abandoning almost entirely, the system of transportation. Penal servitude, varying from four to six or ten years, was by Act of Parliament substituted for it; and since 1852, with the exception of a few hundred sent annually, with the best possible effect, to Western Australia—where, being kept in due proportion to the free settlers, they are received with open arms—transportation has been entirely given up in the British dominions.

41. The consequences of the change, as was predicted by every person in the empire who had any practical acquaintance with the subject, and was fully explained to the parliamentary committees who sat on it, have been disastrous in the extreme. The difficulty, instead of being removed, has been only transferred from the extremity to the heart of the empire. The convicts, four or five thousand in number, annually convicted, who were formerly transported, being now kept in the country, the prisons were soon filled to overflowing. In the years 1854, 1855, and 1856, the average number of persons sentenced to imprisonment by summary and jury trial, in England alone, was about 114,000; in the two islands, from 140,000 to 150,000 annually.* It may readily be conceived, therefore, how serious an addition to this burden four or five thousand criminals sentenced to from three to ten years of penal servitude each must have produced. No buildings could hold, no establishment control, so prodigious a multitude. The cost of maintaining prisoners in the empire paid by the Treasury, independent of a still larger

* PERSONS COMMITTED BY JURY AND SUMMARY TRIAL, IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, FROM 1854 TO 1856.

Years.	ENGLAND.		IRELAND.		SCOTLAND.		TOTAL.
	Jury.	Summary.	Jury.	Summary.	Jury.	Summary.	
1854	29,359	71,193	11,718	23,212	3994	15,999	135,472
1855	25,972	70,116	9,012	26,392	3630	16,342	151,494
1856	19,437	77,712	7,099	23,576	3713	16,231	147,758

sum paid by the counties, rose in consequence to £1,424,907 a-year in 1856, and to £984,874 in 1857.

42. In this extremity Government had no recourse but to exercise largely, through the official persons intrusted with the right of doing so, the power of liberating the penal servitude men, and letting them loose on the country long before either any real reformation had been effected in their habits, or the period of their sentence had expired. At the same time, to diminish the number of long imprisonments, they fell upon the expedient of allowing the prisoners in lighter cases of felony to elect to be tried summarily by the committing magistrate, instead of being sent to the assizes or sessions. As this limited the period of their imprisonments to six months, the utmost length which the magistrate could go without a jury, it transferred vast numbers at once from the jury to the summary class, and exhibited a great decrease of serious crime, when, in point of fact, there was no decrease. By casting the eye on the table subjoined to the last paragraph, the effect of the change which took effect in 1856 will be at once apparent. The consequences of this system

have been in the highest degree pernicious. From the accounts laid before Parliament, it appears that in the years 1854, 1855, and 1856, there were received into the convict establishments of Government 19,884 convicts, of whom 6563 were liberated before the expiration of their sentences, on tickets-of-leave, independent of those pardoned or whose sentences had expired.* With truth does the *Times* observe on the returns: "These figures show an uncertainty in the punishment of crime which can be paralleled in no country where protection of life and property is professed to be guaranteed by the State. They also make apparent a discrepancy between judicial sentences and actual punishments, which tends to bring our whole judicial system into contempt, and to render a criminal trial little better than a farce. The criminal's captivity has been measured, not by the circumstances of his crime, but by his behaviour in the jail; it has been of less importance to him to convince his judge than to cajole his chaplain."† The consequence has been that a stream of nearly three thousand criminals of the worst and most dangerous character is annually let loose from their places of confinement

* CONVICTS RECEIVED INTO, AND DISCHARGED FROM, THE GOVERNMENT PRISONS IN THE YEARS 1854, 1855, AND 1856.

	1854.		1855.		1856	
	Received.	Discharged.	Received	Discharged.	Received.	Discharged
Pentonville, . .	436	38	453	1	793	55
Parkhurst, . .	121	157	100	10	209	106
Millbank, . .	1513	92	2624	52	2640	319
Portland, . .	605	334	1260	684	881	507
Portsmouth, . .	545	264	886	458	617	349
Dartmouth, . .	443	396	545	495	560	308
Borstow, . .	689	13	108	107	393	201
Chatham, . .					677	21
Hulks, . .	848	514	1235	633	153	104
	5760	1718	6511	2371	6823	2474

—FONBLANQUE, p. 86.

Received in 3 Years.		Discharged on Tickets	
5760	.	.	1718
6511	.	.	2371
6813	.	.	2474
19,884	.	.	6563

† The Sheriff of Lanarkshire stated, in his evidence before the Transportation Committee in 1857, that in one instance which had come before him judicially, a garrotte robber was

upon the country—those who have superadded hypocrisy to their original offences; and there is too much reason to believe that the penitentiaries have done nothing but make them worse than they were before.* On no other principle is it possible to explain the fact that, while there has been a great decrease of crime tried by jury in England and Ireland, in consequence of the option given the prisoner (by the Act of 1856) to elect to be tried summarily by the magistrate, in the country generally, for three years after 1854, there has been a great and most alarming increase of violent attacks on property in England.†

43. If there is little to approve in this one particular of the British colonial administration, of late years a very different need of approbation must be bestowed on another change,

of far more importance, which was brought into general use about the same period, which may with truth be said to have been the salvation of the colonial empire of the country. This was the right of SELF-GOVERNMENT and the electing responsible legislative councils, which was generally conceded to the colonies between 1837 and 1854, and was universal at the close of the latter period. In this respect the nation has been deeply indebted to the Liberal administrators who have ruled the country since 1850; for it is doubtful whether the old Tory Government would have been as much impressed as their successors have been with the necessity of yielding on this vital point. Yet that it was absolutely necessary is now apparent. Self-government is indispensable to colonies as soon as they have

first sentenced to ten years' transportation for a robbery on the streets of Glasgow; within a year after that, to fifteen years' transportation for a second garotte robbery committed within fifty yards of the same spot; and within another, to transportation for life for a third garotte robbery, committed within a few yards of the original spot.

* "Out of the 850 rioters concerned in the disgraceful outbreak at Chatham last year, 697 were in the first class (for good conduct); 640, moreover, were either 'good' or 'very good'; and 73 were 'exemplary'—a degree better than very good. There is not any minute supervision exercised over the prisoners when they return to liberty; for we are told that 'four fifths of the men are lost sight of shortly after their discharge.' Transportation no longer carries off our felons, who are discharged at the rate of about 2000 a-year into the general population"—CLAY'S *Penitentiaries in England and Ireland*

† CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY, WITH VIOLENCE, IN UNITED KINGDOM.

Years	Crimes with Violence	All Offences, with Jury.		
		England	Scotland	Ireland
1854	1 403	23,647	2989	7051
1855	1 315	19,971	2689	5220
1856	1.787	14,734	2723	4024

—FONBLANQUE, p. 53.

There can be no doubt that this important question has been much complicated of late years by the resolute refusal of the Australian colonies to receive any more convicts, even though sent to the distant settlement of Western Australia, which is willing and anxious to receive them. They say with truth that the gold diggings would attract them all to their territories. But this difficulty is greater in appearance than reality. All that is required is to establish a *new colony* in some other quarter—in an *island* from whence escape may, practically speaking, be easily rendered impossible. The Falkland Islands, New Guinea, New Caledonia, and many others, would answer this purpose. But towards the success of this project three things are requisite: 1, That Government should resolutely set their face to a considerable expenditure, probably some millions sterling at first, to set the colony on its feet; 2, That measures should be taken to attract four unskilled emigrants to one convict to the settlement,—but this, with from 200,000 to 250,000 emigrants every year, would be an easy matter by assisted passages; 3, Government must entirely emancipate themselves from the trammels of the Exeter-Hall party, who still cling to the belief, in the face of all experience, that it is possible, by moral and religious instruction in prison, to effect a general reformation of criminals. This is the greatest difficulty which the question has to encounter; for that party is numerous, energetic, respectable from private character and general principle, and formidable from its entire and fanatical disregard of the lessons of experience.

attained anything like mature years, for this plain reason, that it is forced on them by the necessities of their remote and isolated situation; while the same cause renders the home government ignorant of their wants and indifferent to their complaints. In every quarter and age of the globe, accordingly, colonies have contended for self-government, and those alone have been prosperous, and laid the foundations of mighty empires, which, springing from popularly governed nations at home, have successfully asserted their title to establish similar institutions, and enjoy privileges as great in their new seats abroad. Witness the colonies of Greece, Carthage, and Rome around the Mediterranean Sea in ancient, and the more widespread colonies of Great Britain in modern times.

44. At first sight it would appear that the natural way to do this would be to give the colonies a share in the imperial legislature in proportion to their wealth and inhabitants; but a little reflection must convince every impartial person that this would by no means answer the desired purpose. The difficulty in the way is not, as is generally imagined, the distance of the colonies from the seat of the imperial legislature, for steam has, in a great degree, obviated that impediment. The real obstacle is the entire divergence of interests on most subjects between the inhabitants of such widely-severed countries, and the certainty that, as one or other must be in a minority, one or other will, in a united assembly, suffer injustice—it may be great and irreparable—at the hands of the other. It is true, taxation without representation is injustice to the colonies; but representation without taxation *would be not less injustice to the mother country.* Yet how adjust a scale of taxation for an aged community, staggering under twenty-six millions a-year of interest of debt, and a young colony in which a direct impost has never yet been imposed, and, if imposed, could not by possibility be levied? Not less at variance are the interests of the colonies and mother country. To produce and sell dear is

the interest of the former; to purchase cheap is the interest of the latter. This lasting and irreconcilable diversity became still more serious in its effects when the Reform Bill had virtually disfranchised the colonies by putting the nomination boroughs into Schedule A, and a decided majority of the House of Commons became composed of the representatives of boroughs at home, actuated by an adverse interest from that of the colonies. From that moment, accordingly, the concession of separate legislatures and the right of self-government became the necessary condition of our colonial empire holding together; and but for its concession it must have been dissolved.

45. The first symptom of this irreconcilable variance between the reformed Imperial Legislature and the interests of the colonies occurred in 1834, when, as already mentioned, the immediate emancipation of the negroes was forced on Government through the portals opened by the Reform Bill. This important, and, as it has proved, ruinous change, could never have passed the House of Commons under the old system, when our West India interest was the strongest in the House, and could command eighty votes; nor under the new system of entire self-government in local matters conceded since the Reform Bill. It was during the transition from the one to the other, before the effect of the change was understood, that it could alone have passed. The next instance of the divergence was the Canadian revolt of 1837, during which the cry for self-government, and a responsible government, was loud and menacing; and it was that revolt which, by forcibly drawing the attention to the subject, and awakening their fears, mainly led to the change. The adoption of Free Trade as the commercial principle of the empire in 1846, rendered the alteration of policy a matter of necessity; because, having lost all protection in the home market of Great Britain, and being exposed to a rude competition from all nations, it was impossible to suppose they would con-

tinue in their allegiance, unless they acquired the power of regulating at pleasure their internal concerns. The Cape, in resisting the landing of the convicts in 1852, gave token of the spirit which was rising up; and Australia, though not yet numbering 400,000 inhabitants, began talking of Bunker's Hill and Saratoga. Awakened at length to a sense of their danger, Government somewhat tardily, but at length universally, conceded the desired boon. Representative assemblies were everywhere established, and all the British colonies, except India and the purely military stations, became practically self-governed. The chief merit in pushing through this great change belongs to Earl Grey, who for long, under the Whig Government, held the office of Colonial Secretary, and brought to bear on the subject the great talents which he had inherited from his illustrious father. And the good effect of the change is already conspicuous. The jarring between the colonies and the mother country has ceased; discontent, by getting a legal channel, has evaporated; loyalty has succeeded; and in Canada these feelings have become so strong that they have led to the raising of a noble regiment—the 100th—for the British service. Magnificent subscriptions, both there and in Australia, on the occasion of the Crimean war and Indian revolt, have attested their warm sympathy with the glories and the sufferings of the mother country; and the rejoicings on the fall of Sebastopol and the capture of Delhi were as enthusiastic in Montreal and Sydney as either in London or Dublin.

46. If this concession of the right of self-government was important in allaying the discontent of the colonies, and preserving for some years longer the slender bond which unites them to the mother country, another change, scarcely less material to their internal progress, was at the same time introduced by the Liberal Government. This was the substitution, for huge grants of land to favoured companies or individuals, of its sale at prices

varying from 5s. to £1 an acre to adventurers, in lots of such moderate size as they really could bring into cultivation themselves, and applying the funds thus acquired to the general purposes of the colony, and especially the giving the means of emigration to active and industrious persons from the British Islands. This system, which is evidently the true one on the subject, and which has been at length generally, it may be said universally, adopted in the British colonies by all administrations, is mainly due to Sir William Molesworth, a statesman of enlarged views and valuable practical talents, whose premature death has been a serious loss to the British empire.*

* The tenure of land in these colonies has led to great and unexpected results, and renewed in a distant hemisphere the old Roman question of the "public lands." In the *Times* of the 15th July 1865 the following able *résumé* of this subject is given:—"The Land Question in Australia is the leading bond of party, the cry at elections, the cause of the rise and fall of ministries. The original management of land there was simple enough. Those who wished to become purchasers in fee-simple might buy at auction at the upset price of five shillings an acre. Those who wished merely to take the natural herbage of the land might have as much as they wanted for a very moderate payment to the Government—a payment which would naturally and gradually increase as all the most favourable situations were taken up. The first cause of disturbance was the compulsory rise in the upset price of land to one pound an acre, which was imposed on the colonies by the Imperial Parliament. This measure greatly checked the purchase of land. But it had a collateral result, which nobody seems to have foreseen. It entirely altered the position of the tenant. He could not be dispossessed unless the land he occupied was bought over his head for at least a pound an acre, which, in the case of inferior land, gave a tenure equal to fee-simple. Just at this time the Government, owing to the economy of the Colonial Assembly, found itself in want of money to pay salaries, and suddenly, by an act of prerogative, greatly raised the rents of the tenants of the Crown. This step encountered an energetic resistance, and was ultimately defeated; but it had an unforeseen result, which strengthened the position of the class whom it seemed destined to crush. The tenants of the Crown, or 'squatters,' had been the objects of oppression. A feeling of sympathy was excited on their behalf, and they employed this feeling to strengthen their tenure. Like the Irish tenants at will, they raised a cry for fixity of tenure and compensation for improvements,

47. The concession of constitutions and the right of self-government came in time to stop the progress of discontent, and restore the feelings of loyalty in the other colonies; but not to avert a terrible catastrophe at the Cape of Good Hope. The origin of this disaster, as of all others which have shaken the fidelity or disturbed the prosperity of the British colonies, is to be found in the senseless measures of the home Government, who applied to that distant settlement among savages the principles which are adopted amidst European civilisation. Two especially are worthy of notice as the direct cause of the calamitous events which followed. The first of these was the sudden emancipation of the Hottentot slaves, for a most inadequate compensation, by the Act of 1834. As this act deprived the colonists of their labourers, and gave them not a third of their value in compensation, it excited the most violent discontent among them. To such a degree did this feeling go, that Government are long deemed it unsafe to intrust them with the chief defence, as heretofore, of their country against the Caffre tribes, and required them to deliver up their arms, leaving the defence of the north-eastern frontier to the British regular troops. These had been reduced, in consequence of the wretched passion for economy which prevailed at home, to thirteen hundred men, who were now alone charged with the defence of an endangered frontier thirteen hundred miles in length and a country as large as Great Britain. Sensible of the difficulty of defending so extensive

and the home Government, at their solicitation, gave them leases of their lands varying in duration according to the nearness or remoteness of the site. Thus did the home Government raise up in Australia an oligarchy possessing neither the distinction of worth, of wealth, nor of public service, and yet endowed with public land, in many places valuable, well situated, and suitable for colonisation. The history of the last ten years has been a constant conflict, on the one hand to retain, and on the other to get possession of, the public lands. There is very little doubt that had the Australian colonies been independent republics, instead of dependencies of England, blood would have flowed in a quarrel thus wantonly created."

a territory by force of arms, Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, in pursuance of the system of conciliation and concession then so much in vogue in Europe, had withdrawn the British colours from the Kei River—to which they had been advanced at the close of the last war, and which presented a strong and defiant frontier—to the Great Fish River, the old boundary, but which afforded no defensible positions. The motive for this withdrawal of the British authority from a district of country half as large as England, was good, for it was the restitution of a conquered territory; and, judging by European ideas, it was expedient, for it evinced moderation in a victorious power. But applied to a barbarous people, who had not a conception of justice or moderation themselves, it was ascribed, as all similar concessions to barbarians are, to fear and a sense of weakness. It was attended, accordingly, by the most disastrous consequences.

48. The Caffre tribes could bring three thousand fighting men into the field. Sensible of their advantage, and seeing the miserably small and scattered force by which they were opposed, they had for long been meditating a general rising against the British, and had established a secret correspondence with the natives in the English service, especially the mounted Cape Rifles, an admirably drilled and efficient corps, nearly the whole of which, when hostilities broke out, deserted to the enemy, carrying with them their arms and horses. So far from being grateful for the abolition of slavery, the Hottentots generally followed their example. The Governor of the Cape, Sir Harry Smith, no sooner heard of the threatening meetings of the Caffre chiefs, than he hastened from Cape Town to King William Town, the capital of British Caffraria, and summoned a general meeting of them to that place (Oct. 16, 1850) to explain their conduct. They came, accordingly, in numbers about three hundred and fifty, and professed loyalty and obedience; but Sandilli, the principal

and most hostile chief, kept aloof, and refused either to attend the council or submit. He was, accordingly, formally deposed by Sir Harry Smith, in virtue of the right of sovereignty which was still claimed by the British over the ceded territory. This was the signal for a general outbreak of hostilities along the whole frontier, which was immediately followed by a general defection of the Hottentots in the British service. The consequences were extremely serious, and at first most threatening. The Governor himself was shut up in Fort Cox, a fortified post to which he had advanced on the frontier, by some thousand of these formidable savages, to whom the defection of the Cape troops had given the advantages of arms, organisation, and discipline. Colonel Somerset, who attempted (Dec. 1850) to relieve him with a small body of regular troops from Fort Hare, was driven back, after a gallant resistance, to that post, much weakened; while Colonel M'Kinnon, who had left Fort Cox with six hundred men to clear the country in the Keiskamma Valley, was defeated in the Amatola fastnesses, and with difficulty got back to Fort Cox, after sustaining considerable loss. Sir Harry Smith escaped from the same stronghold at the head of a flying escort, and reached King William Town with a few followers. Emboldened by these successes, the Caffres now broke on all sides into the British territories, and soon carried their ravages into the heart of British Caffraria. Not content with burning and plundering the whole open country, they laid siege to the principal fortresses, and were only repulsed from Fort Hare itself, the chief stronghold of the district, after a severe assault.

49. The war which ensued, and which was protracted for above a year, was for long bloody and indecisive. The force at the disposal of the Government, now that they were deprived of their native auxiliaries, was evidently inadequate to the task of contending at once with a nation of armed and skilful warriors, who carried on

the war at the same time at all points, and possessed in the forest-clad rocks of the Amatola and the Water-Kloof intricate fastnesses, where the advantages of courage were of little avail. The bravest of the British fell an early sacrifice to an unseen and invisible enemy whose rifles were discharged from the thickets often within three or four feet of their breasts. So terrible were the ravages of these ruthless plunderers in British Caffraria, that it was stated in a memorial presented to the Government by the inhabitants of Grahamstown, dated 19th July 1851, "that within the last six weeks, 20,000 sheep, 3000 cattle, and 300 horses, have been swept from the district of Somerset alone; and since the commencement of the war, 200 farmhouses, on the north-eastern border, have been reduced to ashes." Deeply impressed with the total inadequacy of the force at his disposal to meet this terrible invasion, Sir Harry Smith, when the war began, called out a *levy en masse* to defend the frontier; but it was by no means generally responded to, partly from the sullen discontent which pervaded the colony from the emancipation of the Hottentots, and their own subsequent disarming; partly from the general desertion of the farmhouses by their Caffre and Hottentot servants, which rendered it impossible for the masters to leave them without ruin to their families. Thus for nine months the war was almost an uninterrupted series of disasters; the frontier was rapidly receding before the torches and rifles of the ruthless invaders; and even in Grahamstown and Cape Town great apprehensions were felt, and preparations made to resist the enemy.

50. It was a deplorable proof of the prostration of the military strength of the country at this period, that the empire should in this manner be successfully set at defiance in a colony within a few weeks' sail of the British shores, by a tribe of naked savages. So it was, however; and it was not till the end of 1851 that, by great exertion, something like an adequate force was put at the disposal of the

Cape Governor. At length, however, several regiments were sent out: the 74th Highlanders arrived, and brought to the contest the traditions of Indian warfare and the prestige of Indian glory, and by a succession of skilful movements the enemy were so straitened that they were at length driven into the fastnesses of the Amatola and the Water-Kloof. They, however, still held these fastnesses when General Cathcart landed, and took the command in April 1852. This able and accomplished officer, trained in the great wars of Europe of 1813 and 1814, since unhappily lost amidst a blaze of glory at Inkerman, brought to bear upon the contest strategic talents of the highest order. After a series of hard-fought combats, and undergoing excessive fatigues, the British troops at length drove the enemy entirely out of the Amatola, Water-Kloof, and Gaikee fastnesses, and forced them to retire altogether beyond the Kei River, the real frontier of British Caffraria, which in an evil hour had been abandoned. The final stroke was put to the war by the general in person, in a series of skilful operations in December 1852, on the right bank of the Caledon River, which, after great risk had been incurred, ended in the capture of 6000 cattle and the submission of the chief, Moshesh, the last of the Basuta warriors who held out against the British. By the treaty of peace which followed, the colony was again advanced to the Kei, and a defensive frontier gained which has never since been disturbed.

51. Although, however, the war—which, as General Cathcart justly observes, had been, from the beginning, rather a domestic insurrection than a foreign warfare—was thus for the time

terminated, yet the heartburnings and animosities to which it had given rise were not so easily appeased, and the Caffres nourished in secret the strongest feelings of hatred against their invaders. It is probable that these feelings, so natural to warlike and predatory tribes, whose patrimony had been in part torn from them by a foreign enemy, and their plundering checked, would have, ere long, led to a fresh calamitous outbreak, had it not been averted by an event so extraordinary, that, though occurring beyond the period embraced in this History, it deserves to be mentioned as intimately connected with its events. In the year 1858 a person appeared among the Caffres who gave himself out for a prophet, and soon acquired unbounded influence over the people. He preached that their misfortunes had been owing to the wrath of the gods, for their permitting Christian missionaries to settle among them, and that they could only be appeased by their sacrificing their whole cattle upon their altars. If they did so, the prophet announced the speedy destruction of the British power, and the gift by the gods of ten head of cattle for every one so voluntarily slaughtered. The announcement was believed by these ignorant savages, and forthwith acted upon. In a few weeks forty thousand cattle were killed by their own hands; and as this occurred at a season of the year when the inhabitants had no other food to subsist upon, they were soon involved in all the horrors of famine.* From thirty to forty thousand men are computed to have perished by this extraordinary act of self-immolation; and the survivors, in the last stage of destitution, crowded into the British territory,

* STATISTICS OF CAPE COLONIES.

	Area.	Population.	Colonial Revenue.	Imports in 1860.	Exports in 1860.	Imperial Expenditure	Debt.
	Sq. Miles		£	£	£	£	£
Cape of Good Hope,	104,931	231,323	525,220	2,465,902	2,080,398	497,668	368,400
Natal,	14,337	157,583	86,858	354,987	139,698		50,000
Total,	119,268	388,906	612,078	2,820,889	2,220,096		418,400

—Statistical Return presented to Parliament, 27th March 1863.

humbly imploring employment and food at the hands of those into whose dwellings they had so lately brought fire and sword. Immense has been the benefit, which this unparalleled event has brought to the British colonists; for it has at once delivered them for a long period, perhaps for ever, from their most formidable enemies, and furnished them with an ample supply of hunger-tamed labourers, who have supplied the great want experienced in that particular ever since the disastrous emancipation of the Hottentots in 1834.

52. IRELAND, during the period embraced in this chapter, was fast relapsing into that state of chronic agitation and disorder from which it had so often been rescued by the rude method of Coercion Acts. The potato blight, which had greatly abated during the years 1847 and 1848, reappeared with partial severity in 1849, and with it the burnings, predial outrages, and murders, the usual accompaniments of general distress in that distracted land. So far from being grateful for the unparalleled generosity with which the British Government had acted towards them during the famine, the Irish agitators were organising, with the utmost activity, a renewed insurrectionary movement. In the township organisation there were already five hundred clubs, containing thirty thousand fighting men. The prolonged war in Hungary kept alive the hopes of these desperadoes; the *Nation*, their chief organ, poured forth incessant incitements to rebellion, and denounced with peculiar scorn the "vice of loyalty." The disarming bill of last session had been attended with little practical good, so sedulously had the arms been concealed by the possessors. In these circumstances Sir George Grey, on the requisition of Lord Clarendon, the Lord-Lieutenant, brought in a bill for the continuance of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act for six months longer. So strongly was the necessity of the case felt, that the bill passed the Commons by a majority of 203,

there being only 18 in the minority. In the Lords it was agreed to without a division. Various measures of pecuniary relief were at the same time approved, and a committee appointed to examine into the working of the Irish poor-law. A rate-in-aid bill, as it was called, was also, after a long debate, passed, the object of which was to extend the area of local taxation, and thereby equalise the burden of pauperism, which at present fell with undue and crushing severity on particular districts. It was evident from these measures that Government, taught by rude necessity, had at length come to see how Ireland was to be dealt with, which was to cease to make it the battle-field of parties, to repress sternly the efforts of the agitators, and do everything possible to relieve the real distresses of the people.

53. These measures, how wise and necessary soever, did not, however, go to the root of the evil. It was to be found in the excessive redundancy of the population, the result of long misgovernment, which had prevented the growth of artificial wants among the peasantry; the low price of agricultural produce, the consequence of the contraction of the currency and free trade in grain; the impoverished condition of the landed proprietors which the latter caused, and the lawless state of the country, which prevented the establishment of fisheries or manufactures in it. Nature was silently, and unobserved amidst the strife of parties, preparing a remedy—the only effectual remedy for these evils—in the extension of the currency of the world by the gold discoveries, and the diminution of the population by a prodigious emigration. But neither of these measures could affect the encumbered estates, the insolvency of which acted as a dead-weight upon the industry and energies of the country. Sir R. Peel, however, discovered a remedy for this evil, which, though startling and even revolutionary in its character, met with general support, and ultimately was adopted by the legislature, from the sense en-

tertained of its paramount necessity. The general outline of his plan was brought forward in an admirable speech, during the debate on the Rate-in-Aid Bill; and it was afterwards taken up by Government, and embodied in the famous ENCUMBERED ESTATES ACT, which passed both Houses without a division. The object of this bill was to facilitate the sale of estates which were drowned in debt, by extricating the procedure regarding it from the delays and technicalities of the Court of Chancery, which then had the sole jurisdiction on the subject, and to induce purchasers to come forward by giving them a clear, indefeasible, parliamentary title. To effect these important objects, a commission of three persons was appointed, invested with the whole jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery for the sale of encumbered estates, with power to make regulations for their own procedure, which was to be of the simplest and most summary kind, and a sale under which was to confer upon the purchaser an absolute indefeasible title. This bill having passed both Houses, and received the royal assent, the commission was immediately issued.

54. Beneficial as this Act has proved in its effects to society in general in Ireland, and co-operating, as it has done, with the other and more general causes of amendment induced at the same time by the merciful interposition of Providence, it was attended in the first instance, in reference to the interest of individuals, and even whole classes of society, with the most flagrant and alarming injustice. The estates in the country being for the most part deeply in debt, and those which, from their insolvency, fell under the operation of the Act, hopelessly so, there was in many cases a shortcoming, often of great magnitude, when the estate was brought to a forced sale, and often disposed of for half its real value, between the debts charged on the estate and the price which was realised for it. This arose chiefly from the prodigious difference between the value of agricultural produce during the plentiful currency of

the war, when the debts were contracted, or the provisions for wives and children fixed on the estates, and that to which it fell on the return of peace, and the reduction of the circulating medium to half its former amount. This great difference must at any time, and under the most favourable circumstances, have produced in many cases a very large deficiency; but at this time it was still further aggravated by the terrors excited by the potato-rot, and the almost total cessation of the payment of rents, or their entire absorption in poor-rates, owing to the failure of that crop, and the fall in the price of rural produce of all kinds, owing to the vast importation of grain and cattle. So great was the effect of these concurring causes, that few estates at first, when brought to sale by the Encumbered Estates Commission, realised more than fourteen, some only nine years' price of the nominal rental. The debts affecting the encumbered estates, in the form either of mortgages, jointures, or provisions to children, were estimated at £30,000,000 sterling; and as, by the Irish law, debts are preferable for principal and interest according to the dates of the registration of the deeds vouching them, the most distressing cases immediately occurred of creditors and families whose deeds had not been recorded, being totally ruined by the sale, for a half of its value, of the estate over which their security extended. Several millions of debts were lost in this way, especially in the early years of the Act's working, and unspeakable misery induced on innocent and respectable parties.

55. The Act, however, continued in operation, and the Commissioners worked it with diligence and fidelity. As prices rose, from the effect of the gold discoveries in 1852, both in that and the following years, and the country became tranquillised by the effects of the prodigious emigration, the purchase-money rapidly rose, and in seven years came to twenty-eight or thirty years' purchase of the rental, then greatly augmented. Then the injustice

to creditors ceased, for they were nearly all paid in full; and the benefit of a transfer of a considerable part of the land of the country, unencumbered, to new hands, possessed of more capital than the old insolvents, was strongly felt. From the Act coming into operation (25th October 1849) to 31st August 1858, the estates brought to sale had realised £23,160,000; the lots sold had been 11,000, and the amount distributed to creditors £21,934,000! So immense a transfer of landed property by forced sales can only be paralleled by the confiscation of the estates of the emigrant noblesse in France by the decrees of the Convention. But the injustice done in Ireland by this indispensable revolutionary measure was far less than resulted in France from the sale of the confiscated estates: the purchase-money realised in the latter sales came to pay off the whole encumbrances in full; and the increased rural activity, induced by the expenditure of capital by the new proprietors, is to be reckoned as one of the causes of the marked and extraordinary improvement which took place in the condition of Ireland after the crisis was past, which will for ever render memorable the middle of the nineteenth century. It is a remarkable fact, that by far the greater part—about four-fifths—of the money laid out in the purchase of estates under this Act came from *Ireland itself*—a fact which proves how much that country, notwithstanding all its disasters, had prospered since the Union.*

56. Two circumstances have re-

* "Out of £10,430,000, the amount which passed through the hands of the Commissioners up to 1853, only £1,779,000 came from England, Scotland, and the colonies, the remainder, or £8,650,000 having been furnished exclusively from Irish sources. Up to the same date (the end of 1853), the number of petitions presented for the sales of estates had been 2878, of which 1081 were sold up to that date. The sales were—

In Leinster, . . .	£2,768,210
Connanght, . . .	2,218,162
Munster, . . .	3,270,287
Ulster, . . .	2,173,202

Greatest in the Roman Catholic districts"—*Commissioners' Report, 1858.*

markably distinguished the concluding years of the period embraced in this History, which require to be noticed before it is finally delivered to the public. The first of these is the prodigious increase of crime, especially those of violence and of the deepest dye, which has taken place in Great Britain during their continuance. It has been already noticed that the convicted murderers in England, who, in 1856, had been only 14, in 1862 had risen to 134, and in 1863 there were 203 verdicts of murder before the coroners, and 207 of manslaughter. If the details of these frightful crimes are examined, it will be found that none of them have originated in the love of gain, few in the quarrels of men. There has been a very great increase in the number of robberies and burglaries, which may be ascribed to the cessation of transportation; but the murders, which have become so frequent that there is scarce a day when a fresh one does not appear in the newspapers, have almost all arisen from other causes. They are, for the most part, of a *domestic* complexion—assassinations of wives by their husbands, of husbands by their wives, of parent by child, of child by parent, and still more frequently of man and woman engaged in irregular and temporary connection. Jealousy figures largely in these tragedies of real life: they are more akin to the cases brought to light in the divorce court than the deeds of convicts liberated on tickets-of-leave. From the complexion of many of them, one might be led to imagine that they are the result of the vast circulation of profligate French novels, in a cheap and translated form, which has taken place in this country of late years, were it not that, in the majority of instances, the parties belong to a stratum in society below what these novels, even in their cheap and popular form, can reach. They are probably the result, and perhaps the unavoidable result, of the vast accumulation of the very poorest classes in our great cities, in consequence of the depopulation of the country, and the general rush to towns in quest of employment, and

the isolation of each individual in the midst of the prodigious multitude, far from friends or kindred, and surrounded by all the varied temptations of an aged and highly corrupt state of society.

57. Another change likely to be attended with still more important and lasting effects on the political situation of the country, is the universal choice of public servants of every description, for all situations, civil and military, under Government, by competitive examinations. The effects of this great alteration have not as yet been generally appreciated, and are only beginning to show themselves. That there was much room for improvement on the old system, which left the choice, in every instance, to private or political influence, and often admitted persons almost entirely uneducated, cannot be doubted. But everything demonstrates that, in addition to requiring an educational test, to confer all appointments on those who answer the greatest number of questions in competitive examinations, is to apply a most illusory and fallacious test to real merit. It makes everything depend on readiness, memory, and good cramming—qualities by no means to be despised, but far from tests of real ability or merit. Too often the young aspirant's mind is so overloaded with useless knowledge that no room is left for the useful. But important as these effects are, they sink into insignificance compared with the change which the alteration is making in the *class* from whom public servants have come to be taken. The superior numbers of the middle class must gradually make the great majority of all public functionaries come to be taken from their ranks. Supposing the talents and industry of the young men from the class of gentry and those from that of the commercial bodies to be equal, the vastly superior number of the latter must give them a decisive numerical superiority. Thus public functionaries of every description will come, for the most part, to be taken from the burgher and shopkeeper classes, instead of the aristocracy and country

gentlemen. This change is immense: and it is as great as was made in France by the Revolution of 1830, and enthroning of the Citizen King. What the effect of it may be will ere long be ascertained by experience. But in the mean time two facts may be mentioned to form elements in future inquiry on this subject. The first is, that in China, the choice of all public functionaries by competitive examinations has led to the establishment of the oldest and most degrading tyranny known in the world; the second, that the killed and wounded of the officers in the Crimean War, in the English army, was 1 in 15 of the whole force; in the French, 1 in 30; in the Russian, 1 in 35.

58. The foreign affairs of Great Britain during the period embraced in this chapter were chiefly remarkable for the narrow escape which the country made from a war, first with Russia, and soon after with France and Russia united, when in a state, as the event afterwards proved, little qualified to maintain a contest with either taken separately. The origin of the dispute was a demand made by the cabinets of St Petersburg and Vienna, jointly, for the extradition of Kossuth, Bem, Dembinski, and a large body of Hungarian and Polish exiles, who had crossed the frontier of Servia, and taken refuge in the Turkish dominions, after the capitulation of Georgiev in the preceding autumn. The two powers made a formal demand upon the Sultan for the surrender to them of these fugitives, upon the ground that they were not ordinary enemies, but subjects of their own who had been guilty of high treason, and should be given up to the power whose laws they had offended. This demand the Porte resisted, alleging in support of their refusal that the fugitives had been guilty of no violation of the Turkish laws, and of no machinations against either Austria or Russia while on Turkish territory, and that to require them in these circumstances to be given up, was to demand an outrage upon the laws of hospitality, and their own degradation as an independent power. Russia, however, persisted in

her demand; and as the Turkish Government adhered to their refusal, Baron Titoff and Count Sturmer intimated to the Porte that all diplomatic intercourse with them had ceased. In this extremity the Sultan applied to the English and French Governments for succour, and they were perfectly united in supporting him. The English fleet in the Mediterranean accordingly received orders to make sail for the Dardanelles; and they arrived there in the beginning of December, under the command of Admiral Parker. Matters now looked very serious; for the British fleet, as it was said, owing to stress of weather, which rendered it dangerous at that season to lie outside, passed the straits, and lay inside the Dardanelles. This, according to the letter of the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, was a *casus belli*; and if the Russians had chosen, they might have treated it as such, and declared war. The firm attitude of the British and French Governments, however, prevented a collision: the Cabinet of St Petersburg was not prepared for immediate hostilities; and after some negotiations it receded from its demand, and the exiles were not disturbed in their retreat. To justify their protection, however, the Turkish Government intimated to the fugitives that they had better embrace the Mohammedan religion. Kosuth returned an evasive answer, and avoided compliance; but Dembinski and Bem made no scruples, and became Mussulmans, saying it was their vocation to fight the Russians, and not to enter into disputes about religion! Timus were changed since Zriny defended the towers of Sigeth against the army of Solymán the Magnificent, and John Sobieski hastened with the Polish *pospolite* to raise the siege of Vienna, beleaguered by the Turkish host.

59. Hardly had the country escaped from this danger when another peril arose from the assertion of pretensions, on the part of the British Government, neither so much called for by national honour nor so justifiable by the law of nations. A diplomatic correspondence had for some time been going on

between the British Government and that of Greece, in regard to certain claims of the former, founded partly on an alleged act of injustice of the King of Greece to a British subject, and partly on injuries said to have been inflicted on another British subject by an Athenian mob. The facts alleged were, that King Otho, in the course of clearing the ground for the construction of a palace near Athens, had taken part of a garden belonging to Mr Finlay, a British subject long settled in Greece, and had refused to give any adequate compensation; and that another British subject, but a Portuguese by birth, Don Pacifico, had had his house broken into and plundered by a Greek mob, and no redress had yet been obtained, either from the parties implicated in the outrage or the Government of Greece. The Government of Athens answered, that they were willing to give a reasonable compensation, and that they would agree to the settlement of the claim by arbitration; but that the demand made was exorbitant, and twenty times what was really due; and this was warmly supported by the Cabinet of the Tuileries, who tendered their good offices to adjust the dispute. This, however, did not suit the views of Lord Palmerston, who was resolved to carry matters with a high hand, and extort immediate concessions to the demands of England at the cannon's mouth. Accordingly, he sent orders to Admiral Parker, who was returning from the Dardanelles with the British squadron, to make sail for Athens. He accordingly did so, and anchored off the Piræus in the middle of January (1850) with fifteen ships of war, repeating in the name of his Government a peremptory demand for the reparation sought; and on its being still withheld, it was formally notified to the captain of a vessel of war lying in the Piræus, that the harbour was placed in a state of blockade.

60. This demand thus enforced was clearly a violation of the law of nations, and an unjustifiable stretch of power by the stronger against the

weaker. It never was heard of before that the claims of *private* individuals of different countries against each other, or the Government of either, could be made the subject of national demand, or be enforced at the cannon's mouth. The English never thought of calling the Government of the United States, or the Republics of South America, to account for the many millions of British capital which had been lost by the North American repudiation of their debts, or the "universal insolvency" of the "healthy young republics of the southern parts of that hemisphere." If such a doctrine were admitted into the law of nations, private debts would universally be made the pretext of public wars, and society would revert to the barbarous state when family feuds or individual wrongs kept nations in constant hostility. The French Government accordingly viewed the matter in this light; for having demanded explanations, and received none that were satisfactory, they instructed their ambassador at the Court of London, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, to leave that capital, which he accordingly did; and at the same time (May 14) the Russian minister, Baron Brunow, declined an invitation to dinner at Lord Palmerston's. These two powers were acting entirely in concert, as joint guarantees, by the treaty of 15th July 1824, with Great Britain, of the independence of Greece. War seemed inevitable, or rather already begun, between England and the two greatest of the Continental powers united together.

61. The announcement that the French ambassador had left London, and that the Russian was preparing to follow his example, which was made in London on the 15th May, created, as well it might, a prodigious sensation. Lord Stanley (now Lord Derby), in a powerful and eloquent speech, brought the subject before the House of Lords, calling on them to clear the character of a great nation, which had been prostituted by an attempt to enforce unjust demands upon a weak and defenceless State. The Govern-

ment was strongly supported by Lord Lansdowne and the whole Whig party, but the motion of Lord Stanley was carried by a majority of 37—the numbers being 169 to 122. This hostile majority, in a House which had been so largely recruited from the Whig ranks during the last twenty years, made a great impression on the country, and a change of ministry was generally contemplated. Lord Palmerston tendered his resignation to Lord John Russell on the following morning; but the Premier declined to accept it till the opinion of the House of Commons was taken on the subject. They were not long of coming to the rescue. On the 20th June Mr Roebuck gave notice of a motion approving the foreign policy of Government, which came on for discussion on the following day, and led to an important debate. In the course of it Lord Palmerston vindicated the aggressive policy he had pursued, by appealing to the old Roman saying when its citizens were brought to trial in a foreign land, "*Civis Romanus sum*;" a maxim more suitable to the ancient republican masters of the world than to a state such as Britain, surrounded by powerful and jealous monarchical neighbours. His speech on that occasion, which occupied four hours and a half in delivering, was one of the most powerful and effective ever made within the walls of Parliament. The House, after a debate of four nights, divided, when Government had a majority of 46—the numbers being 310 to 264. This victory prolonged the life of the Administration. The whole strength of the united Liberal and Roman Catholic party supported Ministers on this occasion.

62. As the House of Commons by so large a majority supported Ministers on this question, and brought the nation to the verge of hostilities with France and Russia united, it is worth while to examine what preparation they had made to sustain a war with these two powers. This is now ascertained by authentic evidence. From the return presented to the House of Commons on 5th June 1857, on the

motion of Mr Sidney Herbert, it appears that the total military force voted by Parliament was, for 1850, exclusive of those in India, 99,128, of whom 39,730 were required for the colonies, leaving only 59,398 for service in the British Islands. Of these, at least, 30,000 were required for Ireland, being only 29,000 for the defence of Great Britain, of whom 15,000, at least, must be deducted for the garrisons of fortresses. Nor was the state of the navy more satisfactory; for the men and boys voted for the sea service in that year were only 39,000; and by no efforts could five sail of the line, *adequately manned*, have been collected in the Channel to protect the British shores from invasion. On the other hand, the Russians had 25 sail of the line constantly manned and equipped in the Baltic, and 15 in the Euxine, and France had 53,000 men ready to man 20 sail of the line, and as many frigates and war-steamer to join in the crusade. And the danger was averted by no other means but abandonment by Great Britain of the pretensions she had in so heedless a manner advanced. After all this discussion, Lord Palmerston quietly succumbed, and agreed to submit the disputed claims to arbitration, as France had all along urged; and the matter ended by the arbiters giving about a thirtieth part of the sums originally demanded.*

63. The speech of Sir R. Peel during this debate was one of the most brilliant which he ever delivered, and it was attended with one mournful peculiarity—it was his last. Within a few hours after, on the 29th June,

* On the 26th April the Greek Government, under the threat of active hostilities, accepted the ultimatum of the English ambassador. But meanwhile a convention had been agreed to in London, on the 19th April, between England and France, by which the Government of the former country, accepting the proposal of the latter for arbitration, imposed less onerous conditions on the Greeks. When, however, the news of the complete submission of the Greek ministry to his demands arrived, Lord Palmerston refused to carry out the agreement of London. This led to the departure of the French ambassador. Ultimately the stipulation of the 19th April was accepted by England.

as Sir R. Peel was riding up Constitution Hill, he was unfortunately thrown from his horse, and severely hurt—as it afterwards appeared, by a rib being driven into the lungs. He was carried home, and the best surgical aid immediately obtained, but in vain; for after lingering in great pain for some days, he expired at eleven o'clock on the first July. It is impossible to describe the impression which this melancholy event produced on the country, or the universal grief with which the intelligence of it was received. The news of his death created as great a sensation abroad as it did at home. The Queen was desirous to make Lady Peel a peeress, as had been done with Lady Canning under similar circumstances, but she declined it, agreeably to the expressed wish of her deceased husband. All parties concurred in the eloquent peroration of Mr Gladstone in the House of Commons:—“Though he has died full of years and of honours, yet it is a death which, in human eyes, is premature; for we had fondly hoped that whatever position Providence might still assign to him, by the weight of his ability, by the splendour of his talents, and the purity of his virtues, he might still have been spared to render service to his country:

‘Now is the stately column broke,
The beacon-light is quenched in smoke,
The trumpet’s silvery sound is still,
The warbler silent on the hill.”

64. The only other matter of general importance which came before Parliament in this session was a measure for change in the electoral qualification in the counties of Ireland. The proposition of Government was that the franchise should be lowered from £10 a-year of rated value, which it at present was, to £8. The ground on which this demand was made was the great diminution which had taken place of late years in the number of registered voters in that island, which was found, by the returns presented to Parliament, to have declined from 208,000 to 72,000. The motion was strongly opposed in both Houses, as being virtually a new reform bill, placing the

constituency of Ireland on a different footing from what it was in any other part of the empire. An amendment was proposed, on the one hand, to lower the franchise for the counties to £5 rating, and on the other to raise it to £15. Lord John Russell, however, on the part of Government, resisted both these changes, and at length the matter ended in the rating of £8 a-year being adopted as the standard both in boroughs and counties. It afforded a melancholy picture of the state to which Ireland had been reduced under the combined operations of the potato famine and the free admission of foreign grain, that it became necessary for the authors of the Reform Bill, and the supporters of Free Trade, to lower the suffrage, in order to prevent the constituency dwindling away to nothing, to a level scarcely equal to the annual maintenance of an English pauper.

65. It is remarkable that the question upon which the Government was most decidedly in the wrong was the one on which they ultimately went to issue with their opponents, and on which a change of ministry for a brief period soon after took place. It is still more singular that this change took its origin, not in consequence of a defeat on any of the great questions of the day, but of a matter personal to one of the cabinet ministers. Lord Palmerston, who had so long conducted the foreign affairs of the country, had become so much elated by the triumphant majority which had carried him through on the Greek question, that he was not only complained of by his colleagues for carrying on matters in his department too exclusively of his own authority, but even fell under the censure of his sovereign for not making her sufficiently acquainted with important public measures, and altering some state papers in material passages after they had been submitted to her approval. In addition to this, the Premier complained of some expressions used by the Foreign Secretary to the Hungarian refugees, as likely to disturb the

peace of Europe, and of a conversation held by him with the French ambassador in London, regarding the *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851, repugnant to the tenor of the instructions sent by the Government to their ambassador at Paris, which was to abstain from all interference whatever in the affairs of France. The result was that Lord John Russell felt it his duty to recommend to her Majesty to remove Lord Palmerston from office, which was accordingly done, and Lord Granville was appointed his successor.

66. So far Lord John Russell was successful in maintaining the system of non-interference in the affairs of foreign nations, which was the only true policy for the country, and getting quit of a rival in the Cabinet, whose abilities he perhaps had some reason to dread. But he had an experienced and skilful antagonist to deal with. Lord Palmerston ere long had his revenge. Notwithstanding the extreme reluctance of the majority of the House of Commons to any augmentation of the army or navy estimates, the Government felt so strongly the perilous position in which the country was now placed in presence of the Sovereign of France, whose intentions were as yet unknown, that they saw it was absolutely necessary to adopt some measure which might in some degree strengthen the national defences. Accordingly, on 16th February 1852, Lord John Russell brought in a bill, the object of which was to establish a *local* militia of 70,000 men in England, in addition to a trifling addition of 4000 infantry and 1000 artillery to the regular army. The troops were only to be called out for a few weeks in summer, and in the first instance the cost would be only £200,000 a-year. In the second year, however, the force was to be raised to 100,000, and in the third to 130,000, still, however, on the footing of a local militia. Lord Palmerston, who, notwithstanding his daring foreign policy, was fully alive to the defenceless state of the country, and was more conversant than the Prime Minister with the

necessity of *permanent* embodiment towards the formation of an efficient military force, moved as an amendment, that the word "local" should be left out of the bill, besides other alterations of a less important character. The object of this was to render the proposed militia, when occasion required, a permanent force, differing from the line only in not being bound to serve out of the country. Probably Lord John Russell was too well versed in history not to know that this species of force was much more likely to be efficient than the other; but he stood too much in awe of the members for the manufacturing towns, and deemed the finances of the country not sufficiently recovered from their long-continued depression to acquiesce in the amendment. He resisted it, accordingly, with the whole weight of Government; but a coalition having been formed between the Conservative opposition and Lord Palmerston's personal friends, the Premier was thrown into a minority, on a division, of 9, the numbers being 135 to 126. Upon this, Lord John Russell threw up the bill, assigning as his reason for doing so, that the vote of the House was substantially one of want of confidence in the Administration, and that he could no longer conduct the government when he had lost the power of carrying its measures. The result was that the whole Ministry resigned; and the Queen having sent for the Earl of Derby (formerly Lord Stanley),

he, with some hesitation, undertook to form an administration, the members of which were announced shortly after.*

67. THE EARL OF DERBY, who was now called to the chief direction of affairs, has not on this occasion, or since that time, been so long in office as to enable a just estimate to be formed of his merits as a statesman, and it will belong to a future historian to pronounce a judgment on that subject. But there is one quality he possessed, which already had become so conspicuous that a confident opinion may even now be formed upon it. He is, beyond all doubt, and by the admission of all parties, the most perfect orator of his day. His style of speaking differs essentially from that of the great statesmen of his own or the preceding age. His leading feature is neither the vehement declamation of Fox, nor the lucid narrative of Pitt, nor the classical fancy of Canning, nor the varied energy of Brougham. Capable, when he chose, of rivaling any of these illustrious men in the line in which they excelled, the native bent of his mind leads him rather to a combination of their varied excellencies than to become an imitator of any one of them. In many respects he is a more perfect and winning orator than any of his predecessors. His eloquence presents a combination of opposite and seemingly inconsistent excellencies, but which combine, in a surprising manner, to form a graceful

* THE MINISTRY OF THE EARL OF DERBY.

First Lord of the Treasury,	Earl of Derby.
Lord Chancellor,	Lord St Leonards.
Chancellor of the Exchequer,	Mr Disraeli.
President of the Council,	Earl of Lonsdale.
Privy Seal,	Marquess of Salisbury.
Home Secretary,	Right Hon Spencer Walpole.
Foreign Secretary,	Earl of Malmesbury.
Colonial Secretary,	Sir John Pakington
First Lord of the Admiralty,	Duke of Northumberland.
President of Board of Control,	Right Hon. John Herries.
President of Board of Trade,	Right Hon. Joseph Henry.
Postmaster-General,	Earl of Hardwicke.
<i>Not in the Cabinet.</i>	
Commander-in-Chief,	Duke of Wellington.
Master-General of Ordnance,	Lord Hardinge.
Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland,	Earl of Eglinton.
Attorney-General,	Sir F Theigier.
Solicitor-General,	Sir Fitzroy Kelly.

and attractive whole. At once playful and serious, eloquent and instructive, amusing and pathetic, his thoughts seem to flow from his lips in an unpremeditated stream, which at once delights and fascinates his hearers. He has a strong sense of the ridiculous, and often uses that weapon with the greatest effect in his forensic debates. Sometimes, indeed, his turn for the humorous leads him into sallies, done in perfect good nature, which he afterwards regrets. No one was ever tired while his speech lasted; no one ever saw him come to a conclusion without regret. He is capable at times of rising to the highest flights of eloquence, is always thoroughly master of the subject on which he speaks, and never fails to place his views in the clearest and most favourable light; but the natural bent of his mind is to win the assent of his hearers by the charm of his fancy or the delicacy of his satire, rather than sweep away their judgment by the torrent of his oratory.

68. Lord Derby's Cabinet, by the admission even of its adversaries, was composed of men of distinguished abilities. As a leader of the House of Commons, armed at all points in the panoply of talent, Mr Disraeli stood pre-eminent; and if his peculiar and great sarcastic talents had not such a field for their exercise as when he was the chief of the Opposition, he had a still more favourable opportunity of exhibiting his vast stores of information and practised powers of debate. Lord Malmesbury conducted the foreign affairs of the country with judgment and temper, and in the most conciliatory spirit—qualities of the highest importance in regaining the confidence of the European powers, whose jealousies had been generally awakened, or hostility produced, by the aggressive propensities of his predecessor; and Sir John Pakington, in the important situation of colonial secretary, exhibited an amount of information and administrative powers on these great and varied interests, and judgment in dealing with them, which won for him universal confidence.

The days of this Administration, however, were numbered from the hour when they first ascended to power; not from distrust of the nation in their capacity for the direction of affairs, but from an opinion generally entertained, and sedulously inculcated by their opponents, that they were in secret adverse to the new principles, and that the ascendancy of the urban class, in whom the Reform Bill had vested the government of the country, would be endangered by the new Government's continuance in office.

69. In one particular of vital importance, as it ultimately turned out, to the character and safety of the country, a great and salutary change was introduced by Lord Derby's Government. The state of the national defences, to which the attention of Parliament had at length been aroused, early occupied their serious attention, and a bill was introduced into Parliament for embodying the militia in England, to the extent of 80,000 men, to be raised in the first instance by voluntary enlistment, and failing that, by ballot. Scotland and Ireland were, in the mean time, excluded from the operation of the bill. It was warmly supported in the Commons by Lord Palmerston, who said with truth, "it was impossible to over-estimate the importance of this bill," and it passed the House by a majority of 187 to 142, notwithstanding a fierce opposition from Sir de Lacy Evans and the Radical members. In the Lords, the bill was agreed to without a division; but not before it had called forth a powerful and invaluable speech from the Duke of Wellington, memorable as being the *last*, of any moment, he ever delivered in Parliament.*

* "I am certainly the last man," said the Duke of Wellington on this memorable occasion, "to have any hesitation of opinion as to the relative advantages of meeting an enemy with disciplined or half-disciplined troops. The things are not to be compared at all. With disciplined troops you are acting with a certain degree of confidence, that what they are ordered to perform they will perform. With undisciplined troops you can have no such confidence; on the contrary, the chances are that they will do the very reverse of what they are ordered to. Look

70. Meanwhile Lord Hardinge was actively engaged in measures to augment the regular army in that department in which it had become most inefficient. When he came into office he found only *forty guns* in the island capable of service, and most of these would have gone to pieces the first time they had got into a clay-field.* By the indefatigable exertions of that able officer the number of guns fit for service was, by the end of the year, raised to 200; and this was the train which upheld the national honour in the siege of Sebastopol. Such was the anxiety of that gallant soldier on the subject, that he could speak and think of nothing else; and while the peace party in Manchester and Liverpool were resisting every attempt to augment the national defences, and dreaming only of pacific influences, the hero of Albuera and Ferozeshah spent sleepless nights ruminating on the imminent peril of a misled and infatuated people.

at the state in which we stand at the present moment. We are at peace with the whole world; but who can say how long that peace will last? Our peace establishment should have in contemplation future wars, and this should have been provided for long ago. It is futility to expect anything from troops after only a month or six weeks' training. *We have never up to this moment maintained a proper peace establishment; that is the real truth; and we are now in such a position that we can no longer carry on that system, and we must have a suitable peace establishment.* I tell you that, for the last ten years, you have never had more men in your armies than were sufficient to relieve your sentries in the different parts of the world; such is the state of your peace establishment. You have been carrying on war in all parts of the globe, in the different stations, by means of your peace establishment; yet on that establishment you have not more men than are necessary to relieve the regiments on foreign service, some of which have been twenty-five years abroad. In the last war we had several militia regiments in the field, and they were as fine and highly-disciplined a body of men as I ever saw. Everything must have a beginning, and the militia now proposed to be established is that beginning. The eighty thousand men now proposed to be raised will, in time, become what their predecessors have been, and form an invaluable auxiliary to the regular army."—*Parl. Deb.* cxxii. 728, 731; *Ann. Reg.* 1852, pp. 65, 67.

* I had this instructive fact at this time from the lips of Lord Hardinge himself.

71. The House of Commons acted with the forbearance to the new Ministry, which they usually exercise towards a young speaker. They gave them a fair trial. It was understood and tacitly agreed to, that no measures not absolutely necessary should be brought forward till the sense of the country was taken on the comparative claims of the two rival parties to power; and that, to such as were indispensable, no mere party opposition should be offered. Both parties honourably abided by this understanding. Parliament was prorogued on July 1st, and next day the House of Commons was dissolved by royal proclamation. The general election which ensued was conducted on both sides with great keenness, but happily without the violence or intimidation which had so often of late years disgraced the people of both islands. Bribery and corruption, however, were carried on to an extent unknown on any former occasion, and which proved that the Reform Bill, instead of abating, had *increased* that evil. It was hard to say which of the two contending parties attained the greatest eminence in this unenviable particular; but the result of the petitions against returns left the Liberal members in a decided majority of three complaints. No less than fifty-two petitions were presented against the return of members in the new House—a number as yet unprecedented. One thing, however, was very remarkable in the elections: none of the Conservative candidates, not even those most strongly wedded heretofore to protection principles, were found to maintain them on the hustings. They either professed themselves converts at the eleventh hour to the new opinions, or passed them over in silence, saying they no longer contested the matter out of deference to general opinion. The general prosperity, the result in reality of the gold discoveries, which had begun to affect prices in the preceding year, and were in full operation in this, was invariably ascribed by the Free-trade party to their measures; and this obtained such general credence, that any resistance

to it was out of the question. Whatever posterity might say on the subject, it was evident that, in the opinion of the great majority of the constituency at this time, Free Trade was a specific for all the evils under which the nation laboured.

72. The new Parliament met on the 4th November. 'An addition of 6000 men was, in spite of the violent resistance of Mr Hume and the peace party, voted for the navy, *in order to lay the foundation of a Channel fleet*, and 2000 men and 1000 horses for the artillery. By mutual consent, however, the trial of strength was reserved for the Budget, which Mr Disraeli had been preparing during the recess, and which in one respect involved an important financial principle. Mr Disraeli proposed a reduction of the duty on tea from 2s. 2d. to 1s. a pound, by progressive reductions during six years, of half the present duties on hops, and half the malt-tax. Altogether, the reductions proposed amounted to between three and four millions. So far all were agreed; but when he came to the new taxes to supply the deficiency thus created, the case was very different. The income-tax was to be continued, at least for another year, and Ireland included in it, that island being taken at the moderate sum of £60,000, while Great Britain was £5,420,000. This was not opposed. But then came another proposed tax, at which the British urban constituencies immediately took fire. He proposed that the house-tax, which at present did not descend below houses rated at £20, should be extended to those rated at £10 and upwards. In support of this change, he reminded the House that, since 1832, the inhabited houses of Great Britain had been relieved of direct taxes, amounting to £3,080,000, besides indirect taxes, of which more than half fell on them, amounting to £17,000,000 more; while the landed interest, which paid exclusive taxes to the amount of £13,000,000 a-year, had obtained the remission of none of them. "Who can justify a house-tax," said he, "the operation of which

is limited to houses of £20 value?" It was all in vain; the urban constituencies, threatened with an approximation to the dire scourge of equal taxation, said, "We can justify it." No sooner was the dreaded change announced, than meetings got up in all the chief boroughs of the kingdom, and the most peremptory and significant instructions were sent to their representatives to make every effort to throw out the hated measure. The result was, that, after an animated debate of four nights, the Budget was rejected by a majority of 19, the numbers being 305 to 286. Next day the Earl of Derby and all the ministers resigned their offices, and Lord John Russell, with the whole Whig administration, were, as a matter of course, reinstated.

73. Two events of a calamitous nature occurred in this year, which forcibly attracted the attention of the country and of Europe. The first of these was the burning of the AMAZON, a magnificent steamer, of 2250 tons burden, having on board, including crew and passengers, 210 persons, in the Bay of Biscay, on the 4th of January. Among the passengers lost on this melancholy occasion was the gifted and eloquent Mr Elliot Warburton, whose recent work, *The Crescent and the Cross*, had already attained, and has since maintained, a European reputation. A large vessel passed within 300 yards of the burning ship, and was hailed with the energy of despair by the unhappy crew, but it rendered no assistance. If this heartless conduct makes us blush, the next catastrophe makes us proud of human nature. The BIRKENHEAD steamer had been despatched with detachments from several regiments, amounting to 13 officers, 466 men, and 20 women and children—in all, with the crew, 630 persons—to reinforce their respective corps in Caffraria. She sailed from England on the 5th January, and from Simon's Bay, at the Cape, on the 23d of February, and was proceeding on her way, when, at two next morning, she struck on a sunken rock within sight of the shore,

and shortly after went to pieces. There were six lifeboats on board, but one was swamped in endeavouring to lower it, and two could not be got loose from their moorings. Thus only three boats were available, capable at the very utmost of holding 78 persons out of 630. The scene which ensued must be given in the words of one of the survivors of the wreck. "Mr Salmond, the captain of the vessel, gave orders to Colonel Seton, of the 74th Highlanders, to send the troops to the chain-pumps, which was immediately done. The women and children were calmly placed in the cutter, which lay alongside under charge of an officer, and pulled off to a short distance to be free from the rush. In this awful moment the resolution and coolness of all on board were very remarkable, far exceeding anything which could have been conceived possible from the most exact discipline. Not a cry nor a murmur was heard among them, even when the vessel made her final plunge. All the officers received their orders, and had them carried out as if the men were embarking instead of going to the bottom, with this difference only; that I never saw an embarkation conducted with so little noise and confusion. When the vessel was first going down, the commander called out, 'All those that can swim, jump overboard and make for the boats.' We begged the men not to do as the commander said, as the boat with the women must be swamped if they reached it. *Not more than three left their ranks and made the attempt.*" Only 194 were saved of the 630 persons on board when the vessel struck, and of these 7 were women and 13 children, being the whole of those on board. The names of the officers are given below;—would that it were possible to give the names of the soldiers also, to be ennobled in the proudest niche of their country's glory! * And with this me-

morable act of heroism, more glorious than the rush of the charge or the ascent of the breach, because more generous and disinterested, the author closes his long narrative of the deeds of his countrymen during the wars of the French Revolution.*

74. It will belong to a succeeding historian to narrate the wonderful spring which the country made during the twelve years which followed 1852, under the influence of the gold discoveries in America and Australia; but a brief notice of them is here indispensable, in order to explain the main causes which were in full operation in that year, when the general election took place and Free Trade was finally adopted as the system of the nation. It is well known that, in consequence of the extension of the American dominion over Texas in 1848, and the war with Mexico which ensued, the peninsula of California was ceded to the United States, and became a part of the Union. The Spaniards, thirsting for gold, had been there for three hundred years,

Booth, and Ensign Quear: 74th, Lieutenant-Colonel Seton and Ensign Russell; 91st, Captain Wright and Staff-Surgeon Brown. Captain Wright, Lieutenants Girardol and Lucan, Cornet Bond, and Staff-Surgeon Brown alone were saved.—CAPTAIN WRIGHT'S *Narrative*: *Ann. Reg.* 1863, pp. 473, 476.

* A similar incident occurred since the preceding lines were written, which may well form a companion to so noble a picture. On the 7th February 1863, the Orpheus, a noble steamer, bound for New Zealand, with a considerable body of marines, under the command of Commodore Burnett, struck in a fine afternoon, and in comparatively smooth water, on a reef of rocks near the island, not marked in the charts by which the vessel was steered, and immediately began to sink. There were 256 persons on board, of whom 71 were got on board the boats, and were saved. The marines, while the embarkation was going on, stood in regular order in two lines on the deck, without a man leaving his place, or any attempt to force their way into the boats, and

"True to the last of their blood and their breath,
Like reapers descend to the harvest of Death."

They gave three cheers for their noble Commodore, who refused to leave the vessel, and were swallowed up by the waves before the gallant sounds were hushed! Such deeds make us proud of our country and the human race.—*Glasgow Herald*, April 18, 1863.

* They were Cornets Bond and Rolt, 12th Lancers; Ensign Boylan, Queen's Royals; 6th Reg., Ensign Mitford; 12th, Captain Blake; 43d, Lieutenant Girardol; 45th, one officer; 73d, Lieutenants Robinson and

and the gold was mixed with the alluvial sand under their feet, but they never found it out. Before the Americans had been there six months it was discovered, and the face of the world was changed. Miners speedily flocked to this *El Dorado* from all parts of America and many of Europe, and the progress which ensued was so rapid that it would be deemed fabulous if not ascertained by authentic evidence. In February 1849, the population of Europeans in the State was 2000; in June 1852 it was already 182,000; and in 1856 it had risen to 560,000. Soon after this great discovery had been made, a similar vein of prosperity was opened in Australia. Gold was there discovered in 1849, in the alluvial plains near Ballarat, and this led to a general search in the vicinity, and the precious article was soon found in great quantities. The effects were immediately the same as they had been in California. Population and wealth enormously increased; the emigration to it in 1854 rose to 87,000 persons; the exports turned £14,000,000, being about £28 a-head; and the gold obtained amounted to the enormous value of £15,000,000.*

75. The annual supply of gold and silver for the use of the globe was, by these discoveries, suddenly increased from an average of £10,000,000 to one of £35,000,000! The words of poetic genius were more than realised. "Me thinks, as I gaze around, I see the scheme of the All-beneficent Father disentangling itself clear through the troubled history of mankind. How

mysteriously, while Europe rears its populations and fulfils its civilising mission, these realms, which have been concealed from its eyes, divulged to us just as civilisation needs the solution to its problem; a vent for feverish energies, baffled in the crowd, offering bread to the famished, hope to the desperate, in very truth;" enabling the new world to redress the balance of the old. Here the actual *Æneid* passes before our eyes. From the hearts of the exiles scattered over this hardier Italy, who cannot see in the future

"A race from whence New Albion's sons shall come,
And the long glories of a future Rome?"

76. Most of all did Great Britain and Ireland experience the wonderful effects of this great addition to the circulating medium of our globe. That which, from the effects of the erroneous legislation of man, for five-and-twenty years had been awaiting—a currency commensurate to the increased numbers and transactions of the civilised world, was now supplied by the beneficent hand of Nature. The era of a contracted currency, and consequent low prices and general misery, interrupted by passing gleams of prosperity, was at an end. Prices rapidly rose, and rose steadily; wages advanced in a similar proportion; exports and imports enormously increased, while crime and misery as rapidly diminished. Emigration itself, which had reached, in 1852, 368,000 persons a-year, sank to little more than half the amount. Wheat rose from 40s. to

* STATISTICS OF THE AUSTRALIAN COLONIES IN 1860.

Name.	Area in Sq. Miles.	Population.	Colonial Revenue.	Debt.	Imports.	Exports.	Imperial Expenditure.
N. S. Wales,	323,437	365,635	1,306,925	3,819,730	7,519,285	5,072,020	44,339
Victoria,	86,831	548,944	3,039,034	5,115,100	15,093,730	12,962,704	36,567
Queensland,	678,000	56,000	178,589	...	742,023	709,598	...
S. Australia,	883,328	123,830	438,827	870,100	1,639,591	1,783,716	6,836
W. Australia,	978,000	15,691	60,741	1,750	169,074	89,246	37,331
Tasmania,	26,215	90,211	266,458	389,860	1,005,602	1,024,970	41,113
New Zealand,	106,259	155,070	464,738	479,044	1,548,333	588,953	104,852
	2,582,070	1,358,381	5,750,312	10,678,584	27,717,638	22,231,216	271,028

—Return presented to Parliament on the 27th March 1863.

55s. and 60s.; but the wages of labour of every kind advanced in nearly as great a proportion: they were found to be about 30 per cent higher, on an average, than they had been five years before. In Ireland the change was still greater, and probably unequalled in so short a time in the annals of history. Wages of country labour rose from 4d. a-day to 1s. 6d. or 2s.; convicted crime sank nearly a half; and the increased growth of cereal crops, under the genial influences of these advanced prices, was for some years as rapid as its previous decline since 1846 had been.* At the same time, decisive evidence was afforded that all this sudden burst of prosperity was the result of the expanded currency, and by no means of Free Trade, in the fact that it did not appear till the gold discoveries came in-

to operation, and then it was fully as great in the Protected as in the Free Trade states.†

77. The Duke of Wellington, full of years and honour, died of an affection of the head, on the 18th September. The body was brought to London on 10th November, it being resolved, in obedience to the universal voice of the nation, to give him a public funeral. No words can convey an idea of the excitement which pervaded the metropolis and the country when the appointed day drew near, and England was to bestow the last honours on her greatest hero. Despite storms and floods of severity unusual even in the gloomy month of November, multitudes flocked to the metropolis from every part of the country; and before the 18th, which was the day fixed for the august cere-

* EXPORTS, IMPORTS, CONVICTED CRIMINALS, EMIGRANTS, AND PRICE OF WHEAT IN GREAT BRITAIN, FROM 1852 TO 1864.

Years.	British and Irish Exports. Declared Value.	Imports. Computed Value.	Convicted Criminals. United Kingdom.	Emigrants.	Paupers. England.	Wheat per Quarter
	£	£				s. d.
1852	78,076,854	....	34,776	368,764	834,424	40 9
1853	98,923,781	....	32,291	329,937	798,822	53 3
1854	97,184,726	152,389,053	33,087	323,429	818,337	72 5
1855	95,088,085	143,542,830	27,880	176,807	851,369	74 8
1856	115,826,948	172,544,154	21,481	176,564	877,767	69 2
1857	122,066,107	187,844,441	22,152	212,875	843,806	56 4
1858	116,608,756	164,583,892	19,446	113,972	908,186	44 2
1859	130,411,529	179,182,355	17,794	120,432	860,470	43 9
1860	135,891,227	210,530,873	17,488	128,469	851,020	53 3
1861	125,102,814	217,485,024	19,678	91,770	890,423	54 4
1862*	123,692,264	225,716,976	21,810	121,214	946,166	55 5
1863*	146,602,342	248,919,020	21,535	223,758	1,142,624	44 9
1864*	160,436,302	274,863,924	20,105	208,900	1,009,289	40 2

* American War and Lancashire Cotton Famine.

—Statistical Abstract, No. XII., pp. 12, 13, 84, 99, 101, 102.

† *Vide ante*, chap. lxiii. § 68, note, where the returns proving this are given. These results, as measured from three years to three years, are—

Years.	France—Protected.		United States—Protected.		Great Britain—Free Trade.	
	Imports. Special Commerce.	Exports. Special Commerce.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports. Official Value.	British and Irish Exports. Declared Value.
1846	£36,800,000	£34,100,000	£25,352,458	£23,643,316	£75,953,875	£57,786,875
1849	31,200,000	41,800,000	28,200,000	28,100,000	105,874,607	63,596,025
1852*	39,400,000	49,300,000	41,500,000	36,900,000	109,331,158	78,076,854
1855	45,957,000	62,080,000	51,600,000	38,500,000	117,402,366†	95,688,085

* Gold discoveries.

† Official value for comparison sake. The real value of imports in this year was £145,545,000.

mony, it was calculated that at least five hundred thousand persons had been added to the two millions and a half which already formed the population of the metropolis. In London nothing was heard of for days before but preparations for the mournful pageant, which was to pass from the Horse-Guards up Constitution Hill, and from thence, by Piccadilly, St James Street, Pall-Mall, and the Strand, to St Paul's, where the most magnificent preparations had been made for its reception. Seats for above 200,000 persons were provided along this long line, which were disposed of at very high rates. In a word, as was well expressed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the feeling was so strong and universal that "a peaceful people had become inspired with warlike enthusiasm, a practical people with sentiment, and a busy people had resolved to sacrifice a day to give expression to the universal feeling."

78. The morning of the 18th November 1852, as that of the 18th June 1815, opened gloomily. A deluge of rain had fallen during the preceding night, and the lowering clouds presented a melancholy prospect for the approaching day. Nothing, however, could damp the universal passion to see the approaching spectacle. By four in the morning, carriages were to be heard in every direction, conveying the noblest, the most celebrated, and the fairest, to their selected places in the cathedral, in the clubs or private dwellings in the line which the procession was to pass. By six, every one not detained by sorrow or sickness was astir; and the balconies and seats prepared for their reception were by eight all filled with respectable persons clad in mourning. All the club-houses and principal mansions on the line of the procession were hung with black cloth. The streets, before the procession began to move, were crowded to excess; in Waterloo Place there were not less than eighty, in Trafalgar Square above a hundred thousand. Throughout the line the procession was to move, even from Apsley House

to St Paul's, a distance of fully three miles, not a crevice was unoccupied in the streets; the windows were filled with respectably-dressed persons, all in sable garb; the very roofs were covered by spectators, who risked their lives to obtain a glimpse of the pageant beneath. On the whole line, it was computed that not less than a million and a half of human beings were collected together. Yet, though so great a multitude was assembled, there was no jarring or confusion; each took his place in order and silence, as if the discipline and spirit of the mighty commander had animated the immense mass. And so admirable had been the arrangements of the police, and so numerous the opportunities afforded by the length of the line for viewing the procession, that not one person, even of the humblest, was disappointed in the means of seeing it.

79. At ten o'clock the clouds dispersed, and the sun shone forth in uncommon splendour, which continued during the whole remainder of the day. The procession itself was well calculated to satisfy all expectations, and give a memorable proof at once of the power and grandeur, and of the deep feelings of the British people on the occasion. The first and noblest in the land were there, of all parties and persuasions. Prince Albert occupied a conspicuous place; the Duke of Cambridge had the military command of all the troops employed on the occasion; the Duke of Norfolk, as hereditary Earl-Marshal of England, regulated the array. Both Houses of Parliament attended, in uncommonly full muster. The splendid array of the Horse and Foot Guards attracted universal admiration; the latter, presenting as numerous and imposing a column as that which defeated the Old Guard at Waterloo, headed the procession. His own regiments, the Rifles and the 33d, entire, and detachments from every corps of artillery, cavalry, and infantry in the service, followed in succession. All the ambassadors, and the whole *corps diplomatique* of Europe, were present. That of France even attended, in a noble spirit; the British did not feel less warmly to

their old and worthy antagonists for their conduct on this occasion. The whole superior officers of the English army, and representatives from all the monarchs of Europe, save Austria, were present. An unworthy feeling of irritation at the recent policy of England caused the Government of Vienna to withhold an expression of respect which none felt more sincerely than its brave and loyal inhabitants. Many veterans who had fought with Wellington during the war followed his remains to the grave; but not the least moving spectacle was the charger of the deceased, led by his old and faithful groom, with his boots and spurs, reversed, suspended in the stirrups.

80. All the ministers of state, judges, and public functionaries of the realm attended the ceremony. There was to be seen the Marquess of Anglesea, who, albeit past eighty-four, and bereft of a limb at Waterloo, still exhibited a spirit and vigour beyond his years; and Lord Hardinge, whose iron soul had saved the Peninsula at Albuera, and India at Ferozeshah. The keen glance of Sir Charles Napier bespoke the hero who had contended against tenfold odds at Meeanee; Sir William Napier, though wounded and broken by sickness, exhibited the spirit which shone forth in every page of his *History of the Peninsular War*. Lord Gough, who had added lustre to the long line of Indian triumphs at Goojerat; Lord Combermere, the hero of Bhurtpore, and companion in arms of Wellington; and Lord Seaton, who commanded the 51st Regiment in the last attack at Waterloo, were there. The intrepid air of Sir Harry Smith marked the veteran who turned the tide of fortune at Aliwal. The chivalrous Marquess of Londonderry, the worthy representative of him who so nobly struggled for his country during its darkest days, was one of the pall-bearers. So great was the impression produced by the scene, that when the magnificent car, bearing the body on its summit, was drawn past by twelve horses, robed in black velvet palls, every head was uncovered, and there were few dry eyes among the countless multitude.

Among them was one man, now advanced in years, who in early youth had hastened from his paternal roof to see the allied armies on their first entrance into Paris in 1814, and who now, forty years afterwards, witnessed the last scene in the mighty drama of which he then formed the conception of writing the history, and which, during the interval, he had completed.

81. Precisely at twelve the procession reached the great door of St Paul's, having been met at Temple Bar by the Lord Mayor and all the civic authorities. The Duke of Cambridge, as representing the army of England, received it at the gate with his sword drawn; the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and three hundred of his clergy, in full canonicals, met the coffin as it entered the churchyard. The interior of the cathedral was hung with black and magnificently lighted with gas, which, as evening approached, threw a mellow light over the vast interior of the dome. Splendid music added its charm to the magic influence of the scene. Eighteen thousand persons, arranged on seats in the form of an amphitheatre, embracing the first and noblest in the land, witnessed the spectacle. When the procession entered the cathedral, and the anthem was struck up from the powerful organ and a splendid orchestra, twenty thousand voices swelled the strain. When the titles of the deceased came to be read out by Garter King-at-Arms, it appeared he had been loaded with honours from every country in Europe. A Prince in Belgium, a Duke in England and Spain, he was a Field-Marshal in Russia, Prussia, Austria, Spain, France, Hanover, the Netherlands, Portugal, and England; nine batons fell from his hand when he breathed his last. Foreign princes and marshals stood at the head of the coffin; Prince Albert and the English generals, who had borne the pall, at its foot.* Every

* Marquess of Anglesea, Marquess of Londonderry, Lord Gough, Lord Combermere, Lord Seaton, Sir Harry Smith, Sir Charles Napier, Sir Alexander Woodford, and Sir Peregrine Maitland.

heart throbbed with emotion when, in dead silence, the coffin was lowered into the grave in the centre of the cathedral, close behind Nelson's tomb; and the last earthly honour he received was from his old companion in

arms, the Marquess of Anglesea, who, as it vanished from the sight, bowed to his unconscious remains.

"Such honours Ilion to her hero paid,
And peaceful slept the mighty Hector's
shade."

CHAPTER LXXVII.

FRANCE, FROM THE ELECTION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON AS PRESIDENT, IN DECEMBER 1848, TO HIS ASSUMPTION OF THE IMPERIAL CROWN AND THE RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE, IN 1852.

1. THE immense majority by which Prince Louis Napoleon had been created President of the Republic added greatly to the power of the executive, and was an important step in the restoration of order after the Revolution. But it was far from appeasing the parties, or producing a similar union in the Assembly. It was, in truth, a declaration of France against the Revolution, and bespoke the anxious desire of the inhabitants of its rural districts to terminate the disorders which it had introduced, and return to the occupations of peaceful industry. But to the legislature, or at least a large part of its members, it was a serious blow, and was felt the more severely that it had been so completely unexpected. They had entered the Assembly expecting to be little kings, or, at the very least, Roman senators; they found themselves reduced to the rank of ordinary legislators. The executive authority—so important in all countries, so influential in every age in France—had been appointed over their heads by the general voice of the people; the President was no longer their officer or administrator, but the nominee of a rival power, and might be expected on a crisis to be supported by the army, which looked to him for promotion, employment, and glory. The seeds in this way, not merely of discontent and division, but probable

strife, were sown in the very outset of the President's administration; the balance between a popular chief magistrate and an ambitious but discontented legislature could not long be preserved; and as the nation would certainly not again go back to the Republic, it was already foreseen that it must go forward to the Empire.

2. The first care of the President, after installation in office, was to organise a powerful army under the command of Marshal Bugeaud at Lyons and the adjacent provinces near the Alps. The foundation of that force had been laid in March 1848, when it was expected that the Republic would be attacked by the neighbouring powers, and it at first consisted only of three divisions, mustering 30,000 bayonets and 4000 sabres, with 38 guns. It was now raised, by the care of the President, to 72,000 infantry and 8000 horse. The threatening aspect of affairs in the north of Italy amply justified these precautionary measures; and it was mainly owing to the formidable front thus presented that the Austrians, after their successes over the Piedmontese, had been prevented from crossing the Ticino. But the army was destined also for another object, and its main purpose was to form a support to the President's power in the event of a rupture with the Assembly. It had already rendered important service to

the cause of order on occasion of the insurrection in June preceding, when it prevented an outbreak at Lyons from immediately succeeding that at Paris; and one of its divisions had on the first alarm advanced by forced marches towards the capital. It was to this powerful force that Louis Napoleon mainly looked for the support of his authority, in the event of that breach with the Assembly and democratic party, which it was evident, sooner or latter, must ensue.

3. The thorns were not long of showing themselves, and they did so first in the Cabinet of the President. Following up the principle laid down in his circular to the electors, already given, Louis Napoleon, in the first instance, formed his Cabinet from a combination of all parties, though the majority was composed of those who were known to incline to the monarchical side. It is true M. Thiers, M. Molé, M. Berryer, M. de Broglie, M. de Montalembert, were not themselves in the Cabinet, but their friends and supporters were so, and constituted its majority. M. Odillon Barrot, M. Leon de Malleville, Drouyn de Lhuys, M. Passy, M. Leon Faucher, M. de Tracy, belonged to the constitutional party, who had formed the Opposition, but desired a free government under the Orleans dynasty. It might be presumed, what was soon found to ensue, that they would incline to the monarchical side under the government of the President. On the other hand, M. de Falloux represented the religious party, united with the Legitimists, who formed so important a part of the electors, especially in the rural districts, and M. Bixio the Republican. Coalition of this kind are often desired by the people, and deemed practicable by the inexperienced; they are always looked on with distrust by those versed in real life, and never fail to terminate in the expulsion of the weaker party from the administration. So it proved in the present instance. A sincere and honest republican, M. Bixio soon found that he was out of place in a Conservative cabinet, and he retired accordingly,

and was succeeded by M. Buffet in the office of Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. This was immediately after followed by the resignation of M. Leon de Malleville as Minister of the Interior, whose place was supplied by M. Leon Faucher, transferred from the Ministry of Public Works, in which he was succeeded by M. Lacrosse. The latter changes were not produced by any divergence of political principle, but by a private rupture between the President and M. Leon de Malleville, occasioned by a warm altercation relative to the demand made by the President for the delivery of some documents in the office of the Minister of the Interior, bearing on the abortive Strasburg and Boulogne affairs ten years before.

4. There remained, however, before the Government could be considered as fully completed, the office of Vice-President of the Republic to fill up. This was a situation of great importance; for not only was he at all times *ex officio* President of the Assembly, but in the absence, or during the sickness, of the President, he exercised his functions, and was intrusted with his powers. The appointment, too, was of the more importance, that it was to be made neither by the President nor the Assembly taken separately, but by the latter from a list of three furnished by the former; so that both the rival powers would have a share in the election. In terms of the law, the Cabinet presented, on the 18th January, a list of three candidates for the situation, and they were M. Boulay de la Meurthe, General Baraguay d'Hilliers, and M. Vivien. The two first were received with such marks of displeasure by the Assembly, that the President was obliged to invoke the respect due to the executive authority to bring it to a close. When the election came on (Jan. 20), however, the result was different: M. Boulay de la Meurthe was elected by a large majority, the numbers being 417 for him, against 277 for M. Vivien, who alone came to the vote. The ill-humour of the Assembly at this result was shown in the vote on the salary of the Vice-President, which

was reduced from 60,000 francs a-year to 48,000 francs by a majority of 372 to 270. The Cabinet had even some difficulty in resisting a proposition of the Radical party in the Assembly, headed by Babaud-Larivière, to the effect that the Vice-President should receive for his residence, not a separate house, but the *upper flat* of the building occupied by the Council of State.

5. The first serious subject, apart from the strifes of factions, which occupied the attention of the Assembly, was the finances of the Republic, which were still in the most disastrous state, and threatened immediately to become utterly hopeless, in consequence of the cessation of the duty on salt, on 1st January, according to the decree of the Provisional Government on 13th April preceding. The loss of this tax, which brought in 70,000,000 francs a-year (£2,800,000), would evidently reduce the Republic to a state of bankruptcy, for the deficit of the current year already exceeded 250,000,000 francs (£10,000,000), and it was necessary to come to some immediate resolution regarding it before the fatal day of the termination of the tax arrived. The debate came on upon the 27th December, and the reasons for resisting any reduction of the tax were thus stated by M. Passy, the finance minister: "Never, not even in the days of its greatest prosperity, did the receipts of the exchequer reach 1,400,000,000 francs: in the last year of the reign of Louis Philippe they were only 1,370,000,000 francs. The entire revenue of 1848, if you deduct the produce of the 45 per cent addition to the direct taxes, will not exceed 1,200,000,000 francs, while the national expenses have increased in a still more alarming proportion. In the year which is drawing to a close, the expenditure has been 1,800,000,000, showing a deficit on the ordinary revenue of 600,000,000 francs (£24,000,000) in a single year. Nor are our prospects for the future more consolatory: the revenue in 1849 can only be estimated at 1,300,000,000 francs, while the charges of the year cannot be taken at less than, at the very least, 1,600,000,000 francs, show-

ing a certain deficit of 300,000,000 francs (£12,000,000) in the ensuing year. Is this a time when it is possible to reduce the permanent revenue by withdrawing a tax producing 70,000,000 francs annually?" Notwithstanding the weight of these arguments, and the urgency of the case, such was the sense of the Assembly of the unpopularity of the tax, or their terror of meeting their constituents if they had had any hand in reimposing it, that though they departed from its entire abolition, it was only on condition of its being reduced from 1st January 1849 to two-thirds of its former amount. This was carried, on the final division, by 372 to 363. It was well understood to be a political vote breathing hostility to the Government; and it was sufficiently alarming, as indicating how nearly parties were divided in the Assembly. But it was a still more serious blow to national credit, and excited great alarm among all persons of property, from the apprehension that it was an unworthy concession to popular clamour, which could not fail to be followed, as in the preceding year, by a serious addition to the direct taxes.

6. The financial situation of France was discussed and fully developed a month after, when the new taxes to be laid on to meet this great deficit came under consideration. As the temper of the Assembly against any increase of the indirect taxes had been so unequivocally evinced, no resource remained but an augmentation of the direct; and as the continuance of the forty-five per cent addition to the direct taxes was not for a moment to be thought of, no expedient remained but to levy an increased duty on successions. M. Goudchaux had, six months before, brought forward a proposal, when he was finance minister, to levy a *progressive* duty on successions, whether in money or heritage—a proposal evidently of a Socialist character, and tending to introduce a system confiscating the property of the rich to alleviate the burdens of the poor. It was rejected, accordingly, by M. Passy, the present finance minis-

ter; but he proposed a very serious addition to the tax by increasing it from twelve to twenty per cent, successions under 500 francs (£20) being entirely exempted. This proposal occasioned a perfect storm in the Assembly; but M. Passy was firm, alleging with truth that the public service could not be carried on unless the tax was conceded. He concluded with the significant words: "Either enable me to execute my duties, or I resign." The Assembly felt the power of the appeal, and in spite of the extreme reluctance to increased taxation, was constrained to agree to the increased duties by a considerable majority. A similar measure was, from the same cause—the reduction of the indirect taxes—introduced shortly after into Great Britain. Thus, in both countries, the first durable effect of popular triumph was to change, to a considerable extent, the system of indirect taxation—the creation of European freedom—into that of direct and crushing burdens, the offspring in every age of Asiatic despotism.

7. A very valuable report was presented on 22d January by the finance minister, on the comparative financial state of France in 1848 and 1849. Though somewhat different from the position of the country in the preceding year, it still presented a mournful and almost hopeless aspect. The total receipts of 1849, as compared with 1848, showed a diminution of no less than 437,718,732 francs, arising from the termination of the 45 per cent on the direct taxes, and the want of the loan of 232,000,000 francs, which had been contracted by the Government in the preceding year. On the other hand, the ordinary receipts might be expected to be increased by 243,716,000 francs, of which no less than 99,230,000 francs were from the increased duty on successions, and 83,873,000 francs was hoped for from the rise in the produce of the indirect taxes arising from the increased strength of Government, and tranquillity of the country. Still this exhibited a diminution in the total receipts, ordinary and extraordinary, of 1849, compared with 1848,

of 194,000,000 francs (£7,760,000), which required to be made up by loan, exchequer bills, or some other extraordinary resource. For the whole reduction in the expenses for 1849 which was deemed practicable amounted to 178,491,000 francs, as no less than 41,493,000 was for increased interest of debt on which no reduction was practicable; so that, upon the whole, the deficit of 1849 would be 15,510,000 francs *more* than that of 1848, which already had been so enormous! Such were the first fruits, in a financial point of view, which France reaped from the Revolution of 1848, and they were bitter in the extreme. The magnitude of the public armaments, rendered necessary by that convulsion, in a great measure explained this deplorable state of the public finances; for the army on the 1st December 1848 numbered no less than 502,196 men and 100,452 horses, of which 78,000 men and 15,490 horses were employed in Algeria. These forces were to be reduced in the course of the present year to 380,824 men and 92,410 horses. The navy was fixed on a more moderate scale, proving that the Government had no apprehensions on the side of England. The ships afloat in commission were ten of the line, two floating batteries, eight frigates, and eighteen corvettes.

8. A very important matter, both as regards the social interests of the country and the party struggles in the legislature, came under the consideration of the Assembly early in January, connected with the administration of the prisons. The Provisional Government, in the first fervour of their philanthropy and sympathy with the inmates of jails, had on the 24th March 1848 entirely abolished labour in prisons; but the effect of this, as any one might have anticipated who knew anything of the matter, had been so injurious both in demoralising the prisoners by idleness, and augmenting the severity of their punishment by their having nothing to do, that the Assembly, on the 28th August, had reverted to the system of prison labour, leaving it to the prefects to decide in what

species of work they should be employed. This immediately gave rise to violent remonstrances from the free labourers in the neighbourhood of the prisons, who complained that they could not compete on terms of equality with workmen who, fed, clothed, and lodged by the State, could of course undersell them in the produce of their labour. Pressed by these opposite interests and considerations, the Assembly adopted, with a slight modification, the report of the committee ordered to inquire into the matter, which was to the effect that the produce of prison labour should not be exposed for sale in competition with that of freemen, but so far as possible employed in furnishings to the troops by land and sea. This system is adopted also in Holland, Belgium, Bavaria, and Genoa; but it is evident that it is a mere elusory solution of the difficulty, and only *appears* to succeed, because it keeps the competition out of the sight of those who suffer under it. The true principle to adopt in the case is, that idleness in prison is, in reality, so great an aggravation of its pains, that it is unjust to inflict, and so great an incentive to crime, in appearance, to those who have not experienced it, that it is unwise to permit it. No class in society is entitled to insist that another class shall be kept in a state of compulsory idleness and moral ruin, lest its industry should interfere with their own. The command of Providence is that all mankind should eat their bread in the sweat of their brow, not that this sentence should be confined to the free. Any undue interference with the remuneration of free labour can be prevented by making the prices charged for the produce of penal labour not lower than the average.

9. The all-important subject of primary education early occupied the attention of the Assembly. M. Carnot, their Minister of Public Instruction, had, on the 30th June 1848, immediately after the suppression of the revolt, brought forward a project for the universal education of the people at the public expense; but the necessitous

state of the Exchequer had prevented it from being immediately adopted, and they fell upon the usual expedient, when delay was desired, of referring it to the Legislative Committee. They having made a report, it was again for a similar reason remitted to the committee for farther consideration; and at the same time commissioners were appointed, with instructions to prepare laws on primary instruction, secondary instruction, and the books to be taught in schools. The Council of State also soon came under consideration—a very important body, as it was appointed for six years by the Assembly, and intrusted with the examination of all legislative motions which appeared to the Government to be too hastily prepared, or of so much importance as to be thoroughly matured, and requiring deliberate consideration. It was soon found, however, that the interposition of a body having such important functions between the executive and the legislature, nominated by the latter, led to great inconvenience, and might seriously fetter the Government, especially in matters relating to foreign states, or requiring immediate despatch. A motion was accordingly made and carried to reduce the number of the members of the Council from forty-eight to thirty-two, as a more manageable number; but it was provided that they should be re-elected by the Assembly before they entered on their functions. This was an effort on the part of that body to maintain the influence and consideration of which they already felt they had been in a great measure deprived by the election of the President.

10. Public opinion meanwhile in France was so rapidly turning against the legislature, that it was foreseen its existence could not be long prolonged. The general feeling was forcibly expressed in meetings held in Rennes and Lille. "It will no longer do," said an orator in the former city, "for Paris to send us down revolutions by the mail-coach; for it is not now political but social revolutions with which we are visited. The departments, in June, have shown unequivocally that

they are determined to put an end to this system. Reflect on the days which we denominate by the 24th February, the 15th May, the 23d June. Is it to be borne that we are still doomed to go to bed at night without knowing whether we shall ever waken in the morning?" "It is unprecedented in history," said a speaker in Lille, "that a few thousand turbulent adventurers, ever ready for a *coup-de-main*, should have succeeded on so many occasions in putting in hazard the destinies of a people so advanced in civilisation as that of France. We present to Europe the extraordinary spectacle of a nation of 35,000,000 of men ever ready to take the yoke from 20,000 or 30,000 creators of revolutions, who descend into the streets at a signal given by a few ambitious leaders, and treat France as a conquered country. A few months only have elapsed since we saw a handful of misled men, taking advantage of the inertness of some, the connivance of others, the terror of many, and the weakness of Government, gain possession of the sanctuary of the national representation, and chase from it the representatives of the country. A unanimous resistance has now declared itself against the Parisian tyranny; a violent desire to shake off its yoke has made itself felt even by the central government. It is not a conspiracy, still less a dream of a federative government; it is an open and deliberate movement by the provinces of France, as the old ones of Gaul were determined that their interests shall no longer be swallowed up in those of Rome."

11. When such was the temper of men's minds in the provinces, it was only a question of time when the legislature was to be dissolved, to make way for one more in harmony with the general wish of the nation out of the capital. After the election of the President by so great a majority of votes over all France, this desire assumed a practical direction, because its realisation seemed more nearly approaching. The general wish found vent in a motion made by M. Râteau, that the general election should take

place on the 4th of next May, and the existing Assembly be dissolved on the 19th of that month. This brought matters to a crisis; and it was doubtful how the matter would be decided in that body, for the parties were very nearly divided upon it,—the general wish of the vast majority of the people being counterbalanced by the desire of the members in the Assembly to retain a power by which they hoped largely to profit. In the Council of State the votes were nearly equally divided; and in the Assembly itself, it was decided by a majority of *four*—the numbers being 400 to 396—to take the motion into consideration, which was equivalent to giving leave to bring in the bill in the English House of Commons. The whole supporters of Government lent their aid to the measure. "There is something worse," said M. Montalembert, "for a real lover of his country, and friend to social progress, than the overthrow of existing governments; for however sad this may be, the executive power survives, and often gains by it. What is much more deplorable is the weakness of government in the hands of those who received it young and energetic. Do not, I implore you, present to Europe that mournful spectacle; do not let a power which has nothing above, nor even on a level with it, perish from inanition in your hands. A part of the Assembly does not wish to advance, because it is not sure it will be able to retrace its steps; another wishes to move on for the opposite reason. Terminate, I implore you, so humiliating a spectacle in the eyes of Europe." After a long and impassioned debate, the motion of M. Râteau, slightly amended by M. Lanjuinais, was carried by a majority of 424 to 387—a short respite being merely given to the Assembly in order to enable them to mature a new law regulating, in some matters of detail, the approaching election.

12. It was not, however, without an attempt at a violent *coup-de-main* that this great victory was gained by Prince Louis Napoleon and the moderate party in the Assembly. The Repub-

licans were quite aware that it would annihilate their ascendancy, and they resolved to anticipate the legal dissolution of the Assembly by a *coup d'état* against the President. "Louis Buonaparte once down," said M. Proudhon, "and the counter-revolution is at an end. It is astonishing that, for a month past, neither the Republicans in the Assembly, nor the democratic press, have been aware that that is the real state of the matter. Strike the idol, and the faith being dishonoured, the worship is over. Let the vote crush Louis Buonaparte, and it is done. Have no fear of a reaction; it has no force but in the noise which it makes. An energetic vote in five minutes will deliver you from all your dangers." This was a direct appeal to a civil war, and an invitation to a *coup d'état*; for the President, having been elected by the direct votes of the people, and not by the Assembly, could not legally be removed but by the same authority which had created him, before the period of his tenure of office, which was four years, expired. Government meanwhile, however, were not idle. A motion was brought forward by the Minister of the Interior, to shut up the clubs, which was rejected by 418 to 342; and this was met by a counter-motion, proposed by M. Ledru-Rollin, for an accusation of the Ministers, upon the ground of their having, by this motion, violated the constitution. But the Republicans had no expectation of carrying this extreme measure in the Assembly; it was the hoisting the signal of insurrection that was really intended; and this design was carried into execution on the 29th January.

13. The clubs had for long been in a state of extraordinary activity; and the demand for an accusation of the Ministers was signed, not only by a great many members of the Assembly, but by nearly the whole editors of newspapers in Paris. It was universally known, accordingly, that a great democratic movement was in agitation; and the conspirators at this

critical moment received a great and unexpected accession of strength from the discontent of a part of the Garde Mobile, owing to a project which was in course of execution for reducing the strength of their battalions to that of the regiments of the line, and organising them in fewer battalions than heretofore. As this measure threatened to deprive a good many officers of their situations, it excited great discontent: and to such a length did this go, that two hundred of them repaired in a menacing manner to the palace of the Elysée, where the Cabinet was sitting, on the 28th January, in order to extort a revocation of the decree reducing them. General Changarnier, the governor of the armed force in Paris, who was extremely popular in their ranks, received them kindly, and persuaded them to retire, but they did so uttering seditious cries, and immediately entered into communication with the heads of the clubs, who, charmed with such an unlooked-for accession of strength, on the spot fixed a grand demonstration for the following day. It took place accordingly, but proved a miserable failure. The fire of democracy in the great body of the people was burnt out. The Government were acquainted with the whole plans of the conspirators, and from an early hour of the morning all their places of rendezvous were occupied by large bodies of troops, who, so far from joining them as they expected, forcibly prevented any attempt at assembling. Foiled, disconcerted, and utterly overmatched, the conspirators, who came up in considerable numbers from the clubs, had no alternative but to retire, and they did so worse than defeated—turned into ridicule.

14. During the panic occasioned by this abortive insurrection, the proposition of M. Râteau was again taken into consideration, and carried, like the introduction of the Reform Bill of England, and the decree establishing the National Assembly of France in 1789, by a majority of one—the numbers being 416 to 415. The days of the Assembly being now numbered,

its legislative acts ceased to be an object of any consideration ; and the regulations for the approaching election having been passed without a division on 15th February, the clubs were closed after a stormy debate on the 20th March following, by the slender majority of 19 votes — the numbers being 378 to 359. This was the last important act of the Constituent Assembly. It rejected, on 15th May, by a majority of 37, a motion to the effect that the Ministry had lost the confidence of the country, and four days afterwards came to an end. Every eye was now fixed on the approaching general election, fraught as it was with the future destinies of France ; but the preparations on the opposite sides to meet the crisis were very different. The clubs were in ceaseless activity, and they had established branches in the chief provincial towns. The press was nearly unanimous in favour of the democratic side, and loud in its abuse of the President and the ruling authority. On the other hand, the Government was in a false position. Louis Napoleon alone was elected by a power independent of the Assembly ; all his ministers were members of that body, and accustomed to regard its majorities as the only foundation of their authority. Thus the chief magistrate of the Republic and his ministers looked to different bodies for support, and were actuated at bottom by opposite motives. The first, depending directly on the people, regarded the Assembly as an enemy to be overcome ; the second, in constant collision with the legislature, looked upon it as an ally to be conciliated. Had it been possible for Louis Napoleon to dispense with the Assembly, and govern of his own authority, he would probably have secured the suffrages of an immense majority of the people. But the nation was not as yet sufficiently awakened from the illusions of the Revolution to render that possible ; and as the Government had been severely censured for interfering in the elections of the preceding year, it was deemed advisable to abstain altogether from

any attempt to influence them on the present occasion. Thus the people were left without either leaders or direction on the one side, and with both of the most efficient kind on the other. A club to secure the return of members of Conservative principles was established in the Rue de Poitiers, and raised considerable sums to organise an opposition to the Socialist doctrines, which were now spreading in every direction from the capital to the provincial towns. But like all other attempts since 1789 to resist the spread of democratic principles by any other means than the Government, it had very little success. The electors, distracted between their own secret wishes and the republican clamour with which they were surrounded, saw in general no resource but in returning a member on each side, or electing a republican not as yet pledged to violent measures. Thus the parties were nearly equally divided in the new Assembly, as they had been in the old. But there was this difference between them, and it proved most material ; the leading republicans were not elected. Ledru-Rollin nearly alone survived amidst the general wreck of his party.

15. The equally divided state of the returns was soon known, and, when announced in Paris, produced universal consternation. The disorders and miseries of the Revolution were immediately anticipated, and the public funds sank 7 per cent in one day. An attempt was made to renew the intimidation of the Assembly by a threatening mob, which surrounded its doors on the 28th May, the first day of meeting ; but it was dispersed without difficulty by a body of cavalry, which cleared the approach amidst frantic yells from the Jacobin party. M. Dupin *ainé*, an able and intrepid man, was elected President, which situation he held with credit to himself and advantage to the State, during the two years that its sittings continued.

16. The first great effort of the democratic party was made on the 13th June, and was brought about by the affairs of Italy. By a vote on 7th May, the preceding Assembly had en-

joined the Government to take steps for preventing the expedition to Rome from being any longer diverted from the object for which it was intended. That object, in the view of the Government, was the establishing the French power in Rome, to prevent the Austrians getting there; but in the sense of the Assembly which passed the vote, it was to aid Garibaldi and the Republicans of that city. A large part of the new Assembly, and even some of the President's ministers, had taken the same view; and this feeling was so strong and general, that possibly, contrary to the intentions of the Government, it might have led to the French troops entering Rome as allies, as the Romans expected, had it not been for the collision and bloody repulse, already mentioned, sustained by Oudinot before its walls, which at once set up the passions of the French people and decided the side they were to take. This, however, was a subject of bitter regret and vexation to the Revolutionists, who had looked to that expedition as the commencement of that system of propagandism which they had so long and so ardently desired. In contemplation of the great movement which was organised on this subject coming on, the Socialists had compelled the members elected under their influence to subscribe a declaration setting forth—"The Republic is above any majorities. If the constitution is violated, the representatives of the people should be the first to set an example of armed resistance. The employment of the forces of France against any people is a crime, and a violation of the constitution. France is bound to give succour to every people combating." This was the programme of the revolutionary campaign, which was immediately followed up in all the Radical newspapers and in the clubs, which had never been thoroughly suppressed. "A contest is commencing," said one; "it will be terrible. Treason is consummated; they are about to assassinate the Roman Republic. We are entitled to say so to a functionary who has betrayed the Republic,

and Buonaparte is that functionary. Louis XVI. conspired, and little time elapsed between the return from Varennes and its expiation." "To-morrow," said the *Vraie République*, "the Mountain will come to the tribune to proclaim the dethronement. High treason has been committed: the right of dethronement has arisen; to oppose it would be to tear in pieces the constitution, destroy the Republic, and abdicate, by the very act, the sovereignty of the people." In pursuance of these principles, M. Ledru-Rollin laid on the table of the Convention, on the 11th June, an act of accusation against the President and Ministry, signed by 123 members of the Assembly; declaring, at the same time, they would "defend the constitution, even with arms in their hands."

17. The die was now cast, and war declared; but the revolutionists found that they had a very different antagonist to deal with from Louis XVI., Charles X., or Louis Philippe. The act of accusation against Louis Napoleon was rejected by a large majority of the Assembly; but the bringing it forward was only a signal for insurrection. Early on the morning of the 13th June, a crowd began to assemble on the Boulevards, at the Chateau d'Eau, which soon swelled to a formidable number, being reinforced by the whole Socialists of the Faubourg St Antoine and the Faubourg St Marceau. They immediately began to march towards the Tuileries along the Boulevards, having a man of resolution, and a colonel in the National Guard, Etienne Arago, at their head. They loudly proclaimed, as they moved along, they were going "to finish with Buonaparte and the National Assembly." But the Government was on its guard. Changarnier, who commanded the armed forces of Paris and of the department of the Seine, was at the head of two regiments of dragoons, two of infantry, and one of the Garde Mobile. With these troops, whose steadiness could be relied on, he remained motionless in the Rue de la Paix, which falls at right angles on the Boulevards, till half the column

of insurgents was passed; and then, suddenly issuing forth, fell perpendicularly on its flank, and instantly passing through, cut it in two. The force which had done so, rapidly accumulating as the rest came up from the rear, charged vigorously to the right and left, driving the mob either way before them, and completing their defeat and dispersion without ever having occasion to make use of their arms.

18. While the insurgents on the Boulevards were undergoing this humiliating defeat, M. Ledru-Rollin and twenty-five of the most determined leaders of the Mountain were in anxious expectation in a house in the Rue Hazard, leading off the Rue de Richelieu, from whence, when they heard of the defeat of the column on the Boulevards, they sought refuge with four hundred artillerymen of the National Guard as an escort, in the Conservatoire des Arts et des Métiers, in the Rue St Martin. They proclaimed at first their determination to defend their post to the last extremity, and preparations to barricade every access to the building were made. But these bold resolutions speedily gave way, when they found themselves surrounded on all sides, and no general insurrection in the city, as they had expected, hastening to their relief. Three barricades were commenced in the streets adjoining, when a company of the 6th Legion of the National Guards arrived, and having been fired on from one barricade, rushed forward and carried it by storm. The effects of this discharge of firearms must be given in the words of an eyewitness: "Some panes of glass of the Museum were broken by the shots, and immediately the deputies threw themselves out of the windows, and took to flight, leaving all their papers and effects behind them. Ledru-Rollin got out of the garden into the Rue de la Croix, and thence into the Rue du Temple, where he disappeared, and finally made his escape in the obscurity of the evening." Thus, amidst ridicule and contempt, terminated this attempt of the Jacobins to revolution-

ise the Revolution, and from which its authors anticipated nothing less than the final triumph of extreme Democratic and Socialist principles. The Government was materially strengthened by the defeat of this insurrection. The clubs were finally suppressed, and so thoroughly were they sunk in general estimation that this important step excited very little attention. Paris was declared, and continued for a short time, in a state of siege, and after long debates, in the course of which M. Montalembert drew a picture in the most sombre colour of the state of France, a new law was voted, restraining the liberty of the press, and imposing fresh penalties upon all who should incite the citizens to revolt, or endeavour to dissuade the soldiers from discharging their duty to the Government.

19. It soon appeared that this was not a mere insulated insurrection in Paris, but that it was connected with a general democratic movement in the other great towns of the country. On the 15th June the capital was thrown into consternation by the receipt of a telegraphic message from Lyons, announcing the breaking out of a revolt in that city. It had commenced on the night of the 14th, by some unknown criers announcing in the streets that "Paris was in a state of insurrection, the Assembly dissolved, a convention summoned, and the President and his ministers arrested." The Socialists immediately rose, and in the course of the night erected strong barricades on the heights of the Croix Rouge, and other dominant points in Lyons. Fortunately the troops remained steady, otherwise the consequences might have been very serious. Heavy guns were quickly brought up, and a warm fire opened upon the barricades, especially those on the Croix Rouge, the headquarters of the revolt, and after being shaken by the discharges they were stormed, with great slaughter, and carried, after an obstinate resistance. Seven hundred prisoners were made on the spot, and eight hundred men, mostly taken with arms in their hands, were soon lodged in

the Bernardine Convent, and in the Hôtel de Ville. The losses of the insurgents were severe, as they fought desperately at all points. The intelligence of the suppression of this formidable revolt excited a great sensation at Paris, and augmented the loyalty of the army, who had a grand military display a few days after (June 17), at the funeral of Marshal Bugeaud, who had died, after a short illness, of cholera. Thirty thousand soldiers attended the funeral of the veteran: the pall was borne by M. Dupin, the President of the Assembly, Marshal Molière, General Changarnier, M. Odillon Barrot, the President of the Council, and M. Rulhières, the Minister of War. A strange combination, considering how they had stood opposed at the fall of Louis Philippe, but eminently descriptive of the union of parties around the President which was now taking place to defend the last refuge of order and government.

20. Notwithstanding this double victory in the metropolis and the chief manufacturing town of France, the position of the President was still a false one, and there was little harmony between him and his ministers. He resolved to have done, accordingly, with parliamentary administrations: and, suddenly (Oct. 31) dismissing his whole Cabinet, he astonished the world by the formation of an entirely new ministry, composed of persons of capacity and business habits, but by no means known in the debates of the Assembly.* In his opening address to the new Assembly, at the beginning of the new session, the President thus explained the motives which had induced him to take this decisive step: "To strengthen the Republic, threatened on all sides by anarchy, to secure order better than has hitherto been done, and to preserve to France that high position she has hitherto occupied among nations, we require men

who, animated by patriotic devotion, are alive to the necessity of a single and firm direction, and of a policy distinctly announced, who will not compromise power by any irresolution, who are as much impressed with my responsibility as their own, and who may be as ready in action as in words. I wish to inspire in the country by my sincerity, my perseverance, and my firmness, such confidence as may permit affairs to resume their usual course. The letter of the constitution has, without doubt, a great influence on the destinies of a country, but the manner in which it is worked has a greater still. Let us then unite in restoring power, without injuring real liberty. Let us calm apprehension by boldly extinguishing the bad passions, and giving to all lofty instincts a useful direction. Let us confirm the religious principle without abandoning the conquests of the Revolution, and we shall save the country in spite of the madness and ambition of parties, and even the imperfection of institutions which we are called on to rectify."

21. Immense was the sensation which this decisive step, and still more the message with which it was accompanied, excited in the Chamber, the capital, and over all France. The members of the new Cabinet were so unknown, and drawn from such various quarters, that it could not be said that any known party in the Assembly or the country had obtained a triumph: it rather appeared that the President was endeavouring to create one of his own, which might act independently, and, in the end, obtain the mastery of them all. This system would have been impossible had the President been elected by the Assembly, or dependent on a parliamentary majority for his existence, for the new Cabinet would have been at once displaced by a vote of the Chamber; but the case was different when he was elected by the direct votes of the people, and capable of appealing to them in any quarrel between him and the legislature. The impression made, accordingly, was very different in Paris

* The Cabinet was thus composed: Foreign Affairs, M. de Rayneval; Interior, M. F. Barrot; Justice, M. Rouher; War, General d'Hautpoul; Finances, M. Fould; Public Instruction, M. de Parieu; Commerce and Agriculture, M. Dumas; Marine, Admiral Romain-Desfosses.

and in the provinces. In the former, after the first moments of stupor, the prevailing feeling was one of astonishment and indignation. The popular members of the Assembly could scarcely believe that it was seriously intended to form a Government independent of their influence, and setting at nought their eloquence. "It is the Government of *one man*," they exclaimed: "the shadow even of constitutional or parliamentary government is at an end." But in the provinces the impression was very different. They regarded it as an attempt to emancipate the Government from the thralldom of the clubs in the capital, or the despotism of an oligarchy of orators in the Chamber, and loudly applauded it as the commencement of the only government really suited to the circumstances of the country.

22. The power of the President being founded on the direct voice of the people, he was careful in all matters which fell under his power as chief magistrate to attend to their interests, and as far as possible anticipate their wishes. But so profoundly had society been shaken in all its parts by the Revolution of 1848, that it was no easy matter to apply a remedy to the multiplied evils which prevailed. He did, however, what he could, though slowly and cautiously, to restore order without alarming democracy. By an edict of 3d November he restored the magistracy over all France, which had never been properly constituted since the fall of Louis Philippe. On the 13th of the same month, the judgment of the superior criminal court of Versailles, which had convicted the members of the Assembly, twenty in number, who had been implicated in the insurrection of the 13th June, was carried into effect, and they were expelled from the Legislature.* On the 16th, the necessity of a "certificate of studies," as it was called, before children were admitted to the primary schools, was taken away, as that was nothing but a security of their having

been brought up in revolutionary principles. On the 1st March 1850 a new law was brought forward regarding the mayors and substitutes, which put an end to the anarchy which, since the last revolution, had prevailed in the municipalities. Such, however, was the disorder which had crept into this part of the administration, that it was found necessary, before the end of the year, to dismiss 124 mayors and 83 substitutes, and to dissolve the National Guards in 153 communes. On the 15th March a general and important law on primary education was passed; and on the 7th April, in the same hall of the Luxembourg where M. Louis Blanc had so recently destroyed industry by organising labour, both were reanimated by the opening the session of the Council-General of Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures. Finally, on the 13th of the same month, the Pope returned to Rome, and openly resumed his government under the protection of the French legions, a step which strongly confirmed the opinion of the rural districts of France in favour of the President, to whom mainly the French intervention in his favour had been owing, and as much alienated the urban multitudes.

23. These were all steps, and not unimportant ones, in the reconstruction of society in France; but they did not strike at the root of the evil, which was the vast spread of Socialist and anarchical principles in the metropolis and great towns, in consequence of the incessant efforts of the revolutionary press. This had gone to a length which was neither generally known nor suspected by the other classes of society. The Socialists had long boasted that they had 137,000 men in Paris alone who subscribed to their opinions, and were ready to support their principles. Though not a fourth part of that number had ever turned out with arms in their hands, yet an event occurred at this time which demonstrated that the estimate was in reality far from being exaggerated. The Jacobins, ruined as a revolutionary party by the defeats of

* Seventeen of them were condemned to transportation; three to imprisonment for five years.

27th June 1848 and 13th June 1849, had now thrown themselves into the arms of the working classes, and become Socialists. So early as the 2d December 1848, Ledru-Rollin had said in the club of *La Reine Blanche*, "I am a Socialist, and have been so for eighteen years. In the Executive Council they were eight to one against me. I have come this evening to say that all the treasures of the earth are not, in my opinion, equal to your esteem, and to express how happy I should be to receive a ball in my breast in your service." All the other chiefs of the Mountain had done the same; the fusion of them with the Socialists was complete, and their united strength was tested by what occurred in March 1850. The elections then came on to fill up the vacancies occasioned in the Chamber by the sentences passed on those who had taken part in the revolt of the 13th June, and three of them were in the metropolis. The clubs, which, though formally closed, were still in activity, immediately put forward candidates of the most decided Socialist principles. In every one of them they were successful, and by such large majorities as demonstrated that their leaders had by no means overrated their strength in the constituency of that city. MM. Carnot and Vidil, both noted Socialists, were each returned by 138,000.* In the provinces it was quite the reverse; the returns from them were almost all in the Conservative interest.

24. The election, by such overwhelming majorities, of these decided Socialists in the metropolis, struck France with astonishment and alarm. In Paris the consternation among the superior classes was extreme; the public funds fell $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in an hour when the numbers were an-

nounced. Terror and general distrust again prevailed; the danger, which it was hoped had been averted by the victory of the 13th June, again appeared instant and threatening; the triumph of Socialist principles, the division of property, and dissolution of society, seemed to be inevitable. The favourable returns from the provinces were far from counterbalancing the alarming result in the metropolis; it was now proved that more than 140,000 Socialists were in Paris, at the very door of the Government, who might any day rise in insurrection, and to whom the defection of a few regiments would give the command of the State.

25. So general was the apprehension, and so anxious the wish for a union of the respectable classes to resist the dangers with which they were threatened from the anarchical,* that the President, in obedience to the universal desire, convened a meeting of the leaders of the different parties in the Assembly to consider what was to be done. It took place accordingly on the 14th March 1850, in the *Elysée Bourbon*, and was attended by M. Montalembert, M. Thiers, M. Molé, the Duke de Broglie, and some others. The President received them courteously, and opened the discussion with these words: "I have assembled you, gentlemen, to assist me with your intelligence and patriotism in this crisis. What, think you, should be done to avert the dangers revealed by the progress of the Socialists?" A long pause ensued; but at length Montalembert said: "In the old assemblies of the clergy the youngest always spoke first; I will answer the question of the Prince with as much frankness as he has put it. In my opinion we can only escape from the dangers with which we are surrounded by the President appointing, as his ministers, the chiefs of the

* The votes were, in round numbers—

M. Carnot,	138,000 votes.	} Socialists.
M. Vidil,	.	.	.	.	.	138,000 "
De Flotte,	.	.	.	.	.	128,000 "
Fernand Foy,	.	.	.	.	.	125,000 "
De la Hitte,	125,000 "	} Conservatives.
Bougeau,	.	.	.	.	.	124,000 "

majority. That is the most decisive and significant answer which we can make to the provocation of the enemies of society." "I am ready," replied the Prince, "to follow the advice of Montalembert; what say you, gentlemen?" "The Republic," said Thiers, "is a young maiden. It costs me much to marry her; but if there is no other way of saving the country, I am ready to do so." "I am entirely of an opposite opinion," said the Duke de Broglie: "the union, in one cabinet, of the chiefs of the Legitimist party and the old ministers of Louis Philippe could afford no guarantee either for union, strength, or durability. It could be fruitful only in strife and discord." The other speakers concurred in these sentiments; and accordingly, with many expressions of patriotism, the meeting broke up, leaving the President more than ever confirmed in his opinion that the division of parties in the Assembly was so wide that any fusion of them was impossible, and a real government could be formed only on a basis independent of them all.

26. The parliamentary chiefs were too strongly impressed, however, by the extreme danger evinced by the Socialist returns in the metropolis, not to make some effort to avert it. This could only be done by a modification of the law of election, and the imposing of certain restrictions on the universal suffrage, which, in the metropolis at least, was producing such alarming results. One effect of the Revolution, which overturned Louis Philippe, had been to fill Paris with a multitude of Italian, Bohemian, Spanish, Belgian, Irish, Polish, Slavonian, and German refugees, who, having ruined their prospects in their own country, all flocked to the French capital as the headquarters of insurrection throughout the world. Their number amounted, it was supposed, to forty or fifty thousand, and they were alike ready, at a moment's warning, to vote for the most extreme Socialist candidate, or descend into the streets and aid in the formation of barricades. To exclude, by a general

law, such dangerous allies from the electoral rights, seemed the first duty of the legislature, and the matter was accordingly remitted, on the 8d May, to a committee of eighteen members, embracing, among others, Thiers, Montalembert, Molé, and Leon Faucher. They brought forward a report recommending that the condition of six months' previous residence, which was the existing law, should be extended to three years; and that all persons convicted of violating the laws, either by entering secret societies, engaging in revolt against the civil or military authorities, or leading a life of vagrancy, should be excluded from the franchise. This change would, it was foreseen, shut out several hundred thousand persons, a large part of whom were in Paris; and the Liberals, accordingly, made the most vigorous efforts to prevent its being passed into a law. The 18th May, being the day when the report was to be presented to the Assembly, was even fixed on as the day for a general revolt. But the Government were on their guard. Every day, from the time the question had been mooted, the Assembly was guarded by large bodies of infantry, cavalry, and artillery; and so well were the precautionary measures taken, under the able direction of General Changarnier, that the Socialists, though the whole secret societies were only awaiting the signal to rise, did not venture to move. They made every resistance possible in the Assembly, however; but after a debate of four days the report was adopted, on the 31st May, by a majority of 433 to 241.

27. Great was the impression produced in Paris and over France by this victory. The funds immediately rose 2 per cent. It was not so much from its actual effects, as from its being regarded as a test of the strength of Government, that it was looked on by the capitalists and men of property with so much satisfaction. For the first time since the Revolution of February, the Revolutionists had been set at defiance, and not only overawed in the streets, but defeated in the legis-

lature. But the President was far from sharing these sentiments. He was well aware of the incubus which it would take off the elections in the metropolis; but that advantage, considerable as it was, appeared to be more than counterbalanced by the discontent which any measure abridging the electoral right might excite among the provincial electors, upon whose support his power was entirely founded. The law which had produced so much agitation had been passed by a coalition of all the monarchical and conservative parties in the legislature. The union might be directed to his own power; and if so, what would he be if he had lost the support or confidence of the rural electors? So impressed was he with these views that he exerted all his influence to prevent the bill passing, and yielded at length rather in deference to the opinion of others than in consequence of his own convictions.

28. It was not long before events occurred which proved that these anticipations on the part of the President were by no means ill-founded. On the 5th of June, a motion was brought forward by the Ministers to augment the President's salary from 600,000 francs (£24,000) a-year to 3,000,000 (£120,000). The largest of these sums cannot be regarded as extravagant for the chief magistrate of a republic which boasted of a revenue of £60,000,000 a year; the smallest was obviously and scandalously inadequate to support the situation in common decency. No sooner, however, was this proposal broached, than the whole leaders in the Assembly coalesced against it; and although the press in the departments declared loudly in its favour, it was only by the mediation of General Changarnier, and under humiliating conditions, that the enlarged salary was voted by a majority of four. The hostility of the parliamentary majority was still more clearly evinced a few days after (June 29), by the rejection of a proposal on the part of the Government, that the mayors should be appointed by the executive instead of the inhabitants.

This change was loudly called for; for as matters at present stood, the mayors in some places were Legitimists, in others Orleanists, and in the great towns nearly all Socialists, so that no united action could by possibility be expected from them. The Legitimists united with the Mountain to throw out this useful measure, and they succeeded. A still more decided proof of hostility was afforded in the appointment of the permanent commission of the Assembly to watch over the President during the recess, which was to extend from the 11th August to the 4th November, and was composed of the leaders of all the parties now coalesced against the President, embracing, among others, General Changarnier, M. Odillon Barrot, General Lamoricière, M. Molé, and General Creton.

29. Seeing the Assembly thus decided, and formed into a coalition against him, the President resolved to throw himself upon the real supporters of his authority, and appeal to the provinces. On the 12th August, the very day after the Assembly broke up, he set out for Lyons, which he reached on the 14th, and on the day following he was entertained at a public banquet. It was a striking proof at once of his courage and his wisdom that he selected for his first public demonstration a city so recently the theatre of a bloody Socialist revolt. It proved eminently successful. "You are told," said he, "of surprises and usurpations, but you attach no faith to such absurd reports. *Coups d'état* are the dream of those who have no moral support in the nation; but the elected of six millions of men executes the wishes of the people, and has no need to betray them. Patriotism may consist in self-denial as well as in heroism. In presence of a general danger, personal ambition of every kind disappears; but patriotism reveals itself as maternity did on the evidence by which the real mother of an infant was discovered in the story, from her who pretended to be so. It was by the renunciation of her rights to save her child that the true parent was discovered. I shall

not forget that sublime lesson. But, on the other hand, should culpable pretensions revive and menace the peace of France, I shall know how to reduce them to impotence by invoking the sovereignty of the people, for I recognise in no one the title of representative of the people more than in myself." These words were received with loud acclamations: the banquet proved a civic ovation. From thence the Prince went to Strasbourg, Rheims, and Cherbourg. Everywhere his reception was of the most unanimous and enthusiastic description. His words at Rheims truly described the feeling of the provinces: "Our country desires only order, religion, and a sage liberty. Everywhere I have found that the number of agitators is infinitely small; that of good citizens infinitely great. God grant they may never be divided."

30. Notwithstanding the clear proof thus evinced of the general feeling of the country, apart from the capital, the leaders of parties in the Assembly still clung to the phantom of parliamentary government, as if it could be anything but a phantom when the great majority of the constituency in the country, as a whole, was evidently against it. Seeing the President had openly taken his line, the different parties in the Assembly coalesced in the closest manner against him; and preparations were secretly made for an appeal to arms, in the event of his not yielding obedience to the wishes of the legislature. Advances were made to General Changarnier, both by the Royalist, the Democratic, and the Orleanist leaders; and his important position as commander of the armed force, both in Paris and the department of the Seine, rendered his concurrence a matter of very great importance. He was at length gained over to the coalition, though he had at first been a warm supporter of Louis Napoleon. The universal homage paid to the President during his tour in the provinces, and especially the cry of "*Vive Napoléon!*" which had been frequently heard at the reviews of the troops, awakened his apprehensions, as well

as those of the Parliamentary Commission, which formally remonstrated with the President on certain distributions made to the troops after the reviews were over. They were very moderate, being at the cost only of 25 *centimes* (2½d.) per head; but even this trifling sum seemed dangerous in a country and a state of society where everything had come to depend on the voice of the military. The knowledge that such a charge had been preferred against the President, which soon got wind, and the vague sense of an approaching crisis in which the military were to play the leading part, caused a large concourse of spectators to assemble to witness a great review, which was to take place at Satory, near Versailles, on the 10th October. The infantry, consisting of three regiments, passed in silence, which struck every one with surprise, as being contrary to what usually took place on such occasions; but the surprise was redoubled when the cavalry, consisting of forty-eight squadrons, defiled past at a quick trot, amidst cries of "*Vive Napoléon! Vive l'Empereur!*" The difference was too marked not to attract attention; and inquiry being made on the spot, Changarnier declared he had given no orders on the subject; but General Neunayer, who commanded one of the divisions, admitted that he had ordered the infantry to be silent under arms. The rules of discipline required that such an act on the part of an inferior officer should not be passed over; but the Prince merely deprived him of the command of his former division, and appointed him general of two others at a distance from Paris.

31. Hitherto General Changarnier was not ostensibly implicated in this affair, although, being the general in command of the troops on the occasion, it was generally suspected that a subordinate officer would not have taken the strong step of interdicting the customary salutation to the President without his concurrence, or the direct orders of the Commission of the Assembly, which was known to be decidedly hostile to him. For twenty

days he maintained a studious silence, taking no notice of General Neumayer's dismissal, and it was thought that he was about to play the part of General Monk, and attempt a second restoration. At length he declared himself. On the 2d November there appeared an order, signed by him, forbidding the troops under his command to utter cries while under arms. So universally was this understood to be a declaration of war on his part against the President, that the journals in Changarnier's interest immediately announced his dismissal, accompanied by the statement that it was not as yet executed, because no minister could be found bold enough to attach his signature to such an order. The President, however, judged it prudent to dissemble for a while, and to delay the counterstroke against his powerful lieutenant, until either his own imprudence or some act of the legislature should more clearly put him in the wrong in public opinion. For as long as republican institutions were in form established, it was impossible to deny that cries from the military pointing to an emperor were improper, if not seditious. The excessive imprudence of the Parliamentary Commission ere long furnished him with such an opportunity. A pretended conspiracy was revealed by some agents of the police to the Commission, professing to have for its object the assassination of General Changarnier and M. Dupin, the President of the Assembly, as the chief obstacles to the re-establishment of the Empire. The informer, named Alluis, who gave the information, disappeared immediately after doing so, and could not be found, and no evidence corroborating his statement could be obtained; but, nevertheless, the Commission affected to believe the story, and laid on the table of the Assembly a proposal to have a police appointed and paid by themselves to watch over the safety of the National Assembly.

32. The President now deemed the time come when he might move with advantage. His first step was the dismissal of General Hautpoul, the minister-at-war, which was done (Oct.

23) in the most delicate terms, and with every expression of regret. He was succeeded by General Schramm. His next was the message to the Assembly, which opened on the 12th November, in which he said: "Whatever changes may lie buried in the womb of time, rest assured that it is never passion, surprise, or violence which decides the fate of a great nation. Let us inspire in the people the love of repose, by showing the example of calmness in our own deliberations; let us inspire them with a reverence for what is right, by never transgressing its bounds ourselves; and when this is done, the progress of political morals will compensate the danger of institutions created in days of distrust and uncertainty. The noblest and most worthy object of an elevated mind is not to seek when in power the means by which it is to be perpetuated, but to keep in view continually the means of consolidating, for the advantage of all, the principle of authority and of public morality, which bids defiance alike to the passions of men and the instability of laws." This message produced only a temporary lull of the hostilities between the Assembly and the President; and ere long a proposal was brought forward by M. Creton to repeal all the laws against the return of princes of the exiled families. This was done with the design of rearing up, in the Orleans princes, rivals to the President; but it was abandoned, because the Legitimist deputies refused to concur in the motion.

33. Still Changarnier retained the command of the troops in Paris and the department of the Seine; and this important military situation naturally caused him to be regarded as the military chief and man of action of the parties coalesced in the Assembly against the President. An event, however, occurred early in January 1851, which brought him directly in collision with the chief magistrate. On the 2d January, a journal known to be in the interest of the Assembly, reported certain standing instructions issued to the troops in January 1849,

requiring them to obey no orders but such as emanated from the general-in-chief, and declaring null "every requisition, summoning, or order on the part of *every functionary, civil, political, or judicial*." Louis Napoleon now deemed it indispensable to act, and he did so in the most decided manner. On the day following Prince Napoleon Buonaparte came unexpectedly to the Assembly, and demanded that they should either declare these instructions apocryphal, or censure the general-in-chief, who had republished them of his own authority. The minister-at-war, General Schramm, taken by surprise, asked for time to consult the archives of his office; but General Changarnier, with more candour, while denying that the interpretation put on the order was warranted, and asserting that he had never taken into consideration the right of the Commission to command the armed force, admitted that he "had drawn up the orders in order to preserve the unity of command during a combat, and in contemplation of a combat." The Assembly, "desirous to accept the homage of the commandant of the army of Paris, and in order to give him a proof of its confidence, passed to the order of the day." Upon this General Schramm resigned his situation of minister-at-war, which broke up the Cabinet. But Louis Napoleon's resolution was taken, and on the 7th January it was generally understood that in the afternoon General Changarnier was to be deprived of his military command at Paris.

34. Upon this bold resolution being known in the Assembly, the most violent storm commenced; but the public funds rose considerably. It was felt that the contest was now openly begun, and that everything would depend on the command of, and part taken by, the garrison of Paris. As in the English civil wars, the strife had commenced with a struggle for the command of an armed force. In the first transports of their indignation, the Assembly spoke of ordering the formation of an army of fifty thousand men, and placing them under

the orders of General Changarnier. The extreme division of parties in that body, however, rendered it impossible to obtain a majority for any decisive measure, and they contented themselves with proposing a vote of no confidence in the Ministry, which it was known would be carried. Meanwhile the President convened the leading members of the Assembly, on the 8th January, at the Elysée Bourbon, when he "declared his earnest desire to remain on good terms with the legislature; offered to take his ministers from the majority; to abandon his enlarged civil lists; in a word, to do everything they desired, except give up the right which the constitution gave him of dismissing an inferior officer." There was no doubt that this was legally within his power, and accordingly the conference broke up without any result. The formation of the Cabinet was now concluded, and the President reformed it with the changes only of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, who was appointed to the ministry of Foreign Affairs; General Regnaud de Saint Jean l'Angely, who was made Minister at War; M. Ducos to the Marine; M. Magne to Public Works; and M. Bonjean to Agriculture and Commerce. On the same day (January 9), the military direction of Paris was divided; General Perrot being appointed to the command of the National Guards of the department of the Seine, General Baraguay d'Illiers to that of the regular troops in Paris, and General Carrelot to the charge of the troops in the first military division forming the environs of the capital. Thus General Changarnier was superseded without his name being once mentioned. The dismissed General repaired to M. Dupin, the President of the Assembly, and proposed that he should receive an appointment as *General of the Army of the Assembly*; but Dupin declined to confer it on him, alleging, with truth, it was beyond his power to do so.

35. "The Assembly has lost its sword," exclaimed the *Gazette de France*, when the dismissal of General Changarnier was made public.

The coalition, however, did not lose heart, and preparations were made for a grand parliamentary demonstration against the President. It was brought on, after a tumultuous debate of five days, by a motion of M. Remusat, to the effect that "the Government should be called on to explain why the preceding cabinet has retired and the new ministry been appointed; and when this question is answered, that the Assembly should separate into its bureaux in order to adopt all the measures the public exigencies may require." The debate on this motion, as may well be supposed, ran entirely on the dismissal of Changarnier and the position of the President, antagonistic to the Assembly, and it lasted five days. In the course of it, Thiers said, "There are but two powers in the State. If the Assembly yields now, there will be but one power; the form of the government will be changed. The word will come when he pleases; that is of little moment. Let it come when it may, the EMPIRE IS MADE." The whole parties, Royalists, Orleanists, Republicans, Socialists, coalesced against the President, and the Assembly, amidst the utmost agitation, declared (Jan. 15) "that the Ministry has not its confidence, and passes to the order of the day," by a majority of 417 to 286.

36. Upon this defeat the President, to a certain extent, reformed his ministry, but he did so by selecting as the new ministers strangers to the Assembly.* In form and appearance, he yielded to the vote of the Assembly, but in reality and substance he did just the reverse, for not one cabinet minister was taken from their benches; that is, they lost the whole object for which they were contending. Sensible of their difficulties, the leaders of the parties which had coalesced, exhausted

by the violence of the conflict, and disconcerted by the manner in which the President had eluded the effects of their victory, relapsed into a state of comparative quiescence, and prolonged for eleven months longer the strife, which virtually divided the government between the Chief Magistrate and the Assembly. The latter took a discreditable advantage of their majority by refusing (Feb. 10), to the President, the endowment of 1,800,000 francs (£72,000), although his whole civil list amounted only to 3,000,000 francs (£120,000), instead of the 36,000,000 francs accorded to Charles X., and the 21,000,000 to Louis Philippe. This allowance was the patrimony of the old soldiers, artists, and men of letters, who hung upon the executive, rather than of the President who distributed it; but nevertheless they refused it by a majority of 98, the numbers being 396 to 294. This paltry economising, and reducing him to his bare salary of 3,000,000 francs (£120,000) a-year, only increased his popularity; he sold off part of his horses, and dismissed the most of his establishment, but continued his support to the needy. The indignation excited by this treatment of the first magistrate of the republic was such that large subscriptions were immediately made, even among the workmen of the Faubourg St Antoine, to indemnify him for what the parsimony of the Assembly had refused. The President still further extended his popularity by respectfully declining the proffered bounty. It soon appeared that the majority was held together by a rope of sand; the exasperation of the parties of which it was composed was so great that they could unite on nothing but votes hostile to the common enemy, the President. M. Creton having renewed on the 1st March his motion for the repeal of the laws against the exiles, the Socialists, Orleanists, and Legitimists broke out into vehement and acrimonious declamation against each other; and to such a length did the exasperation on all sides proceed, that M. Berryer, fearful of the majority being openly

* The new Ministry was thus composed—Minister of Justice, M. Royer; Foreign Affairs, M. Bremer; War, General Randon; Marine, Admiral Vaillant; Interior, M. Vaisse; Public Works, M. Magne; Agriculture and Commerce, M. Schneider; Public Instruction, M. Giraud; Finance, M. de Germiny.—GRANIER DE CASSAGNAC, vol. ii. p. 247, 248.

disunited, with difficulty obtained an adjournment of the question till the 1st September. Meanwhile the President remained calm at his post, and the Assembly did not venture to take the only decisive step legally in their power, that of stopping the supplies, for fear of irritating the army, and enabling him to appeal to the people to deliver him from a factious parliament, which had rendered all government impossible.

37. Encouraged by this circumstance, and the lull of strife in the Assembly, he resolved cautiously to admit the parliamentary leaders into the Ministry, and with that view he sent (April 4) for M. Odillon Barrot to form a new cabinet, which might conciliate the legislature. That orator accepted the difficult mission, but he soon found that it was impossible either to reconcile the principles or satisfy the demands of the various and discordant parties of whom the majority in the Assembly was composed, and he was obliged to abandon the undertaking. Left in this manner to his own resources, but desirous of holding out the olive branch to the legislature, the President, on 10th April, formed a new cabinet, composed entirely, with the exception of General Randon, the war-minister, of members of the Assembly, although none of them were to be found among the leaders of the hostile parties.* They were all men, however, of respectability and business habits, though without shining parts, such as in ordinary times would have commanded general confidence. But as every one saw that a decisive struggle between the Assembly and the President was impending, and must sooner or later come on, these considerations were generally forgotten, and all eyes were turned to the future, straining to descry on what question the collision was likely to take place.

38. The revision of the constitution

* M. Ronher was Minister of Justice; M. Baroche, of Foreign Affairs; M. Leon Faucher, of the Interior; M. Randon, of War; M. Chasseloup Laubat, of Marine; M. Fould, of Finances; M. Magne, of Public Works.—*LESPEL*, vol. ii. p. 273.

was the first question on which the looked-for trial of strength came on. This step was loudly demanded by all intelligent persons in the kingdom, from the proof which had been afforded of the impossibility of the public business being conducted, with the executive in a constant state of antagonism with the legislature, and the latter so split up into irreconcilable parties that no cabinet capable of carrying on the government could be formed out of the majority. The time was now approaching when this revision might legally be made, as the third and last year of the Legislative Assembly commenced on the 28th May, and from that date it was competent by the constitution to introduce changes into it, provided they were sanctioned by not less than three-fourths of the Assembly, consisting of at least five hundred members. Petitions on this subject began to be presented on the 5th of May, and between that day and the 30th June they contained the signatures of 1,123,625 persons, of whom 741,000 demanded the revision of the constitution, and 382,624, in addition, the prolongation of the powers of the President. Three hundred thousand more signatures were presented before the 24th July. So great a demonstration of opinion left no room for doubt that the revision was anxiously desired by a great majority in the country, and accordingly Odillon Barrot expressed himself to that effect. The public press was divided on the subject: the Orleanist journals were hostile to it, as likely to favour the Empire; the Legitimists were rather in its favour, as likely to advance the cause of Henry V.; the Republican and Socialist concurred, after a good deal of hesitation, in absolutely rejecting it, as likely to injure the dogma of the sovereignty of the people, the great conquest of the Revolution. This they foresaw would be endangered by any change which threatened the influence of the great towns. The Conservatives generally supported the revision, and M. de Broglie presented a petition, signed by 232 deputies, praying for it. But

the Socialists boasted that it would never pass, because it could only be done by three-fourths of a house of at least five hundred, and they were strong enough in the Assembly to prevent such a majority ever being obtained.

39. The President took advantage of a banquet at Dijon on 1st June 1851, to express his ideas on this all-important subject. "France," said he, "neither wishes a return to the ancient regime, under what form soever it may be disguised, nor an experiment of perilous and impracticable utopian schemes. It is because I am the most decided adversary of both the one and the other, that the people have such confidence in me. A new phase in our political course is about to commence. From one end of France to the other petitions are pouring in, praying for a revision of the constitution. I confidently expect the manifestations of the country and the decisions of the Assembly, which will be solely for the public good. If France sees that she is denied the right of disposing of herself without its concurrence, she has only to say the word: *my courage and energy shall not be wanting*. Whatever may be the duties which the country may impose upon me, it will find me ready to execute its wishes: be assured France is not destined to perish in my hands." On the other hand General Cavaignac said: "The revision of the constitution would put the Republic in the balance against the Empire. But the Republic should not permit itself to be called in question: every government which allows its principle to be called in question is lost. The national sovereignty is the fundamental principle which runs through all our institutions, and the Republic is the sole and only representative of that principle."

40. The question came on for decision on the 20th July. 724 members voted, and consequently the 111th article of the Constitution required 543 votes, being three-fourths, to authorise the change. The numbers were 446 for it, and 278 against

it: a preponderance, making a majority of 168, great indeed, but not sufficient according to the constitution to authorise an alteration of its fundamental articles. The coalition had therefore gained a victory by this decision, and on the day following it was succeeded by a motion, on the part of M. Bazé, one of the *questors*,* for a vote of censure on the Administration for the part they were alleged to have taken in getting up the petitions. This was carried by a majority of 18, the numbers being 338 to 320; and on the 10th October following, the session was prorogued to the 4th November. It is remarkable that in the minority against the revision of the constitution were to be found the names of M. Thiers and M. Remusat, though there were not probably in all France two men more thoroughly convinced of the ruinous tendency of the existing institutions than those political philosophers.

41. During the short interval of parliamentary strife the country was in anything but a state of repose. The secret societies, not only in the metropolis, but in all the chief towns of France, were in a state of unprecedented activity. Their members were full of hopes for the future. "Yet four months," said their organ, "and the Assembly will have reached the term of its existence. We shall be done with the President, as his reelection is forbidden by law, and victory will remain with the people." The period assigned for the great strife was March 1852, when the Assembly's term of existence would come to an end; and it was thought the vote against the revision of the constitution had secured the victory of the Jacobins on this occasion. The great legislative question on which the elections, it was believed, would hinge, and to which, therefore, all eyes were turned, was the repeal of the law of 31st May regarding the elections. On this sub-

* The "*Questors*," who became celebrated immediately after, were officers appointed by the Assembly, in imitation of the *questors* of Rome, to watch in an especial manner over the legislature and the public weal.

ject the President had never changed his opinion: he was decidedly in favour of its repeal, thinking that its removal would do more for him in the rural districts than against him in the metropolitan constituency. His ministers were decidedly of the opposite way of thinking. They deemed it certain that a restoration of the old law would give a majority to the Socialists, and ruin both the Government and France. The opinions of the chief magistrate and his cabinet being thus irreconcilably at variance, nothing remained but an entire change of ministry. They all resigned accordingly, and were succeeded by a ministry entirely new, composed of men of respectability, but for the most part unknown to fame. It contained, however, one name destined to celebrity—GENERAL ST ARNAUD—who was appointed minister-at-war. The new cabinet was universally regarded as a declaration of the President in favour of the repeal of the electoral law of 31st May.*

42. The last session of the Assembly opened on the 4th November; and in his message to it the President said: "A vast conspiracy of demagogues is organised in France and in Europe. The secret societies have spread their ramifications even in the most distant rural districts. All that the parties contain that is insensate, violent, incorrigible, without having agreed either on men or things, have fixed on a rendezvous for 1852, not to construct but to destroy. It is in the zeal of the magistracy, the strength of the administration, and the devotion of the army, that we can alone hope for the salvation of France. Let us then unite our efforts to take away from the Genius of Evil the hope of even a momentary success." Somewhat inconsistently after this gloomy exordium, the message contained a proposal to *repeal the law of 31st May*, which, as already mentioned, restricted universal

suffrage, and to substitute for it another, excluding only from the right of voting persons having no domicile, or convicted of crimes. It proposed to restrict the domicile required by law to six months instead of three years. By this change it was calculated that nearly three million of inoffensive citizens would be restored to the suffrage, of which, by the existing law, they stood deprived. It was evident that the President was playing out his last card: he had come to see to what the rural electors were inclined: he was preparing for an appeal to the nation, and securing beforehand the votes of the restored citizens.

43. The leaders of the coalesced majority in the Assembly viewed the matter in this light, and they immediately met this move of the President by a counter-move, which, three days after, was laid on the table of the Assembly by the questors, and which was qualified by the designation of "urgent." The motion was to this effect: "The President of the National Assembly is charged with the exterior and interior safety of the Assembly. He is to exercise, in the name of the Assembly, the right conferred on the legislature by the 32d article of the Constitution, to fix the amount of force required for its security, and appoint the chief to command it. He is authorised with that view to require the assistance of the armed force, and of all the authorities whom he may deem necessary for its support. These requisitions may be addressed to *all officers, superior and inferior*, who are all bound immediately to obey them under the pains fixed by law. The President may delegate his powers of requisition to the questors, or any of them. This law shall be read as an order of the day to the army, and placarded in all the barracks on the territory of the Republic." This proposal was a flagrant violation of existing law, as it went to take from the President the command of the armed force, expressly conferred upon him, and him alone, by the constitution. It amounted to a declaration of war against him; but gave him the immense advantage,

* The Cabinet included MM. de Thoirgn, Corbin, Turgot, Giraud, de Casablanca, Lacrosse, Fortoul, and Blondel. M. de Maupas was at the same time appointed Prefect of Police.

for which he had long been looking, of beginning the contest not only with the affections of the army and of the great majority of the people, but with the legal right on his side.

44. This proposal came on for discussion on the 17th November, after having been adopted by the committee to which it had been referred, and led to an animated debate. The agitation in the Assembly was extreme, especially when General St Arnaud admitted that he had given instructions to take down the decree of 11th May 1848, directing the soldiers to obey the orders of the Assembly, which had been recently put up by its command. St Arnaud's language was extremely firm on this occasion. "Passive obedience," said he, "is the vital principle of an army. I have learnt so in the school of Marshal Bugeaud. Discipline is essential to its existence: the moment that you destroy it you ruin the safeguard of the nation. The proposal of the quæstors goes to introduce deliberation and a division of power into the ranks; but the army is the servant of the country: it is united in the sense of its duty." These words spread a general conviction that the army would not support the Assembly, and shook the majority. "Do what you please," said the Minister of the Interior (M. de Thorigny), "we are prepared for all eventualities." A gloomy silence now succeeded to the tumultuous cries which had hitherto disturbed the debate: terror froze every heart, and detached crowds from the majority. Many thought the proposal of the quæstors was the signal for a parliamentary *coup d'état*; all saw in it the commencement of a bloody civil war. Under the influence of these feelings the vote was called for. On its being taken, 408 voted against the proposal of the quæstors, and only 300 for it. It was observed that Generals Cavaignac, Lamoricière, Bedeau, and Changarnier voted for the quæstors, all the other military men in the Assembly, twenty-one in number, against them. M. Rouher brought the decision of the Assembly to the President, who was in

the palace of the Elysée, ready, if the vote had been different, to mount on horseback. "It is better as it is," cried he, and the preparations were immediately countermanded.

45. This great debate left the parties in a state of mutual exhaustion, and materially damaged the coalition in the Assembly, which had hitherto been so hostile to the President, by showing that, on a crisis, a large part might be expected to leave it. The narrow escape which the country had made from civil war, and the obvious risk of its soon recurring, had suggested to thoughtful and reasonable men of all parties the necessity of a change in the constitution; and since the Assembly could not muster a majority sufficient to do this legally, the only recourse was a *coup d'état*. This was evident to all, and all were prepared to act upon it; the only question—and it was a most material one—was, to whose profit the *coup* was to be struck? Meetings of the leaders of parties accordingly took place, to consider what should be done in this emergency. M. Thiers "was of opinion that the President should be re-elected for ten years." "It will be a terrible day for Paris," said he, "when that is proposed; but I feel it is just and indispensable, and I am willing to agree to it." M. Molé and his friends were of opinion that the Assembly should be divided into two chambers, the President re-elected, and vigorous measures taken against Socialism. A third party, which met at M. Daru's, in the Rue de Lille, on the 15th November, and included M. de Montalembert, M. Fould, and M. Rouher, were for the division of the Assembly into two chambers, the re-election of the President, and the passing of these resolutions into a law by a simple majority of the Assembly, not three-fourths, as required by the constitution. Thus all parties were agreed, except the extreme Radicals, that a revision and change of the constitution were indispensable; but as it could not be effected in the present temper of the Assembly without a *coup d'état*, and they were by no means agreed how or

by whom that was to be done, matters seemed inextricable, so far as the civil leaders of parties were concerned.

46. But, meanwhile, a more efficient body than the statesmen or philosophers had taken the matter up, and the fervour of the Revolution was about to terminate in its natural and inevitable end. On the 26th November a meeting of general officers took place at General Magnan's; they were twenty-one in number, including himself.* The general-in-chief there briefly recapitulated to the meeting the state of the nation, menaced by a furious democracy on one side and an ambitious parliamentary coalition on the other; and the intention of the President, the people's choice, to appeal to them to deliver it from the otherwise inextricable difficulty in which it was placed. It needed no eloquence to enforce this appeal; the necessity of the case was felt by all. The recent proposal of the questors proved that a similar necessity was acknowledged on the other side. General Reybell was the first who came forward and declared that the generals were determined, one and all, to stand by the President in his effort to save the country. The other officers all followed his example, and mutually shook hands and embraced. When the emotion consequent on such a determination had a little subsided, General Magnan said, "Let us all swear, that, come what may, no one will ever reveal what has passed here to-day." They all took the oath accordingly; and so well was the secret kept that it was for the first time revealed, five years afterwards, by Cassagnac, with the consent of the officers present on the occasion.

47. While the generals were thus coalescing to support the President, a conspiracy to overturn him was preparing in the Assembly. It was proposed to denounce the President, and declare his powers terminated; commit him to Vincennes, and subsequently transport or banish him from France. All civil and military officers refusing their support to the Assembly were to

* General Magnan at this time commanded the regular troops in Paris.

be proceeded against according to law, as guilty of treason; and this decree was to be publicly affixed in all the barracks of the Republic. This motion was remitted (Nov. 25) to a committee of fifteen, consisting of the leaders of the three coalesced parties, by whom it was, with one dissenting voice, agreed to. The motion once formally carried, the command of the army would be assumed by the Assembly, and the President lodged in Vincennes. Those who agreed to this scheme were the leaders of the Legitimist, Orleanist, Moderate, and Jacobin parties, and the execution of the plan was fixed for an early day. The decisive moment had now come. The President or the Assembly must fall.

48. But meanwhile the President was not idle. The parliamentary coalition had to deal with a very different man from Charles X. or Louis Philippe, M. de Polignac or M. Thiers. Aware of the contest which was evidently approaching, he had in the utmost secrecy taken all the steps necessary, not only to meet, but to anticipate it. General St Arnaud, M. de Morny, M. de Manpas, were alone in the secret; but the heads of the military and police were apprised that something was in agitation, and were on the alert. To appearance, however, everything was going on in its usual course; the Assembly were quietly discussing, on 1st December, the interminable project of the Lyons railroad and the registers of the municipalities. In the evening, M. de Morny was in company with General Changarnier at the Opera Comique, and the President was doing the honours in his usual reception-room in the Elysée. A large party of ladies and gentlemen were there assembled, to whom the President attended with even more than his usual ease and affability, politely listening to any requests made to him, among which was one by the celebrated writer Mrs Norton, who had come for some papers wished by Mr Stirling of Keir, for his *Life of Velasquez*.* His visage was as calm, his manner as conciliatory and affable, as usual. No symptoms

* I had this from Mrs Norton herself.

of anything extraordinary were to be seen; and the election of a representative for the department of the Seine, which took place on the 1st, sufficiently accounted for the appearance of several couriers and *estafettes* in the streets. When the company had retired, General St Arnaud, M. le Comte de Morny, M. de Maupas, the head of the police, and M. de Beville, colonel of the *Etat-major*, retired with the President to a private apartment, where the duties of each were assigned. M. de Morny was appointed Minister of the Interior, and was to sign all the warrants of arrest, and that ordering the dissolution of the Assembly. General St Arnaud was to direct the whole military operations, M. de Maupas to carry out the arrests ordered, and M. de Beville was to undertake the delicate task of getting the proclamation announcing all these changes thrown off at the national printing-office, in concert with M. de St Georges, the director of that establishment. The whole measures concerted were forthwith carried into execution. The police and military were entirely at the devotion of the President, and executed energetically all the orders which they received. Before two in the morning of the 2d December—the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz—the whole leaders of all the coalesced parties were arrested, the most of them in their beds, and safely lodged in prison.* Among them were Generals Changarnier, Cavaignac, de Lamoricière, Le Flo, and Bedeau; Colonel Charras, M. Thiers, M. Bazé, Lagrange, and Greppo. Along with these parliamentary leaders were arrested at the same time the chiefs of

* The arrest of Changarnier was effected thus: He had been at the Opera Comique, with M. de Morny and a lady friend of his, with whom he went to supper. He left them a little after one, went home and fell asleep. Between two and three he was awakened by a noise in the house, and immediately after, twelve gendarmes, armed to the teeth, came in, surrounded his bed, and desired him to rise and come with them. He demanded by what warrant; and he was answered, by that of the Minister of the Interior. He asked to see it, and it was shown him, signed by M. de Morny, whom he had just left. I had this from a friend who received it from Changarnier himself!

the clubs and secret societies, whose names were well known to the Government, and formidable from their influence with the Socialists of Paris. They comprehended the leaders of all the revolts which had taken place since the fall of Louis Philippe. The prisoners were all marched off to the prison of Mazas, under the escort of a strong body of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, where they were safely lodged by seven; and when the Parisians rose in the morning, they were astonished to see the walls everywhere placarded by a proclamation signed by Louis Napoleon, and de Morny, Minister of the Interior, announcing the dissolution of the Assembly, the re-establishment of universal suffrage, the abolition of the law of 31st May, the convocation of the whole electors for the 14th December, the dissolution of the council of state, and the proclamation of the state of siege in the 1st military division, which included all Paris and its environs.

49. The Empire was in reality established on this day; and the appeal of the President to the people was accompanied by a proclamation, in which he said: "If you desire to perpetuate the state of distrust and anxiety which degrades the present and endangers the future, choose another in my place; for I will not condescend to hold a power which is powerless for good—which renders me responsible for acts which I cannot prevent, and chains me to the helm when I am unable to save the vessel from drifting to destruction. The Assembly, which should be the support of order, has become the centre of factious designs: it is forging the arms of civil war, and striving to subvert the power which I hold directly from the people. It compromises the repose of France; I have dissolved it, and call on the people to judge between it and me. If you trust me, give me power to accomplish the great mission which I hold of you, which is, *to close the era of revolutions*, by satisfying the legitimate demands of the people. Persuaded that the instability of power, and the preponderance of a single assembly, are lasting

causes of trouble and discord, the bases of a new constitution which I propose to you are—1. A responsible chief, elected for ten years. 2. A cabinet appointed by him alone. 3. A council of state, consisting of the most eminent men, who are to prepare the laws which are to be introduced, and support them before the legislative body. 4. A legislative body named by universal suffrage, without any scrutiny of the votes. 5. A second assembly, formed of all the eminent men in the country, at once the guardians of the fundamental pact and the public liberties.”

50. Some of the democratic members of the Assembly who had not been arrested assembled at ten o'clock in the Rue Petits-Augustins, and M. Cremieux was elected president. They were immediately surrounded, and conducted to prison. Later in the day, the Legitimist, Orleanist, and Moderate members, to the number of 217, collected at M. Odillon Barrot's house, and having in vain endeavoured to get into the palace of the Legislative body, assembled in the mayor's office of the 10th arrondissement, where they flattered themselves they would be supported by the national guard of the district. They were mistaken; it kept aloof; and the place being surrounded by a body of the Chasseurs of Vincennes, the deputies were all conducted in the midst of the troops to the cavalry barracks on the Quai d'Orsay, where they were kept under guard. The High Court of Justice was at the same time invited to suspend its sittings, which was immediately done; and a few deputies having succeeded in making their way into the hall of the Assembly with the President, M. Dupin, they asked him to proclaim the dismissal of the President; but he said, “Gentlemen, the constitution is violated; we are not the strongest. I have the honour to wish you good morning.” He then withdrew, followed by the members, the most reluctant of whom were gently moved on by the military. At noon all was accomplished; the President, accompanied by the minister-

at-war, the commander-in-chief, the commander of the National Guard, and a brilliant staff, rode through Paris, and past the troops, who were drawn up in all quarters, and was everywhere received with loud acclamations.

51. Hitherto the revolution had been entirely bloodless, and as the telegraph had announced the change of government to all France, it was hoped that it would continue to be of the same peaceful character. The troops in Paris, which consisted of eighteen regiments of the line, three of light infantry, four battalions of Chasseurs, ten squadrons of cavalry, nineteen batteries of artillery, and a large body of sappers and miners, in all 35,000 combatants, under tried and experienced generals, devoted to the President, had shown themselves zealous in the cause, and had been so disposed on the night of the 1st and the whole of the 2d as to render any popular rising, or attempt at resistance, out of the question.* The Socialists and Jacobins were, however, not discouraged. During the whole of the 3d they were to appearance quiet, but in reality they were making preparations for erecting barricades and commencing a struggle. It broke out early on the morning of the 3d, in the Faubourgs St Antoine, St Jacques, and St Marceau. At daylight several barricades were found to be erected in the most crowded quarters of those populous districts. The secret societies were all in activity, and their members were in great numbers in the streets. But the mass of the workmen would not rise in their support, and about four o'clock in the afternoon they transferred the theatre of their operations to the Carré St Martin and the streets Transnonain and St Denis, in the centre of the most crowded part of the city. There they proceeded to intrench themselves. The barricades, however, were speedily carried, under

* There were, besides, two battalions of the “garde republicaine” and two of the “gendarmerie mobile,” and a heavy-cavalry division of five regiments was brought up from Versailles.—GRANIER DE CASSAGNAC, ii. 408.

a heavy fire, by the columns of General Levasnier, supported by the *chasseurs-à-pied* and municipal guards. Great part of the insurrectionary quarter was occupied before night; but the insurgents still held the Faubourg St Martin, the streets of St Denis and St Martin, and the adjoining districts, and a strong body of young men, chiefly belonging to the public press, occupied in strength the houses on either side of the Boulevards Italien and Montmartre, so as to endanger the military passing. The youths, however, though brave, were no match for the Algerian veterans. The troops, who were held back during the early part of the 4th to allow the insurrection to develop itself, advanced about two o'clock in the afternoon. Sweeping unopposed through the Boulevard Italien, they entered that of Montmartre, and kept up such a fire upon every house there from which a shot issued that the passage was soon cleared. Unfortunately, the corridors in that fashionable quarter were in great part filled with mere spectators, a large proportion of whom were ladies, who, thinking no evil, and regarding the whole as a military spectacle, became victims to the quick and deadly discharge which issued from the soldiers below.* Having gained this, the military then converged from all quarters on the insurgent districts; the barricades, after being severely battered by cannon, were all carried, and the insurrection was at an end. It had cost the lives of two hundred men, however, to the conquerors, and a still larger number to the insurgents. The secret societies stirred up insurrections in several parts of France, which occasioned much local bloodshed and devastation; but they were all speedily suppressed by the military.* In a few days all was over; and so firmly did the President feel his government established, that he was enabled to

release, or merely banish beyond the frontiers, without any further proceedings, the whole persons arrested on occasion of the *coup d'état*.

52. It only remained to see how the revolution was to be received by the inhabitants of France when they came to give their votes in their several electoral districts. The result exceeded the most sanguine hopes of the President and his friends. The Presidency for ten years, in effect the imperial crown, with the constitution which he had proposed, was approved on the 21st December 1851 by 7,439,216 votes, there being only 640,737 against it. The public funds, which were 91 on the 1st December, rose to 100 by the 8th. By an overwhelming majority France closed the convulsions of the Revolution by a military despotism based on universal suffrage.

53. With the accession of Prince Louis Napoleon to the imperial throne of France, the series of changes immediately flowing from the first Revolution came to an end. With it, accordingly, the Author concludes his engagements with the public, and brings to an end the continuous labour of thirty years. Great changes have taken place in the world since the work now concluded was first thought of, during the great review in the Champs Elysées in July 1814, and he was far either from suspecting then the magnitude to which it was to extend, or the immense alterations in human affairs which were to take place before it was concluded. Insensibly his work has assumed a different character from what was originally either intended or anticipated: and annals, which at first were almost entirely taken up with revolutionary convulsions or military events, have latterly been chiefly occupied with social changes and conclusions from statistical details. Yet are these pacific changes nearly all the direct consequence of the former political or military struggles, and therefore it is that the History would be incomplete if it were not brought down to the restoration of the Napoleon Dynasty. The

* Granier de Cassagnac gives the loss of the troops as 26 killed, 184 wounded; of the insurgents, 175 killed, 115 wounded. The wounded of the latter, of course, do not mean the total wounded, but only those so badly wounded as to be unable to get away. —GRANIER DE CASSAGNAC, ii. 432.

events which have since occurred have been second to none in European story: the Crimean War and Indian Revolt will for ever stand forth among the most memorable episodes in the annals of mankind. But they have no connection, direct or remote, with the French Revolution: they have sprung from causes of discord more ancient than the struggle for freedom; they arose from the hostility of the Asiatics and Europeans, the same now as when Achilles dragged the body of Hector round the walls of Troy, or Godfrey of Bouillon and his victorious crusaders waded ankle-deep in blood to the Holy Sepulchre. But from 1789 to 1852, all the events which occurred sprang from one source: they all belonged, as it were, to one family; and the great war of opinion which commenced with the declamations of Mirabeau in 1789, and the renewal of which was predicted by Mr Canning in 1825, was only terminated by the Russian intervention in Hungary in 1849, and the accession of Louis Napoleon in 1851. But all these changes, remote as they were, flowed directly from the principles diffused through the world by the first French Revolution; and we are now in a situation, from having witnessed its results, to discern some at least of the intentions of Providence in permitting that convulsion.

54. So far as the persons conducting government are concerned, the innovating party have been victorious in the strife. The Bourbons, after a contest of sixty years, have been finally expelled from the throne of France; the compromise of Louis Philippe has proved as unsuccessful as the forced restoration of the elder branch of the family, and seven millions of Frenchmen have been gratified by having an elective monarch of their choice intrusted with the imperial sceptre. The legitimate order of succession has been changed in Spain, and a revolutionary queen, in defiance of the Treaty of Utrecht, seated on its throne and that of Portugal. Belgium has been handed over from its lawful sovereign to an elective mon-

arch, who owed his throne to successful revolt; and a constitutional government is now established in that country. The King of Piedmont has united all Italy, except Venetia and a part of the Papal dominions, into a single kingdom endowed with free institutions. The Emperor of Austria was forced to resign during the strife of 1848-9; and although the reigning family is unchanged there and in Prussia, yet the form at least of a constitutional government has been established in both countries. Even Russia has been affected by the general passion for Liberal institutions; the slaves have been all at once emancipated by the Emperor's decree, and the government is advancing, perhaps too rapidly, in the career of constitutional freedom. In Great Britain, although no dynastic change has taken place, and Queen Victoria still holds the sceptre of a loyal and grateful people, yet it is well known that this is in consequence of alterations having taken place in the real balance of government as great as ever were effected by a revolution; and that the constitution now is a monarchy surrounded by republican institutions, more truly analogous to that of the United States of America, than to that which existed in these islands under George III.

55. If, from the consideration of the dynastic changes or alterations in the frame and form of government in the European States during this period of anxious effort and checkered achievement, we turn to the substantial and lasting acquisitions which have been made by the cause of freedom, or additions to human happiness, during its continuance, we shall have little cause for congratulation. There is no concealing the fact, that the result of the struggle in Europe generally has been eminently disastrous to the cause of liberty, and seriously endangered that of independence. France, after seventy years of almost incessant turmoil and frequent bloodshed, has been landed in an elective military despotism twice as costly, supported by a standing army three times as numerous and four times as

strong, as that which defended the monarchy of Louis XVI. To appease the public discontent, vast works, continued at an enormous cost, have been undertaken by the Emperor, which are kept going only by regularly contracting £12,000,000 of debt every year of general peace. The strength of Russia has waxed greater in the strife, and became such that it taxed, in 1854-5, the whole military and naval power of France and England to the very uttermost to wrest from her a single fortress on the Euxine. The unity, lust of conquest, military courage, and slavish disposition of the seventy millions who obey the commands of the Czar, are unchanged and seemingly unchangeable; and the European States regard with distant dread a power of such magnitude, animated by such desires, and whose inhabitants are doubling every seventy years. The shadow of a constitutional government has been established in Spain, but it is the shadow only, stained by the corruption and venality, without any of the vigour or patriotism, which that form of government sometimes develops. Italy, divided between France and Austria, with one of its capitals in possession of each, is oppressed by a military force of overwhelming magnitude, crushed by a taxation more than double what it ever knew before, and with difficulty making good its engagements by borrowing no less than £16,000,000 a-year during a period of profound peace. The progress of real freedom has been commensurate only with the spread of the Teutonic race, whether in their native seats or the countries to which they have subsequently emigrated; and the main hopes of the friends of freedom in Germany are now founded on the defeat of the Jacobin party, who, by establishing themselves in power, would have destroyed the elements of liberty on the right, as they have done on the left bank of the Rhine. But although we may now hope that Germany has entered on the career of gradual and progressive, and therefore desirable reform, yet there are

many symptoms which lead to the conclusion that in the first-born of freedom—England and America—the safe line has been passed, the just equilibrium subverted, and both nations launched in that career which, by vesting power in one only, and that the most dangerous class of society, renders the durable preservation of freedom extremely difficult.*

56. If we limited our survey to the European States only, there would be too much room in these results for melancholy foreboding. But if we extend our views to a wider sphere, and take into consideration the effects of the passions which have so violently convulsed and desolated the ancient monarchies of the Old World, on the extension of the European race and civilisation of distant regions in the New, we shall feel warranted in arriving at very different conclusions. Without presuming to scan the designs of Providence farther than as they may be rendered undeniably manifest by accomplished changes, and disclaiming any attempt to divine the future plans of Omnipotence, it must be evident to all that a mighty system has been going forward during all the complicated events which have been commemorated in this History, and that the effect of that system has been to check the further growth of the human race in its ancient seats, and promote its extension over the desolate parts of the earth. To the European race, and most of all to the Teutonic branch of that family, this great and arduous mission has been intrusted; and the means by which it has been impelled into the discharge of this duty have been the development of the passions consequent on an advanced and luxurious state of society. The whole movement—the greatest which has yet occurred in the annals of the species, for it is nothing

* How exactly has this prediction, written in 1859, been verified by the terrible civil war and annihilation of freedom which occurred in the United States of America in 1861-2-3, and has already burdened the Union with £600,000,000 of debt, and destroyed, on the two sides, not less than a million of lives.

less than the transposition of the race of Japhet from its ancient seats to the New World—has been accomplished by the altering effect of the same active desire of men on their social interests with the natural progress of opulence. And it is the magnitude of this change, and the intensity of the feelings by which it has been brought about, which have been the cause at once of the vehemence of the strife in the European States during the period embraced in this History, and the magnitude of the world-wide events which have followed its termination.

57. That the European race, gifted by nature with an energy, a love of freedom, a roving disposition, and a passion for gain beyond any other, was the portion of mankind to whom the mission of spreading into the remote parts of the earth was intrusted, is manifest from what they have already achieved in accomplishing it, and the stationary condition of the inhabitants of the greatest and most ancient Asiatic empires in comparison. No one ever heard, till very recently, of an Indian or Chinese colony settling in distant lands, but the British colonies encircle the earth. The problem which Providence had to solve in inducing the European race to enter upon the discharge of this duty, was to impregnate them in the advanced stages of society with the *desire to move*, a desire which usually diminishes among men with the progress of civilisation, and the increase of the gratifications and comforts which they can command at home. If there is any disposition which, in the ordinary case, increases with these changes, it is the *inhabitative*; if there are any chords which are daily more and more strengthened in the later stages of society in the breast of man, it is those which "bind him to his native shore." How, then, is this stationary disposition of mankind, which has a tendency to increase at the very time when its removal to a great extent has become desirable, to be overcome, and the European be brought to snap asunder the chains of centuries, and

set forth, away from the scenes of opulence in which he has been bred, a hardy emigrant, despising comfort, courting hardship, braving danger, into distant lands? This is accomplished by the counteracting influence of still more powerful desires, which spring up with the growth of opulence in a large class of society, and are in a great measure unfelt before. And these desires are, the love of power and the love of gain.

58. I. The love of power is universally felt by such of mankind as have attained, or are near attaining, the position in life where it can be exercised; but it is absolutely unknown in the lower ranks of society in the first periods of their progress. It begins with those classes in the middle ranks which have gained a certain degree of independence by the acquisition of property, and first appears in such strength as to attract notice and influence society in boroughs or populous places, where numbers inspire confidence, and prosperity of condition confers the means of defence. As it is the tendency of increasing wealth to add to the number of these boroughs and populous places, from the augmented demand for the handicraft of wares which can only be produced in them, the democratic spirit increases rapidly in prosperous countries in the later stages of society, and soon becomes recruited by the great majority of those who, from education and the consequent acquisition of intellectual strength have come to feel as galling the chains of those who rest on brute force or military power. Hence the revolutions of France, Germany, Spain, and Italy, and the endless convulsions and wars, both foreign and domestic, which have arisen from them.

59. The result of these contests, whether they terminate in the triumph of the people or the victory of the government, inevitably is either a great check to domestic increase or a still greater augmentation of foreign emigration. The triumph of either side is immediately followed by grievous disappointment and depression of mind, alike in the victorious and the

vanquished in the strife. Independent of the actual waste of life in these struggles, the destruction of capital, and shock given to credit during their continuance, is such that the demand for labour is so much reduced as to induce for a long course of years a decline, if not an absolute stoppage, of the increase of population. In those countries in which the democratic spirit is weak in the country and rife only in the towns, as France, Italy, and Austria, the result of this is a great decline in the rate of increase in the people. But in those in which the democratic spirit is more widespread, and extends over the rural districts or mining and manufacturing provinces, as well as the towns, the effect is a vast and most important increase of emigration. The ardent republicans, finding their hopes blasted, and their expectations disappointed by the result of their efforts at home, turn their eyes abroad, and seek in the solitude and seclusion of a yet virgin world, that freedom of which Europe, as they conceive, has become unworthy. Decisive proof of this has been afforded by the annals of France, Germany, and Great Britain since the Revolution of 1848;—for, in the first country, the shock given to industry by that convulsion has been such that the quinquennial increase, which, from 1844 to 1849, had been 1,250,000 souls, had sunk in the next five years to 225,000, with only a very inconsiderable emigration; and in each of the years 1854 and 1855, the deaths exceeded the births by 70,000. The impulse given to emigration in the second, by the same event, has been so great that, within three years after it occurred, it has risen from 20,000 to 250,000 a-year,* and in ten years immediately following the Revolution of 1848 it had amounted to 1,200,000 persons;—and the emigrants from the third had swelled to the enormous amount of 368,000 in

1852, and the average for ten years immediately following 1846 was 266,000 annually.

60. II. While such is the effect of the ferment in men's minds, which arises in our and highly civilised States in the later stages of their progress, from the spread of opulence and the extension of information among the people, another change, not less decisive in its influence on the progress of population, takes place from that very increase of wealth. Money, from being plentiful, becomes cheap; in other words, every article of commerce, the price of which is measured in money, becomes dear. The consumers of commodities, and all persons depending on fixed money payments, whether from the public funds, bonds, annuities, or other fixed obligations, seeing this, and comparing the price of articles especially of rude produce in their own country with what it is in the younger and poorer neighbouring ones, naturally feel dissatisfaction, and are inspired with a strong aversion to those protective duties which prevent them from obtaining these articles of consumption as cheap as their neighbours. The common complaint, so often heard in Britain during the last half-century, that everything is so dear here compared to what it is abroad, and the numbers of persons, especially with limited incomes, who go to the Continent to obtain the benefit of low prices, proves how strongly this growing inconvenience, the necessary result of an extended commerce and great realised wealth, has been felt during that period in the centre of the British dominions.

61. During the growth of a great and prosperous empire, this evil is felt, and often sorely, by all the consumers who live on fixed money incomes; and never was more so than by that class in Great Britain during the war. But for long their com-

* Emigrants from Germany, 1819-26,	2,000 to 4,000
" " 1851,	112,500
" " 1853,	162,368
" " 1854,	251,031

plaints are powerless to obtain redress ; they submit and suffer in silence from the effect of evils of the origin of which they are ignorant, as they would do to the inclemency of the weather or any other visitation of Providence. But after a time they are no longer doomed to this state of hopeless submission. They become so powerful from the addition which a long period of prosperity has made to their numbers and influence, that they at first equal, and at last come to exceed in political power, all other classes put together. From the moment that this change takes place, the protective system is endangered, and at last, probably after a severe struggle, it is overthrown. Free Trade is first demanded for the productions of the soil, as it is in them that the improvements of machinery and application of capital can do least to counteract the rise of prices incident to a state of long-continued opulence ; but when once introduced, it does not stop there ; it is loudly demanded, and, in the circumstances, with justice, for all other branches of industry, whether in manufactures, shipping, colonies, or commerce. Thus, the encouragement of wealth, and the demand for labour, are rapidly transferred from the old and rich to the young and poor States ; their agriculture comes to displace that of their ancient rival ; their shipping conducts the greater part of its trade ; their manufactures, at least of the ruder kinds, come to supplant its fabrics. From the moment that the protective system is abandoned, and Free Trade introduced in an old State, a check is given to domestic industry, and an increase to foreign, which at first retards, and at length comes to stop altogether, the growth of its population. As a nation, it at first becomes stationary, and at length declines. Accordingly, all the empires of whom history makes mention, which once were great and powerful, the Roman, the Spanish, the Turkish, have perished, not from the excess, but the want of population ; and a decline in the rate of increase, and at last in the number of their inhabitants, has ever

been observed as the first symptom of national decay.

62. III. Two other circumstances come in the national progress of opulence to contribute powerfully to expel the human race from their ancient seats, and disperse them over the desolate parts of the earth. These are the monetary measures, into which the love of gain impels the wealthy and influential capitalists, and the progressively increasing dependence of manufacturers on the foreign instead of the home market. On the first point an ample commentary has already been made ; and this History has been written to little purpose if it is not apparent that, in an ancient, opulent, and commercial nation, the monetary measures which the holders of realised wealth, for their own sake, are prompted to pursue, is the source of such frequent industrial distress and recurrence of monetary and commercial crises, as perhaps more than any other cause impels the industrious part of the nation into distant lands. The second cause is hardly less influential in conducing to the same result ; for the manufacturer for the export sale has no interest in common with his fellow-countrymen as the one for the home market has, inasmuch as he is not benefited by their prosperity, but depends on that of foreign countries. On the contrary, his interest is decidedly adverse ; for it is for his benefit that the labouring classes around him should be as indigent, and their wages in consequence as low, as possible. Thus that class comes to support all measures tending to depress, to their own profit, the wages of labour. In the progress of a nation, and some time after its maturity, the amiable after-dinner sentiment, that the interest of all classes is identical, is strictly true ; after its maturity, it changes into the sad reality that they are adverse to each other.

63. IV. Hardly less powerful than any of the causes already enumerated in retarding the advance of population in the later stages of society is the opposite effect of town and country life upon the health of the commu-

nity, especially that of its youngest members. That the tendency of men, from the causes which have been mentioned, is in the later stages of society to leave the country to flock into towns, is well known. It has been decisively demonstrated by the last census of France and England, which in both countries exhibits a considerable increase in all the great towns, and a proportionate decline in most of the entirely rural districts. But the effect of this change on the progress of population is great, and ere long comes to be decisive. While the annual mortality of the town districts in Great Britain is 264 in 10,000, that of an equal number in the country districts is only 1 in 160. About fifty per cent of the deaths in the town districts are children under five years of age; a rate of mortality which alone stops any increase in them from their own resources, and renders them dependent for increase entirely on immigrants from the country. When half the people come, as is the case in the British empire at this time, to live in the town districts, increase is rendered impossible in one-half of the entire inhabitants.

64. Thus it distinctly appears that there is a provision made by nature in the progress of society, first, for the increase of population, the augmentation of wealth, and the growth of national greatness, and after a time, for their retardation and ultimate decline. This is effected without any violation of the laws of nature, but by their continued operation; by the two ruling principles of mankind in all ages, the desire for power and the desire for gain, producing effects directly opposite in different stages of society. It takes its rise from the progressive vesting of the ruling power in the State, in the later stages of its progress, in different hands, in consequence of the growth of a class interested in low prices; that is, the discouragement of domestic industry, from the effect of the very wealth which has grown up under the opposite system of protection. This cause of retardation is strongly co-operated with by the discontent

which invariably attends all democratic movements, whether successful or unsuccessful. Thus the growth of an empire which has reached its maturity is inevitably arrested, partly by the diminution of the rural population, the true cradle of the species, and the influx of men into great towns, its graves, and partly from the general migration of its inhabitants to distant lands, where they are to begin the same circle of "valour, greatness, discord, degeneracy, and decline." This it is which has torn them up from their native seats, and sent them into remote countries to be instruments in the hands of Providence in the great and prophetic work of "replenishing the earth and subduing it." The dangers of a redundant population, so forcibly portrayed by Mr Malthus in the beginning of the century, were far from being unreal or imaginary, as the instances of China, Hindostan, and Ireland have clearly demonstrated. But they never can be felt to any extent where the natural progress of society has not been set aside by human injustice or iniquity, because, long before they can have arisen, or population has approached the limits of subsistence, the retarding causes must have come into operation from the very circumstances which had induced the former increase.

65. In effecting this great change, the increase of wealth in the higher classes of society, and the spread of the democratic passion in the lower, are the great agents; and it is their combined operation which has rendered the period embraced in this History so prolific of great and memorable events. The aged monarchies of Europe were making the transition from the growing to the stationary or declining state; and out of their suffering loins were springing up new nations in the Transatlantic and Australian wilds. Vast revolutions have ensued from this violent convulsion; the cause of freedom seems ruined in France by the destruction of hereditary descent, and the abolition of any intermediate class between the throne and the peasant, which has caused Asi-

atic to succeed European civilisation in that great country. The French Imperial Guards have been at Moscow, the Cossacks at Paris; but none of these changes have left behind them any lasting effects. But the "mighty maze was not without a plan." During these alternate victories and defeats, and from the consequences with which they were naturally attended, the designs of Providence have been gradually unfolding themselves; the principles which were to move the European race to the western and southern hemisphere were silently gathering strength and increasing in power; during the ten years succeeding 1848 four millions of Europeans were transported to the new worlds, and the annual migration from their native seats came on an average to be five hundred thousand.

66. Observe in this view how marvellously the great physical changes of the period have conspired with the moral agencies in bringing about this stupendous result. Steam navigation has arisen, and been brought almost to perfection, during the period when these moral influences were so strongly impelling civilised man into the wilderness of nature. By the effects of this great discovery the Atlantic has been bridged, the great rivers of the old and new worlds opened to European enterprise and energy, and ample means furnished to the ardent and discontented denizens of Europe to leave their ancient dwellings, cross over into a new hemisphere, and ascend the mighty rivers by which it is penetrated. The application of steam to travelling by land, and the construction of railways, have, at the same time, opened innumerable feeders to these great highways of civilisation, and brought the means of rapid and cheap conveyance almost to every man's door. The electric telegraph, by rendering nearly instantaneous the transmission of intelligence, not only by land, but through the bosom of the deep, has sensibly increased the influence of the moral causes which were so strongly impelling man from his native seats, and given force to the

exciting causes which were agitating society. Finally, the gold-discoveries, first in California and next in Australia, presented a magnet of irresistible attraction to large numbers of men in all countries, and not only drew them in great bodies to the places where it was thought, and often with truth, wealth was to be had merely for the taking, but stimulated industry and adventure by increasing prices over every part of the earth. When we recollect that these great physical causes of change came into operation immediately after the Irish famine had in a manner loosened a whole nation from its moorings, and the failure of the European Revolution in 1848 had spread political discontent, the great moral instigator to emigration, far and wide through European society, it is not presumptuous to say that the great designs of the Almighty in the world have been made manifest even to the most finite of His creatures.

67. The real friends of freedom, therefore, must not be discouraged because the efforts to attain it have so generally and rapidly terminated in disaster, and that to such an extent that it is doubtful whether, in an equal time, any other cause ever produced such an amount of social disorganisation or private misery. These disasters and repeated failures have arisen, not from any inadequacy of the democratic spirit to produce the effects for which it was really intended, but from expectations being formed of its consequences and means of regulation utterly at variance with what it ever had or ever can produce. It is to society what fire is to the material world. The great moving power of the moral world, it is, like its counterpart in the material, capable of bringing about lasting beneficial results on society, only when it is duly coerced, and kept under firm management. The explosion of a boiler does not more certainly scatter ruin and desolation around, or more quickly stop the onward way of the vessel it was impelling, than the triumph of democracy ruins freedom, and in the end stops

the advance of the nation in which it takes place. The government of the few by the many—that is, of superior by inferior civilisation, of property by numbers, knowledge by ignorance, forethought by improvidence—is such an inversion of the natural order of society as cannot fail, after a brief period of suffering, to terminate in its only result, military despotism. During the struggle for supremacy, it often succeeds, by calling into action the energies of a whole nation, in making great changes, and often does great things; and the final cause of its development is very apparent from the vast progress of society which it occasions, and transposition of mankind which it effects. But it is a means, not an end; it never was intended to be, and never can be, the lasting state of society; and when it has done its work, and caused the swarm to hive off, or the oppression to cease, it quickly gives way, and is succeeded by the stillness of military despotism.*

68. The great and universal error which in every age has caused the strife for freedom to terminate in this disastrous result, is an over-estimate of the average capacity of human nature. It is the enormous inequality in mankind in point of intellectual power, and the immense mass of mediocrity with which the world is over-spread, which causes the universal failure. It is easy to see why it is so. Society could not exist without it. If all were philosophers or orators, who would be the hewers of wood and drawers of water? There is not in any stratum of society, from the highest to the lowest, one man in twenty who is or ever can be made possessed of the information requisite to form for himself a correct judgment on public affairs: there is not one in a hundred capable of thinking otherwise than as he is taught by the few who are interested in leading, or misleading, him. No amount of education, no change of religion or political institutions, can make the least change in these proportions; on the contrary,

they often make them more alarming, by augmenting the profit to be made or the power acquired by impelling the multitude in the wrong direction. Sometimes it is towards republicanism, sometimes towards despotism; never towards the right system, which is the government of a *real* aristocracy; that is, of the best in morals, intellect, capacity, and intelligence. But nothing terminates their sway so quickly as the government of the multitude, because they are in general led by the worst. Thence the extreme experienced difficulty of preserving freedom for any length of time in any State, and the impossibility of inducing the majority of men so far to do violence to their *amour propre* as to acknowledge the general fallacy which is at the root of the difficulty.

69. The same error—viz. an over-estimate of the average capacity of human nature—is the cause of the greatest mistakes committed by those who aim at social improvement, and the frequent failures with which their efforts are attended. This last age has witnessed the most energetic and persevering exertions to educate and elevate the great body of men; but it is now generally acknowledged that nearly all these attempts have proved failures. We have had Labourers' Institutes, Popular Lectures, Athenæums, Public Libraries, Schools, Academies, and other similar institutions established in all quarters; and, without doubt, they have all done some good to limited numbers, eradicated in some degrading propensities, and opened to others means of improvement they would not otherwise have enjoyed. But upon the great mass of men and women of every rank their effect has been next to nothing. The general taste is still, as in uneducated societies, for the startling and the marvellous: stories of murders, seductions, and horrors, fill the cheap press; "sensation articles" have become the staple of the periodicals. The theatre has turned into a mere phantasmagoria of startling effects; and all the beauties of the Crystal Palace could not have preserved that noble establish-

* Written in 1859. Witness the United States of America in 1845.

ment from ruin if Blondin had not come to its aid with his breakneck exhibitions. The great body of men and women of all ranks are as prone to delusions as they were before the siege of Troy, and there is no Homer to give immortality to these myths.

70. "Progress" is the watchword of the Liberal party throughout the world, and the idea of those who have embraced it is, that there is a continual tendency to social improvement going on in human affairs, and that the great means by which it is developed is, by the general disturbing of old prejudices, adopting of new institutions, and bringing the talents and virtues of the great body of the people to bear on the government of men. Perhaps there is no opinion which is at once so widespread and which has had such pernicious results. That there is a progress, and an incessant progress, in human affairs, no one can doubt any more than that there is an incessant progress in animal or vegetable life. But it is not always in one direction. It is as often from maturity to decay, as from infancy to maturity; from fifty to seventy-five, as from fifteen to thirty. Nothing in nature warrants the belief that the progress is always *in one direction*; on the contrary, everything coincides in indicating that action and reaction are the universal laws of nature, and that it is by the counteracting influence of opposite powers, that the equilibrium of the moral as of the physical world is maintained. Whenever one set of principles has been for some time in the ascendant, it may be predicted with unerring certainty that the counteracting ones have been gathering strength, and will, ere long, move society in the opposite direction.

71. These two great moving and antagonistic powers are human passion and the lessons of experience. The former is the steam-power in human affairs, indispensable to setting the machine in motion, but the latter is the fly-wheel which regulates its movements, checks its aberrations, and at length impels it in the right direction. So prone to delusion is the human

mind, so great the preponderance of error in men's thoughts when unaided by experience, that we are almost tempted to say, that the general mind, unenlightened by that warning monitor, "abhors truth," as the schoolmen said Nature did a vacuum. There is no great truth in science now universally acknowledged—the motion of the earth, the Copernican system of the heavens, the agency of fire in the crust of our planet, the circulation of the blood—which was not for long and obstinately denied by philosophers. The lessons of experience, again, are slow of being learnt, and of tardy development; but they are unerring, for they are the voice of God. It is these opposite principles which impel mankind alternately in opposite directions; and it is the observation of this which made Goethe say they advanced not in a straight line but in a spiral. Whether the progress at any particular time is to good or to evil, depends upon whether the one or the other is then the impelling power.

72. In science and philosophy, without doubt, there is a steady and unchanging progress in one direction. The discoveries of the human mind in these departments are lasting acquisitions to the species. The Copernican system of the heavens, the gravitation of Newton, the knowledge of geology, will never be lost; the Atlantic will for ever be traversed by steam vessels, and men will never cease to massacre each other with the Christian weapons of powder and ball. But it is otherwise in the moral world and the affairs of nations. *There*, the principles of improvement are perpetually crossed and combated by opposite principles of evil. The progress of civilisation modifies essentially the direction of wickedness and the forms it assumes; but it seems to have no tendency to check its amount. The melancholy facts that the glories of European civilisation terminated in the horrors of the French Revolution and the despotism of Napoleon—that the boundless riches of Great Britain cannot hinder the country being overwhelmed by a million of paupers, endangered

by 150,000 criminals, and disgraced by a number of murders unparalleled in any European State; that China, which has known printing, the compass, and gunpowder for 2000 years; where education is universal, where every office, from the highest to the lowest, has from time immemorial been given to the victors in competitive examinations, is still in the lowest state of political and social degradation; and that the boundless natural advantages and liberty of America have terminated in corruption more universal, and a civil war more cruel, than modern times have exhibited—precludes the idea that any common progress of civilisation can extirpate or materially lessen the seeds of evil inherent in the nature of all. This world was never meant for heaven—it is the steep and rough path which may lead to it.

73. It is not to be supposed from this, that the progress which undoubtedly exists in human affairs is always to evil. Alternation of good and evil is the law of nature alike in the moral and material world. Night does not succeed day, summer winter, autumn spring, old age youth, more certainly than the principles of improvement after a time succeed to those of corruption, and those of corruption those of improvement. In the progress of society, the principles of virtue, the causes of improvement, are in the ascendant; in its stationary condition or decline, the seeds of evil in greater number come to maturity. We should err as much if we accorded eternity to the one set of principles, as if we thought the influence of the other would be interminable. Perhaps the centre round which the alternate movement revolves is silently advanced, and the condition of mankind upon the whole, amidst all the oscillations, sensibly ameliorated. Philosophers tell us that the sun with all its attendant satellites, the source of life and heat, is itself perpetually impelled round a far-distant centre.

74. Akin to this, and arising from the same cause—the pride of intellect

—is the great error of nations in their intercourse with each other, which has, especially in modern times, and in the most civilised countries, been so prolific a source of public disaster and private suffering. This is the opinion that all nations are adapted for the same religious and political institutions, and that the only way to put them on the high-road to felicity is to force those of the most advanced states upon them. No such erroneous and disastrous opinion ever was propagated among men. The religious wars of the sixteenth century were the result of the application of this error to matters of faith. The still more sanguinary contests of the French Revolution, and the diplomatic efforts at propagandism which have followed it on the part both of the French and the British, have resulted from the second. Both have terminated generally in defeat or disaster, and it is not difficult to say to which these multiplied failures have been most owing. The attempt so often made in recent times to force free institutions on men in different circumstances, will be classed by future times with the efforts to establish uniformity of faith by the rack or the faggot. Such is the variety in the minds and inclinations of men, arising from difference in the character of race, physical circumstances, and degrees of civilisation, that nothing in general is so destructive, both to individual happiness and social progress, as to endeavour to force the same faiths or political institutions upon them. Religious belief and forms of government, generally speaking, are not so much a cause as an effect. Men embrace that faith and establish those political institutions which are best adapted to their circumstances and the social stage in which they are placed. The Gospel itself is no exception to this; on the contrary, it is its strongest confirmation. It was not delivered to man in the days of Moses, but in those of Cæsar. To attempt to force Christianity upon the Asiatics in their present state of civilisation, is the same mistake as it would be to endeavour to force the Koran

upon Europeans ; and it is not less an error to try to establish free institutions among the serfs of Russia, than to engraft slavery on the freeman of England. Make men fitter for advanced institutions by elevating their position in the social scale, augmenting their comforts, or improving their moral character, and they will of themselves embrace the religion and political government adapted for an advanced stage of civilisation. Till this is done, it is worse than useless to attempt to make any violent change upon them. This work will not have been written in vain if it at all aids in

the establishment of these great truths, and teaches that all attempts are hopeless to improve the condition of men, either by religion, education, or political change, without improving their physical well-being, and rendering more favourable the circumstances in which they are placed. It is thus, and thus only, that a foundation can be laid for elevating their moral character, and thus leaving progress to be effected by the silent amelioration of time and well-being, won by industry, without the aid either of the sword of proselytism or the armies of propagandism.

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